the windward side, the other being open. They have little areas before the most of them, 175
which are generally planted round with trees, or shrubs of ornament, whose fragrancy 342
perfumes the very air in which they breathe. [352]
[351]

Again, in 1777, Cook (19, vol. 1, p. 314) describes Tongatabu, as he saw
it on "an excursion into the country," in the following words: 175
361

> We found by far the greatest part of the country cultivated, and planted with 311
> various sorts of productions; and most of these plantations were fenced around.
> Some spots, where plantations had been formerly, now produced nothing, lying fallow;
> and there were places that had never been touched, but lay in a state of nature; and,
> yet, even those were useful, in affording them timber, as they were generally covered [643]
> with trees. We met with several large uninhabited houses, which, we were told, [491]
> belonged to the king. There were many public and well-beaten roads, and abundance
> of foot-paths leading to every part of the island. [487]

The nearest approach to a village, observed by Cook was the capital Mua 175
(the modern villages of Lapaha and Tatakamotonga), where the principal 361
chiefs of Tongatabu dwelt, especially when attending the court of the Tui Tonga.

A map of Tongatabu Island, published in 1810 by Vason (60), although 491
doubtless inaccurate as to details, shows the great road traversing the length of Tongatabu and the numerous lanes separating the farms.

La Perouse (47, vol. 2, pp. 171, 172) describes the south coast of Tonga- 175
tabu as follows:

> As the wind was to the north, I steered towards the south coast of the island, 175
> which is very free from danger, and may be approached within three musket-shots. 133
> The sea broke furiously all along the coast; but the breakers were upon the shore;
> and beyond them we perceived the most luxuriant orchards. All the island appeared 175
> to be cultivated; the fields, which were beautifully green, were bordered with trees 311
> . . . The huts of the islanders were not collected together in villages, but dispersed 361
> over the fields, like the farm-houses in our best cultivated plains.

In 1793 conditions seemed to be unchanged, for Labillardière (37, vol. 2, pp. 135, 136, 153) says:

> In advancing to the westward, we went over a vast enclosure formed by palisades, [417]
> the stakes of which, placed obliquely, were pretty close to each other, and in the
> middle of which grew the bread-fruit tree, the plantain-tree, the fan palm, *corypha* [245]
> *umbraculifera*, &c. Farther on, we found, within a fence not near so extensive, a [417]
> small hut, of a conical form, in which we learnt were deposited the remains of a chief
> lately dead; and we were also informed that it was forbidden to enter it. [764]
>
> We then walked, for near a quarter of an hour, along a narrow road lined with [622]
> palisades on both sides: we followed it as far as a very large lawn, where King [491]
> Toobou was shortly to make his appearance. . . .
>
> We soon after entered the fields, where we saw each individual's ground divided into small plots, surrounded by palisades, and in a high state of cultivation.

The missionaries who took up their residence in 1797 speak of certain 175
places as the residences of chiefs—for example, Haateiho and Mua (spelled 361
797

Ardeo and Mooa by Wilson). The map published by one of these mis- 175
sionaries (60) is innocent of villages. As to the cultivation of the country 361
they say: "At Tongataboo the country is flat and enclosed, and, though little [797]
cultivated, very productive" (65, p. 385). [311]

By Mariner's time the complete breakdown of the central authority and [712]
the internecine wars had forced people to take refuge in fortresses (*kolo*) [721]
from time to time. This seems to be the origin of the modern Tongan vil-
lages, all of which to-day are designated by the word *kolo*, though none are
fortified. The ruins of old fortifications are numerous. [172]

Although the necessity of living together for protection disappeared com- 361
pletely with the destruction of the fortress of Pea in 1852, villages neverthe-
less persist in Tonga and appear to have come to stay. Christianity and the [795]
copra trade are factors that contribute to the maintenance of village life. [439]

MODERN VILLAGE POPULATION

The large modern villages, such as Nukualofa-Maufanga on Tongatabu, [162]
Neiafu on Vavau, and Pangai-Hihifo on Lifuka Island, represent the acme
of development in village growth and consequently the greatest departure
from the rural distribution of population observed by Captain Cook. These 361
large villages are composed of an assemblage of unrelated family groups. 621
Thus, Hihifo, is said by one informant to comprise three groups of kindred
headed by the chiefs and matapule Tuita, Pouangi, and Tea. In the smaller [602]
villages, however, it seems likely that the inhabitants are bound to one an- [178]
other by blood ties and that these little communities do not depart far from
the grouping of people in ancient times. The tiny village of Siesia, Nuku-
nukumotu Island, is an example. The relationship of the 16 individuals of this
hamlet in 1920 are given below.

House 1

1. **Kula**, father of 5. A *toutai* (navigator or fisherman) and former mayor of 361
   Siesia. His wife was Finau of Folaha, Tongatabu, now dead. 621
2. **Fatai**, son's son of 1, named after brother of 1. 592
3. **Maria**, wife of 2. A woman of Maufanga, Tongatabu; upon marriage came at
   once to Siesia to live. 602
4. **Solomon Tanaki**, son's son of 1 and brother of 2, unmarried, named after brother
   of 1, by midwife. Born at Siesia.

House 2

5. **Taani**, son of 1, and father of 2, 4, 7, 8, 9, mayor of Siesia.
6. **Mary Anna**, wife of 5 and mother of 2, 4, 7, 8, 9.
7. **Mili**, daughter of 5 and 6, about 13 years old. Twin brother dead.
8. **Latu**, son of 5 and 6, about 16 years old. He and 13 call each other by brother [601]
   terms. They are of course only cousins.
9. **Mary**, daughter of 5 and 6, about 9 years old.

going to Haapai. Later, returning to his old master, he was driven away. 565
Anciently he might have been executed. 361

686
The matapule usually dwelt close to the chiefs to whom they were at-
tached, as did also certain *tua* who performed menial tasks, such as cooking. 565 361
Many establishments of chiefs constituted fair-sized settlements. 621

The rank of male tenants (heads of families) of *api* in several localities, 565
as recorded in 1920, is shown in Table 8. It will be noted that chiefs are 361
relatively most numerous in Lifuka and Tongatabu, the seats of govern- 554
ment. Though a different classification might be made by other informants, 592
the figures probably give a fair idea of the relative numbers of the three 162
classes among tenants, and of the local variation which prevails.

TABLE 8. RANK OF TENANTS AT VARIOUS LOCALITIES

	CHIEFS	MATAPULES	COMMONERS
Pangai, Lifuka	14	49	133
Hihifo, Lifuka	16	40	104
Holopeka, Lifuka	1	9	8
Koulo, Lifuka	2	18	30
Lifuka as a whole	33	116	275
Fangaleounga, Foa	0	1	3
Fotua, Foa	1	2	22
Lotofoa, Foa	6	23	54
Faleloa, Foa	1	27	31
Foa as a whole	8	53	110
Fotuhaa Island	2	1	43
Uiha, Uiha (*tofia* of Malupo)	3	23	109
Kolovai, Tongatabu (*tofia* of Ata)	18	10	74
Atata Island (*tofia* of Ata)	1	1	8

In the former Tongan population there was evidently a still lower ele- 567
ment than the commoners, the *popula* (slave, prisoner). Anciently these [727]
people seem to have been largely war prisoners; one informant said they
were conquered chiefs and matapule who were enslaved. Through the ef- [797]
forts of the missionaries, this class distinction has been completely elimin- [178]
ated, but certainly some commoners to-day are the descendants of chiefs [565]
whose political stars fell. A term apparently synonymous in part with *popula*
is *hopoate*. It is sometimes used to-day with the meaning of stranger; for
example, shipwrecked people from Futuna are *hopoate*, but are treated as
guests, not as slaves.

I doubt if matapule can appropriately be called a rank at all. It is 565
an office to which men are appointed from among the higher non-chiefly [554]
families and the rank of a matapule would vary according to the rank of
the chief by whom he was appointed and whom he served. Likewise, chief-
tainship is an office. A chief's relatives are not chiefs in the strict sense of
the word, but naturally have a higher social standing than the relatives of

be killed because of marriage with *tua* women. However, I doubt if this 565
happened often, for the amours of young chiefs seem to have been regarded 581
as proper. Be that as it may, the statement was made that there are but few 558
chiefs to-day who have no *tua* blood in their veins. Anciently a young chief, [684]
if he could find no bride in the chiefly class, was supposed to marry the
daughter of a matapule. The offspring of such a marriage naturally would
not have so high a rank as the offspring by a chiefly wife. In polygynous 565
marriages the children rank according as their mothers are ranked. Of the 581
several sons of a chief, one only, and he usually the eldest by a woman of 558 428
chiefly rank, inherited the father's title and position, the others retaining [595]
only their names and receiving no title. In the official kava ring (*alofi*) only
the title bearer could sit, his brothers having to sit outside of the ring behind
the kava makers in what is called the *toua*. Younger brothers and their [593]
descendants became virtually the servants of their older brothers and sisters.

The manner in which blood becomes adulterated by marriage is illustrated 565
in one of the great chiefly families of to-day: the preceding holder of the 581
title had a number of sons, all of whom married women of *tua* rank, except 558
the father of the present title holder, who married a chiefly woman. In
ancient times the offspring of *tua* women by chiefs were somewhat like serfs,
inasmuch as they were bound in service to their hereditary lord and master,
the great chief, or his son who succeeded him. Thomson (54, p. 222) has 565 622
summed up the relationship of chief and commoner:

> The Tongans had reached a stage of development midway between the patriarchal
> and feudal systems. Their chiefs had the blood of the founder of the family in its
> purest form, and were the earthly incarnations of their deified ancestors. Each chief
> had hereditary retainers who followed him to battle, and obeyed him in time of peace;
> but the constant wars during the latter half of the eighteenth century had created a
> lower class of servants than these—the *tu'a*, children of prisoners of war. These, together
> with the illegitimate children of the chief's father or grandfather (his cousins,
> in fact, for a chief bred servants for his descendants), were in the nature of serfs,
> leading, however, an easier life than such a designation would imply. The missionaries 565
> had perhaps read of Peter the Great and Wilberforce, and they too panted to win the 622
> grateful admiration of posterity. To their heated fancy the people appeared as slaves, 797
> because they yielded service without fixed wages, and nothing would content them but
> a formal liberation. They did not stop to reflect that these "serfs" were fed and 178
> clothed by their chief, and that as members of his household they enjoyed privileges
> which men of their low rank could not hope for in other societies.

On June 4, 1862, the Tui Kanokupolu George I declared all chiefs and 613 641
people at liberty from vassalage and serfdom. 565

Most commoners trace relationship, some perhaps fictitiously, to one 565
of the great chiefs, including the Tui Tonga. Four great chiefs told me 622
that all commoners are related to chiefs and matapules, and conversely that 602
all chiefs and matapules have commoner relatives, such relatives in fact,
usually constituting the following of a chief.

LAW

I use the word "law" in reference to transgression of custom and punish- 671
ment therefor. The combination of patriarchal and feudal ideas, coupled 121
with the inequality of individuals, makes the study of Tongan jurisprudence
very difficult. Perhaps the greatest difficulty arises from the modification of [177]
legal procedure resulting from the century of Euro-American influence, [797]
chiefly of the churches. No doubt the best picture is to be drawn from the
accounts of voyagers, yet that is an imperfect picture. Such information as I
gleaned firsthand is necessarily very fragmentary.

Certain tapu breaches were thought to bring with them supernatural 784
consequences; certain others were punished at the order of the overlord. 688
There was no judicial branch of government in ancient Tonga. Judges 692
and police were lacking, except in so far as a chief might settle a case and 693
his armed followers execute the judgment. Trials like those in Samoa 625 622
before a parliamentary gathering seem not to have taken place in Tonga. 695
A chief at times acted as arbiter and meted out punishment. 622

Anciently there were no jails and apprehension of a wrong-doer was 681
followed immediately by punishment in one of three ancient forms: *haka* 697
(beating), *hai* (leg and arm binding), and *tamatei* (execution); *hai* consisted of binding the arms straight behind the culprit or binding the legs, a
punishment which lasted for two or three days.

Two Tongan words, *hia* and *angahala*, are translated as "sin," perhaps 673
in the light of Biblical teachings. Anciently *hia* seems to have signified [682]
murder, or adultery with the wife of a man who was the equal or superior [684]
of the adulterer in rank. The word *angahala* has a much less definite mean- [565]
ing. It apparently signifies "fault, a habit or mode of action which is [183]
amiss," and also means prostitution. [548]

Whether or not a murderer's family was jointly responsible with him 682
for a killing was not definitely ascertained. One aged Vavau informant 672
thought that only the murderer was responsible and was uncertain whether [602]
punishment was meted out directly by the injured family or only through
the chief. One informant said that the murder of one commoner by an- [578]
other resulted in a vendetta between their respective families which con- [627]
tinued until their chief or chiefs ordered it stopped. If a chief killed a [622]
commoner no blood vengeance followed, as a rule. If a chief ordered a [565]
commoner to kill another chief, it might or might not be done.

Assassinations and other executions for political reasons were exceed- 682
ingly common in Tonga. Mariner records a series of executions ordered 687
by his patron, Ulukalala II, and the accounts of the Tui Tonga give others.
A very distinctive example is the assassination of the Tui Tonga Takalaua

and because that kind of tapa was stiff and would stand away from her 643
body. Presents were brought by all the surrounding country people and 881
presented to the Tui Tonga. The men brought kava and food. The women [515]
brought mats, tapa, baskets, wooden pillows, and other valuable articles. 643
The gift was called (both men's and women's together), *katoanga oe ngata* 881
(literally, the finishing feast), probably in reference to the termination of 431
childhood. The permanent gifts went to the Tui Tonga and his family;
the food gifts were distributed among the people gathered to celebrate the
occasion. There was no confinement of the girl or food tapu.

During menstruation in general, women took care of the flow by 841
means of a piece of tapa rolled up and inserted between the legs, where it
was held in place merely by leg pressure. Any piece of old softened tapa
would be used for such purpose.

BOYS' PUBERTY OBSERVANCES

The *tope,* a long lock of hair, worn by small boys over the temple was 881
cut off at puberty, perhaps on the precise occasion of "circumcision." One 302
informant stated that a boy entered manhood, when his voice changed and
hair began to develop on his body and face, and that then his lock of hair
was cut off. Two other informants were certain that a youth's hair was
cut man fashion immediately after the tapu following "circumcision" was
lifted.

Circumcision, or better supercision because of the character of the 304
operation, usually took place between the years of twelve and sixteen, but 881
is said to have been performed on boys as young as six years in age. All [643]
males were circumcised except the Tui Tonga. The adoption of Christianity [797]
seems not to have in any way curtailed the practice except that the Hebrew [178]
method has partially displaced the Tongan method.

The terms *tefe* (the vulgar word) and *kaukau* (the word of polite society) are the precise designations for the Tongan operation which con- 304
sists in making a longitudinal slit in the upper surface of the foreskin.
The term *kamu* is also applied, but means truly to circumcise (cut around)
and might be applied to a hand or a tree. It is a term of little respect and
is applied to the Hebrew form of circumcision. Both operations are now [657]
performed for the male population by the Government medical officers.

Supercision was regarded as a sign of manhood and any youth who 881
declined to be operated upon would be forbidden to eat with the other [626]
members of the household, must not touch another's food, and would be
spurned by the girls. An uncircumcised person is called *kou* or *taetefe*.

Boys were usually operated on in groups called *lango mamalu*. I recall
such a group in the Government hospital at Nukualofa in 1921. A chief's

[1829-1865]

When the fight at Velata was resumed, Taufaahau's warriors were having breakfast, as Laufilitonga's men made a sortie. Taufaahau's men quit eating, Taufaahau called for his gun. Malupo brought it and asked permission to use it. It was granted. Malupo shot Laufilitonga's son. When he fell, the Tui Tonga's men fled, but they asked where they got the gun and gunpowder. Taufaahau's men replied from the *mato* (edge of precipice), referring to Eua. A well on Lifuka is named Onemato to commemorate this reply. 173 669 726

A tract at south edge of Pangai is called Matuku, meaning "the fight is over," in commemoration of the surrender of Velata to Taufaahau. Velata was a double-walled and double-ditched fortress. [712]

Fakailoatonga was the name of the chief who treacherously speared Taufaahau in the calf during the siege of Velata. Taufaahau was not yet king when this happened. Taufaahau withdrew the spear and killed Fakailoatonga with it. Fakailoatonga was said to be his father's brother. There seems to have been a scouting expedition in which Taufaahau was accosted in a friendly manner by Fakailoatonga of the enemy's camp and then treacherously speared.

At the conclusion of the war Taufaahau put the Tui Tonga and his chiefs in a boat and told them to go and not land again in Tonga, but Kaunanga, the mother of Tungi I, took them ashore at Lapaha.

TAUFAAHAU AND ULUKALALA VERSUS THE HEATHENS OF VAVAU

In 1829 Taufaahau and Peter Vi, an early convert to Christianity, 797 introduced the Methodist church into Haapai. In 1831 Ulukalala IV (Finau Tuapasi), the great chief of Vavau, embraced Christianity, becoming a convert of the Methodist missionaries at the urging of Taufaahau, the Tui Haapai. Taufaahau had sailed to Vavau with a fleet of 24 large [716] double vessels and peaceably induced Ulukalala to embrace Christianity. [501] Now follows Peter Vi's (3) narrative of events at Vavau, of which he was 173 an eye witness. The siege of the fortress of Otea took place in 1832 and 797 lasted but three days. 798 669

I went to Koloa, Vavau, [in 1831,] and we prepared to sail in the vessel to Haapai. 726 We were only two nights there, when Taufaahau sailed again to Vavau to bring Halaevalu Mataaho. Then Taufaahau arranged with Finau [Ulukalala] for us to have service together on the Sabbath. Taufaahau went and took the kava of the god Taufaitahi to Afu, whose god he was, and they teased him, then burnt the god. Then we went and had our service with Finau. Vavau was in commotion and divided into two parties. Lua dwelt at Feletoa and Ulukalala dwelt at Neiafu and the people were divided between the two. Whoever were Christians went to Ulukalala, whoever were heathens went to Lua, each preparing for war. Taufaahau returned to Haapai, Vavau having accepted Christianity. Finau expected that I would be left with him. But Mr. Thomas [a Methodist missionary] would not let me remain, and after some time Jeremiah Kamoto was sent from Tonga to Vavau, and Taufaahau sailed again for Tonga.

When Tongatabu knew that the Vavauans had accepted Christianity and burnt their gods' houses it prepared for war and Taufaahau's vessel, which was at Tongatabu, prepared to fight. That war did not materialize and Tui Haapai (Taufaahau) returned. A message had been sent from Finau [Ulukalala], saying for Taufaahau to make haste and come to Vavau, as there would be war soon. And we sailed and anchored at Taunga Island, Vavau group, in 1832.

Lua had dug fortifications at Otea on the island of Kapa. Two vessels came, [291] all the crews of which were naked (sign of war) and they asked, "Whose vessels are these?"

[1832]

"Taufaahau from Haapai," was the reply. Then they twirled their clubs and 173
said, 797

"Oh, we thought they were the ships from Fiji." 798

And we sailed on into the anchorage at Neiafutahi, Vavau, and anchored there where 669
Finau was. And we sent to make peace with the Otea fort. Moheofo and Tui Haapai 726
were the peacemakers, and the people (of Otea) destroyed their vessel. The chiefs Luani, Siaakafoa, and Taukeilaolao were sent with them to Neiafu. Taufaahau told Finau not to let these chiefs return, but to hold them. This was done. Taukeilaolao and Teu were brought to us to guard, while the others were taken to Finau to guard. And early next morning we all assembled at Ngaunoho and the army was addressed by Taufaahau. Taufaahau and I jumped on shore while the troops all prepared, stayed in the boats. Taufaahau went and spoke to the army in the presence of Finau, while the Vavau (army) was present. After he had spoken to the army then I said, "Let us pray." After that we went on board the vessel and sailed for Otea. And when we drew near we saw a party of warriors lying in wait on the main road. We raised our guns, but did not fire. We sailed along the shore to their fort. Our vessels anchored and we disembarked our troops. Finau told Taufaahau to go to the fort and ask Lua what were his wishes. And we [Taufaahau and Peter Vi] went and took shelter behind a big tree called *fotulona* and spoke from there and said, "Finau has sent us to tell you, for you to have love and not to be wrongly advised by your sons," and Lua answered,

"Man, why are you so unkind to me? Why don't you come and take me, your father (term of affection), to Haapai?"

And Taufaahau replied, "When did you tell me to? I came and anchored at that island; why did you not send a message for me to come, and take you to Haapai and I would have done so?"

Then Lua answered, "Come here, you unkind man."

Taufaahau replied, "I would like to come, but you might not be able to protect me from your sons, so I will speak to you from here." And we kept on carrying messages between Finau and Lua till it was dark, then we slept; and early in the morning word was brought that fighting had begun on land, as the people from the fort were pushing on the advance lines of the Haapai warriors. And we [Taufaahau and Peter Vi] ran at once there. When we reached there, he said, "If there is any one that wishes to fire, then fire." After that he said, "You go into the fort till Ulukalala and Lua have arranged matters for their friends, and if it cannot be arranged then you young men of the fort come out to us young men and we will fight it out."

Just then a man from Ngutu shouted out, "Yes! Taufaahau kindly tell the Lofanga, the Haafeva, the Kotu, and other warriors to go."

And Taufaahau said, "You say for us to let go, as though this was the first time we had come to Haafuluhao (Vavau). Have we not been here since former times, and taken possession."

Then we went down to Finau and he commanded that we should raise barricades [725]
to starve out the fortress. And we cut down all kinds of trees with which to make the barricade. And we watched each other (the people of the fort and Taufaahau's warriors), and some of the Haapai warriors went scouting and caught Langikaihaa and two warriors. They were not killed, but tied and brought alive, and Taufaahau tried hard to make peace. One day he told us to remain within the fortification, for none to go outside, while he went to a place far away. They were going to call Tavake and Maheuliuli [of the enemy] to come for us to see them; and when they came out we were to come away, as if we thought there would be no war. If they came it was to be done [Tavake and Maheuliuli treacherously seized]. They came and they were told to come with me to our fortification and leave their fort. And when it was known at our fort, and their fort, that they had come, our army rushed into their fort, and pulled down the fort. Taufaahau brought Lua and the chiefs to his own house.

[1832-1834]

Then Taufaahau went to receive instructions from Ulukalala. And Finau said 173
Maheuliuli, Taufaeilaolao, Pomaui, Ngutu, and some others were to die. Taufaahau 797
said, "All right," and he came and told me the command of Finau as to the people 798
who should be executed.

I said, "It is more in keeping with you, that they should not die, as that is the 669
way of the new order of things, and they have been conquered by you two." 727

He replied to me, "Well! speak to Ulukalala, as the troops have come with [178]
weapons to put them to death."

And I sat down in Ulukalala's presence and said, "Finau!" And he turned towards me, and I said, "Pardon me while I speak. It is not in keeping for me to speak to you, but you must forgive me and remember our Lord and also Taufaahau and not let anything come to pass, because of Taufaahau and also yourself. Don't do any murder, as it is bad for Christianity. If it is desirable, let them sail for some other country."

And Finau answered, "All right! You and Taufaahau please yourselves, as you are wise, but how many are the warriors of Maheuliuli?"

Just then Taufaahau came and said to him, "You say to spare their lives. Did they not fight the Haapai warriors and did I not go and bring them like a man servant?"

And after Finau had spoken for some time, Taufaahau said, "I will go and come
back with them." And Taufaahau went out and beckoned to some men to go and
bring them. Tavake came and sat on his (Taufaahau's) knees and Maheuliuli rested [516]
against his back and Lausii rested on Maheuliuli's back, while Ngutu squeezed himself under Taufaahau's knees.

While Taufaahau wept for the men, I sat and begged, "It is not in keeping with your profession for them to die, and if they are to die let them die somewhere else, so that we may be clear." And Finau in anger left and went to the beach, but he followed my suggestion, that they should be allowed to sail away. And word was brought that Finau had commanded that the Lofanga vessel should be got ready for Lua and his family to sail in and that the vessel from Leimatua was to be brought for us as it was bigger.

And early in the morning the chiefs went and sat with lowered heads in the presence of Finau, while Finau said to Lua, "Go to any place where you can get together a few warriors." He meant it chiefly for those that should have died, and after that the vessel was got ready by the Vavau people. Taufaahau was the one that was kind and gave them the vessel and the provisions and the chiefs were led down to the sea, and put on board and they sailed and they only knew when at sea, that the ropes were cut off the mast, so they called in at Hunga and mended them and then sailed to Moungaone and anchored there, then left for Tongatabu.

[In 1833 Ulukalala IV died and Taufaahau was appointed Tui Vavau by the chiefs of Vavau, thus carrying out Ulukalala's dying wish.]

TAUFAAHAU'S CAMPAIGN AGAINST UIHA

Uiha Island, together with Tungua and Nomuka, was one of the last 797
of the Haapai group to accept Christianity. Taufaahau visited Uiha in 798
1833 and sought to introduce Methodism, but the chiefs and people declined to accept it. In 1834 he again visited Uiha and by a stratagem imposed the new religion. When he arrived many of the people were fishing. He professed friendliness and induced 160 of the men to sail to Vavau to obtain pigs for him. By prearrangement these men were made prisoners in Vavau. Deprived of the bulk of her fighting men, Uiha could not resist the destruction of her temples and the imposition of the new religion.

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

[1834]

TAUFAAHAU'S WAR CHIEF, HAVILI OF NOMUKA [8]

Havili was a chief and the greatest fighting man in Nomuka. Havili was a 173
heathen first, later a Christian. He was Taufaahau's "general." When Methodism 797
was first brought to the country it was pretty hard for Taufaahau to get the people 798
to be Christians. Havili was called to Tongatabu to aid Taufaahau in suppressing
the heathens. Taufaahau fought the Mua people first and won. Later he fought 669
Nukualofa and won. Then the Mua and Nukualofa people helped Taufaahau to 726
fight against Hihifo. Hihifo was too strong for them, so he (Taufaahau) sent for Havili to come and help him and then they won. After the war Havili returned to Nomuka. Taufaahau had come to Nomuka originally to get Havili and to assemble fighting men from Haapai. The fighting men collected on Taufaahau's ship and were brought to Nomuka where Taufaahau, Havili, and Maafu were waiting. Taifonoifua of Fonoifua was not a chief, but a great fighting man. Falase of Nomuka, was not a chief, but a great fighting man. These two were not matapule, but commoners (*matatangata*). Siulua of Lofanga, was a fighting man, but not a chief or matapule. These were all *matatangata*, men with great strength. The vessel went from Lofanga to Koulo in Lifuka and got Tavalu, another great fighting man who was neither chief nor matapule. These men were to be the *eiki tau* (commanders) of Taufaahau's army and were to command troops. Then the vessel left for Vavau to bring Tuimalohi, a commoner, and Pupunu, a matapule. From each place came one big vessel with the fighting men of the place led by one of the *eiki tau*. They sailed for Nomuka. In six days they all arrived in Nomuka and Taufaahau gave orders to leave next day for Tonga and assemble at Atata Island.

When all arrived there kava was brewed and served. The first bowl was Taufaahau's, 276
but he did not drink it. He merely took hold of it and called out, "Who 574
is the strongest man here, the man who says he will reach the Hihifo fortress of 726
Kolovai first? Let him come forward and take my kava." 173

Then Havili stood up and said, "Give it to me. I'll drink it. I'll be the first 669
man to reach there." As soon as they finished the kava, they sailed straight to Hihifo in spite of the shallowness of the water, went as far as possible, dropped anchor, and the troops (*tangatatau*) marched from there over the tidal flats to the beach.

Vahai was the commander of Hihifo. He ordered his troops to keep a good 173
lookout on the beach, as the Haapai fighters would be sure to land there. The Haapai 797
and Vavau troops rushed in first. The Nomuka troops tarried behind. The Haapai 798
troops did not like the way Taufaahau was depending on Havili and Taifonoifua. 669
The Haapai and Vavau troops were driven back and many killed. Taufaahau was 726
frightened at seeing his troops driven back, so he turned and yelled out for Havili, saying, "Why don't you assist the troops instead of mending sails?" Then Havili stood up, grabbed hold of a big stick called *okooka* and broke it in half, kept one half himself and gave the other half to Taifonoifua. They rushed at two of the enemy and Taifonoifua killed one, while Havili grabbed the other and carried him back to the vessel where Taufaahau was resting. He threw him inside the vessel. Taufaahau was frightened and sat up, saying, "What's the matter there?"

Havili said, "Have you already forgotten the kava that I drank on Atata?" Havili turned away, lifted his tapa garment and rushed at the enemy again. This time he rushed against nine men at a pond near the beach. They hid, but he killed the nine of them. Afterwards he named the pond Hiva (nine). Then Havili went on further until he came right into the midst of the Hihifo soldiers. When he got
there they all dropped their arms (*tafetei*, a spear; *kolo*, club; *mata*, knife of ironwood). [411]
The Hihifo troops were made to kneel down.

After six days the Haapai and Vavau troops returned home. When Havili and

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[8] Related by Albert Taufa of Nomuka.

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

[1834]

Taufaahau arrived in Nomuka a vessel from Lifuka was there with a message for 173
Taufaahau and Havili to prepare, for Lifuka was ready to fight Taufaahau. 797

Taufaahau then asked Havili and Taifonoifua to get ready and go with him to 798
Lifuka. "When you're ready, we'll start," he said. While Taufaahau had been fight- 669
ing in Tonga, the Lifuka people had been digging trenches, preparing for his return.
Velata was the place where the trenches were dug. Taufaahau and his troops sailed 726
north from Nomuka. Three vessels went with troops. Taufaahau, Havili, and Taifonoifua with troops were in one vessel.

Troops only were in the other vessels. When Lifuka was sighted Havili sang out, "Sail the boats right up to the beach." Taufaahau was down below. Havili stood at the bow and yelled out to Taufaahau, asking for orders. Taufaahau was very quiet. Then Havili yelled again, "My wish is not to let any cockroach live, to kill them all." Shortly the vessel went right up on the beach. Havili jumped on to the beach, while Taufaahau was standing in the middle of the vessel looking towards Josiah Lausii's place, the chief of Haapai, his father's brother (*tamai*). He saw many people sitting down with heads bowed. They were asking Lausii to forgive them for what they had prepared. Then Taufaahau saw Lausii walking towards the ship. He came down and shook hands [*sic*]. Lausii told Taufaahau what the trouble was with the people bending over at his place. Lausii also asked Taufaahau to forgive him. Taufaahau told Lausii that Havili and Taifonoifua were determined to kill all the "cockroaches." Taufaahau said, "All right, I'll forgive them, but not again." Then Taufaahau told the Lifuka people that the fortress of Velata was to belong to the Nomuka people.

Shortly after they went to Vavau to accompany the Vavau men home. When they returned to Nomuka they found there had been some fighters from Mua, Tonga, who had slaughtered the people, women and children, and left the same day.

Havili was very much hurt when he discovered what had happened. He said to Taufaahau, "I'm going to Tonga to pay them back for what they have done. I won't go just now. I'll wait until the wind goes around to the south, so they won't be looking for me." When the wind swung to the south he started off. He arrived
at night with Taifonoifua. They went ashore with troops. The people of Lapaha [524]
in Mua did not expect him. They were having a game of *lafo* (played with coconut shells). In the middle of the house was a woman making kava. Havili and Taifonoifua were pleased to have arrived there in time to slaughter them. Havili had connection with that woman. Havili and Taifonoifua had told their men to stop outside. The two went in quietly and sat down amongst the men. No notice was taken of them for they thought that they were Lapaha men. The woman making kava turned around and looked at Havili. As soon as she saw his face she yelled, "We are going to be slaughtered. Havili and Taifonoifua are here." The people received a shock and looked around, but it was too late. As soon as Havili realized he was known, he and Taifonoifua were punching them down with their fists as fast as they could. There were thirty men and one woman. They killed all but one man who was wounded. Those who went out were killed by the troops. The woman was spared. Soon after, that same night, Havili and Taifonoifua sailed for Nomuka with a fair wind. They arrived safely.

Two days later they left again for Tonga to attack the Mua people again. When they sighted Tonga it was getting dark. It was about eight o'clock when they approached the land sufficiently to see lights. They could see several lights on the
eastern end of Velitoa. Four men and four women were fishing. They were Mua [226]
people torch-fishing. The Nomuka vessel anchored outside the reef. Havili said to Taifonoifua, "You stay aboard, while I go to learn who these people are." He landed on the beach and walked up to see who they were. He went quietly and hid beside a tree. The party were cooking fish now.

While they were cooking fish one of the men said, "Hurry, get those fish cooked or else Havili might come and take them from us." At the same time Havili was

[Toku, Fonualei, and Kao Islands]

soil. The population of Fonualei became so large and permanent that a 162
church was erected there. The maximum figures for the two islands were 311
one hundred souls on each in the time of the chief Abraham Tangaloa.
However, the fertile land of Fonualei became a desert waste with the volcanic [731]
eruption of 1846. The people removed to Toku in time to avoid loss of life. 162
Later the entire Toku population was moved to the Vavau group proper 166
by the missionaries, for convenience in church attendance. Their descendants [797]
seem to reside principally at Utulei, Pangaimotu Island.

The Toku people were political exiles from Haamea in the central district 727
of Tongatabu. The people of Haamea fought the Hihifo people during 166
the reign of the Tui Kanokupolu Mataeletuapiko and were overcome. 175
They fled to Toku under the leadership of the Haamea chiefs Tukutukuholoipangai,
Ofakehokomaikaetau, and a third chief. Talafaiva, daughter of the
Tui Haa Takalaua and (later?) wife of the Tui Tonga Uluakimata I
(Telea) was with them. The refugees were all of the Haa Takalaua and it [669]
seems likely that the struggle between Haamea and Hihifo was but a part of the Tui Kanokupolu's effort to eclipse the Tui Haa Takalaua. It is said that people from Makave in Vavau went to Toku to help the chiefs from Haamea. When the Haamea refugees arrived at Toku they found Niuatoputapu people in possession. These were ordered to leave and did so peaceably. This settlement of people from Haamea must have occurred in the seventeenth century if the references to Mataeletuapiko and Talafaiva are correct.

The son of one of the refugee chiefs from Haamea became the ruler of the Toku people under the title of Tangaloa. The last Tangaloa was Abraham Tangaloa of Utulei, Pangaimotu Island. The Tui Kanokupolu appointed the Tangaloa. The second Tangaloa bore the personal name of Katainatoa.

The god of the Toku people was incarnate in the *tukuhali* or sea snake, 776
I could not learn the name of the god or the title of the priest. The Toku 825
incarnation of the god fell into a well. The well was in consequence filled 823
and a new one dug for use.

Tradition names the top of Kao Island, Haapai, as the site of a village, 823
a statement which is pure fiction, as I learned by climbing to the summit, [173]
3380 feet above sea level. A woman there one day said she was going for [361]
a walk. She intended to visit one of the coral islands which seemed to lie so close below that one could step over to it. She threw down her bundle of mats, then followed it, and was dashed to pieces on the rocks below. This tale is evidently told to illustrate the extreme steepness of Kao.

The ancient settlement on Kao was near the shore, not at the summit. 361
The shore settlement was probably on the northwestern side, nearest Tofua.

TONGAN RELIGION.

SOURCE OF INFORMATION

My notes on the ancient religion of Tonga are scant, as might well be 128
expected 75 years after the complete Christianization of the country. The [797]
material here presented is in part supplementary to that already published
(26). Some of it is amplification of published materials by Collocott and
others.

Collocott (9, pp. 152-163, 227-240) has so thoroughly portrayed the char- 114
acteristics of the principal gods of Tongatabu that there is little left to do
except supplement his account with further details. Farmer (23, pp. 125-
146) also gives a brief sketch of the principal Tongan gods and of the
functions of the priests. Most of Farmer's information was obtained from [115]
the Reverend John Thomas, a Methodist missionary. The nature of the
gods is well handled by Mariner, Farmer, and Collocott.

PULOTU

772
Pulotu, the unseen world, and domain of the god or goddess Hikuleo (23, 775
p. 132), was believed to lie to the westward and to be reached by sea. A [776]
number of stories are told of voyages (26, p. 153) to Pulotu. There seems
to be a certain tendency among modern Tongans to identify Pulotu with the
underworld, Lolofonua. Pulotu is also identified by some modern infor-
mants with the cemetery or graveyard. Anciently, it was thought that a [776]
living man might visit Pulotu to recover a dead wife (26, p. 183), and that
Hikuleo would assemble the spirits so that the wife might be selected, also
that Hikuleo would then re-animate the visitor, so that he might return to
the earth.

Among modern Tongans who regard Pulotu as equivalent to the under- 775
world, two entrances are pointed out. One of them consists of a deep hole 823
on the island of Koloa, Vavau, a hole which mythology says was the opening 772
by which fire was brought from the underworld to this world by Maui
Kisikisi. The second opening to Pulotu, in its modern identification with
the underworld, is through the volcano in the island of Tofua. People who [761]
formerly lived on Tofua report that whenever someone died in the Haapai
Islands, crying or singing would be heard at the volcano. If crying is heard
to-day it is interpreted to mean a dead sinner; if singing, a good Christian
on his way to Pulotu. There are three divisions of Pulotu called Pulotu 775
Tete, Pulotu Akaaka, and Pulotu Tuumau. The following quotation is from 772
Watkin (61):

> They have some idea of the future existence of the soul, but it is obscure indeed. There exist notions among them which savour something of the Hindoo notion of successive births in the future world, two deaths awaiting them after that endured in this world when they are freed from further mutation. The heaven they calculate

> It happened to be the sacred town of Ma Fanga, which, being the supposed abode 776
> of their deities, and of the souls of their ancestors and deceased friends, has always 778
> from time immemorial been considered neutral ground, and as such respected in their
> most bloody wars. It is governed by the high-priest of the island, who guards the [793]
> tombs of the deceased princes, presides at the annual sacrifices, and receives the first-
> fruits offered at the shrine of their deities.

Tui Haa Fakafanua is one of the deities who is still regarded as existent
in Tonga. The sacred pool of the god is located near the present convent
in Maufanga. If a woman bathes alone in this pool, and while bathing sees [825]
a gecko, she believes that the god has entered her and death is the result. [763]
Frequently when a girl dies it is said that the god has caused her death, [763]
whether or not she has bathed in the god's pool. This god is also believed
to have manifested himself at times on Eua Island. A small, clear stream
called Malimaliloto is sacred to this god. A man who dwelt beside the stream
was made very handsome by the god, who himself is said to appear sometimes
as a handsome man in order to have his way with some woman. In Lifuka, 776
Haapai, the priest of the god dwelt in a house on the site of the god's temple. 778
He possessed the power of prophecy and whatever he foretold came to pass. 793
In the priest's house was a room formed of tapa screens. If people came to [787]
consult the priest he told them to wait for the god. After waiting inside the [825]
house for a while, a gecko usually put in its appearance somewhere in the
house and was regarded as the manifestation of the god. Should relatives
of a very sick man appeal to the god, the appearance of the gecko was
regarded as a favorable omen for the man's recovery, its non-appearance
indicating that the god did not wish the patient to live. Usually the priest
was hidden behind the tapa screen when the gecko appeared. When the priest [787]
became possessed by the god he lay down and shook violently. After the
spasm of trembling was over he would sit up and tell the waiting people the
wishes of the god. It is said this priest talked in a natural tone of voice.
This particular priest was murdered by Taufaahau, afterwards King George I.
Taufaahau had warned the priest to cease his practice, but he did not do so.
Taufaahau had his people bring kava to the house of the god. There the
kava ring was formed and the brew served. Taufaahau served the priest.
As he threw back his head to drink, Taufaahau struck him on the neck with
his fist and killed him. Thereafter the adherents of the god became Chris- [797]
tian.

Three informants of Faleloa, and one of Fotua, Foa Island, Haapai, 776
related stories about the sanctuary of Tui Haa Fakafanua at that place. 778
The god's house was said to be a long house, hence the origin of the name
Faleloa for the modern village. As usual, the manifestation of the god at [825]
this sanctuary was through the medium of a gecko. The god appeared in or [793]
was represented (*fakafofonga*) by a woman named Nganga, according to the
Faleloa informants; by a priest named Makaui according to the Fotua infor-
mant.

TUI TOFUA

I have given (26, p. 77) a number of tales about the god of Tofua 776 Island, reputed to have been a chief's son who committed suicide by drowning and who was transformed into a huge man-eating shark. The father of Tui Tofua was named Vakafuhu (possibly the Tui Tonga Vakafuhu), and his tomb is said to be located on Tofua Island. It is of stone and very smooth and flat, rather different from a langi or royal tomb. The name of Tui Tofua's mother was Langitaetaea. The term Tui Tofua is not a title, but a personal name applied only to the individual who became a shark god. The title of the ruler of Tofua is Taufa Tofua.

DEITIES OF TONGATABU ISLAND

Collocott (9) has dealt so thoroughly with the deities of the Tongatabu [128) Islands that I can hope to add only comments and minor details. I have already discussed Tui Haa Fakafanua and Taufa.

According to one informant, the god Taliaitupou, as well as the god Pulotu [821] Katoa, was capable of stopping a hurricane if beseeched. If the people went to the house of Taliaitupou to secure cessation of a hurricane, upon returning to their homes the hurricane would be over. Collocott (op. cit. p. 230) 776 states that one sacred object of Taliaitupou was a large black volcanic pebble. 778 As there is another deity, namely, Fakafumaka or Vakafuhu, whose first name refers to a stone, it seems not impossible to me that the volcanic pebble referred to may be the sacred object of Fakafumaka rather than of Taliaitupou. The stone, which I saw at the Methodist headquarters in Nukualofa, is called Tui Ahau. A companion stone lies at Kolovai in Tongatabu and gives us an example of animatism among the Tongans, inasmuch as it is considered capable of bringing forth small pebbles. That white coral pebbles [823] and black volcanic pebbles buried together will increase, is firmly believed by Tongans to-day.

The local deity of Nukualofa is said to have been a goddess named Popua. 776 She was reputed to be endowed with poor legs and it is said in consequence [826] Nukualofa people have poor legs. When the first missionary ship was off [797] the island of Malinoa near Tongatabu, Popua informed the Tongans that she had come to them because of her affection, but that the white man's god that was coming in the ship was stronger than the native gods, all of whom had retired to Ata Island (north of Tongatabu), whither she too was going.

The god Vaiuka, who had his seat at Niutoua, manifested himself through the matapule priest Leha (op. cit. p. 233). Pulotu Katoa, a god who comes in for considerable notice from Collocott (op. cit. p. 162), seems to have been a very important deity in Tongatabu. According to Watkin (61), this god [821] caused storms because of his displeasure over the introduction of Christianity. [798]

[Lifuka Island]

South of the mound Lefelefevalu is a stone called Anganganiofae, which 776
is said to be natural in formation but which looks like a fish having the head 773
of a stingray (*fai*) and the tail of a shark (*anga*). 823

DEITIES OF LIFUKA ISLAND

Aloalo seems to have been an important Haapai god with his sanctuary 776
on the tract Fanganonu in Pangai, Lifuka Island. He seems to have been 778
especially a weather god and was also consulted concerning future events. [821]

The temple of the god was a Tongan house, one end of which was screened off with
cane (*koho*). The god was represented by a whale's tooth (*lei*) which was kept in
this compartment covered by a fine mat (*kie*). "He stayed alone like a king and no
one was with him." People who came to consult the god waited outside the house.
They brought with them presents of food which they left in the anteroom of the house 776
just within the entrance, but away from the compartment where the god dwelt. Food 778
that was left by departing visitors would be found to have entirely disappeared upon 782
their return and this was true even if the food was a hundred pound pig.

If people planned to voyage from Haapai to Tongatabu they brought food to Aloalo 776
and inquired as to the most propitious time for setting sail. The god would tell them 787
whether they should leave immediately or later, in order to enjoy good weather all of 484
the way. He might also instruct the voyagers as to the most propitious time to return [782]
from Tongatabu. If they failed to regard his instructions they were likely to meet
with mishap.

The "boat" of the god was the white tern (*tala*). When people went shark fishing 776
they followed the god's bird so they might be led to a good fishing ground. The bird 825
of the god seems to have been a captive white tern with a string tied to its foot. Today 226
the white tern is still used as an indicator of good fishing grounds.

The god manifested himself by causing the whale's tooth to move or shake. How- 776
ever, prior to the shaking, a yellow butterfly, appearing at the front door of the god's 825
house, indicated that the deity would shortly appear in the whale's tooth. The appear-
ance of the yellow butterfly was to inform the priest of the god's impending visit. The [782]
people in general were apprised and would come to pray on such an occasion, particu-
larly those people who had illness. It is said that the butterfly was not the god himself,
but merely the messenger of the god.

Aloalo not only predicted the weather but he could also govern it, for example, 776
being able to stop excessive rains when prayed to do so by the people. Aloalo's priest 821
was called Vavanga (literally "to know everything"). He served as intermediary be-
tween the supplicants and the god. After the appearance of the yellow butterfly and [793]
the movements of the whale's tooth the god entered the priest, who would be convulsed [787]
by trembling. While in this state he delivered the message of the god to the people.
The priest when inspired was seated, not reclining. The district in which the tract
of the god was located was called Ahau, a name which refers to the ruling chief.

The daughter's son of the last priest Vavanga was living at the site in 793
1920, and my informant was himself the son's son of Vavanga. There was 115
another sanctuary of Aloalo near the northern end of Lifuka Island at the 778
village of Holopeka.

Aloalo went the same way as the rest of the Haapai gods when Taufaahau 776
set out to destroy them. The priest of the god fled, however, so that he 797
escaped the fate of other priests and priestesses who were put to death by 778
Taufaahau. 793

through the priest, would reply, "Very well, you may prepare for rain. Fix the leaky roofs, bring food, and prepare everything for the rain. In four or five days it must rain." On one particular occasion the sixth day dawned without a cloud in the sky, but by three o'clock in the afternoon the rain clouds had assembled and the rain had begun. The rain lasted for the period which the god had predicted. The Fotuhaa people always followed this procedure whenever they wished rain. 776 793 787 821

When the missionaries were about to come to Fotuhaa, the god informed the people that he was going to leave and to take up his residence on the islands of Kao and Tofua. He knew in advance of the coming of the missionaries. The informant, a Fotuhaa man, seemed to consider the god and the priest as practically identical. At least he designated both by the term *taula tevolo.* 776 [797] [793]

This same mode of identifying priest and god was common to most all of the informants I interviewed concerning the gods. [793]

DEITIES OF HAANO ISLAND

The god of Tui Haa Ngana, the ruler of Haano Island, was called Feinga Uteo (To-earnestly-desire-sugar-cane). Nothing was learned about the attributes or functions of this god. The sanctuary of Hikuleo on this island has been discussed earlier.

Another god of Haano, and one quite prominent also in Tongatabu Island, was Haele Feke.

The sanctuary of this god in Haano was located on the tract which was owned by the Tui Kanokupolu and was under the care of the matapule Kioa. Haele Feke was thought to know beforehand what was about to occur. The coming of the god was indicated by an octopus (*feke*) coming from the sea to the tract where the priest lived. When an octopus thus came, the Tui Kanokupolu's matapule Kioa brought tapa and coconut leaf mats (*takapau*). The mats were placed on the ground and the tapa on top of them, so that the incarnation of the god might rest upon them. The octopus in which the god became incarnate might be either a white or a brown octopus. The priest of the god was himself named Feke (Octopus). After the message of the god had been delivered the priest took the octopus from the pile of tapa to the water. The coming ashore of the octopus was regarded as a harbinger of coming events and such a visit was followed by some anxiety on the part of the people. On one occasion a number of sick people died a few days after the visit of the god. It was then believed that the visit was ominous of their forthcoming death. It is said that the house of the priest was half a mile from the beach and on a site called Fotuamua. It seems inconceivable that an octopus could travel such a distance overland. It would seem more likely that he was received at the beach by the priest. The Tongan informant, from whom the above information was obtained, was unable to say whether the god Haele Feke was male or female. [778] [787] 776 825 [793] 776 787 [763] [793]

DEITIES OF MOUNGAONE ISLAND

There were two brother gods in Moungaone. Moso was the name of the elder, Pusipapanga the younger; their father was Tutumatua; the mother, Finetaunganoa. Toke was the priest for both gods. Their incarnations were human in form and manifested themselves in one house on the tract Nukutuli. They lived in a rock on Moungaone called Mosomaka, which was about ten feet high, round and hollow and could be entered. It was tapu; people dared not go near it under penalty of death. The god Moso was the same as Moso in Samoa. The priest Toke shook when inspired and 776 [784] [171] [787] [793]

Some forms of illness, called to-day *faitoo fakatevolo,* are believed to be 787
caused by a god or spirit entering the body of a person and thus making 753
him ill. Special medicines and cabalistic signs made with the hands are [755]
employed today to dislodge such an unwelcome tenant. Another belief of [757]
the present time is that certain illness is caused by the god or spirit biting [776]
the sick person. Such an afflicted individual may say, "Nae tai au ehe tevolo"
(The devil has bitten me). I have heard it said that sometimes the discomfort 273
caused by over-indulgence in liquor is attributed to a divine visitation. 781

Middle age is the most popular period of life at which a person becomes 793
a medium for a god or spirit, although sometimes the deities and spirits [885]
manifest themselves through younger men and women, but never through [857]
children. Anciently, the god manifested himself through the successor of a
priest, but only after the death of the old priest. Usually priesthood [428]
passed from father to son, but sometimes the deity or spirit entered some [787]
other person unexpectedly. That person would inform the Tui Tonga
of the fact and would then be appointed to the priesthood. The priest of [643]
Pulotu Katoa was always appointed by the Tui Tonga, and presumably some
other priests were too, although it is not unlikely that many were appointed
by the chiefs of the families or lineages for whom they officiated. The priests
of Tonga did not form an association or brotherhood, as each seems to
have worked independently of his colleagues. This state of affairs is attested [797]
by the absence of organized resistance to Christianity. The Tui 643
Tonga was declared emphatically by all informants, including Rose Fatafehi, 793
son's daughter of the Tui Tonga Laufilitonga, not to be a priest, in
spite of the statement of certain early writers to the effect that he was the
high priest of Tonga. My informants pointed out that the Tui Tonga did
appoint priests to represent the gods and especially the priests of Pulotu
Katoa, but that he himself was no priest.

Though the informant Tamale thought that the term *toumama* applied 793
only to priestesses and that *taula* applied to priests, there seem to be no data 124
to substantiate his opinion. Another informant said that the stem *mama*
refers to the will of the god. This same informant gave another term for
priest, namely, *fakahaeleanga.* No other informant, however, gave this term
and it may be therefore another rare synonym for *taula otua.* Ana Manu of
Haapai gave the term *fakafofonga* (representative) for priestess.

Each lineage seems to have had a deity with a presiding priest who had 778
in charge the *fakafaanga* or precious and sacred possessions of its god. [793]
Part of the *fakafaanga* were fine mats which constituted a form of wealth. [613]
One mat in particular was kept folded and on the occasion of the appearance
of the god was spread out for him to rest upon. This mat was treated
virtually as a shrine. It might not be disposed of under pain of death at [688]

Kama, who was residing in Maufanga in 1921. Kama said also that there 778
were no carved images within the sanctuary, and that no god other than Tui [776]
Haa Fakafanua presided there.

When Vahai's army came to Maufanga (about 1800), all the people had fled to 778
the bush, leaving one cat, which Vahai took. He burnt the houses and the temple 669
and the sanctuary of the god Tui Haa Fakafanua. Later when the chief Fakafanua [797]
refused to become a Christian, Taufaahau also burned Maufanga, including temple
and sanctuary. Fakafanua had removed his people to Pea, as he thought he could not [722]
withstand Taufaahau at Maufanga. He removed all in a double vessel (*kalia*) to Pea
at the suggestion of the chief Lavaka of Pea. This was presumably on the occasion
of the siege of Pea in 1852.

Another famous sanctuary, with which is connected a remarkable story 778
of devotion (p. 300), was that of the god Taufaitahi in Tatakamotonga. Other sanctuaries of less importance but still worthy of mention were situated on the island of Ofu, Vavau, at Makave, at Feletoa, and at Tofoa, all in Vavau. The sanctuary at Makave bore the high sounding name Tongamopulotu (Tonga and Pulotu). All of these Vavau sanctuaries had surrounding fences and each had within it the house of the presiding deity and priest.

SACRED ANIMALS

Of the various sacred animals of the Tongan deities, only one, the flying 778
fox, seems still to maintain a certain degree of sanctity, and in only one 825
specific locality, the village of Kolovai, in the Hihifo district of Tongatabu. 776
They are regarded as connected with the chief Ata rather than with the whole Haa Ngata Motua. Ata stated to me that the flying foxes and the flying fox god Pekapekaatama were not always connected with the Ata chieftainship, but that they were formerly sacred to the matapule Ula. They were transferred to Ata in the time of the great-grandfather of the present Ata. Ata thinks this transfer took place after Christianity had been established and was made "just for fun." Collocott, however, thinks that the transfer had been made in pre-Christian times.

Collocott (9, p. 230) gives a brief account of the flying fox god. The [604]
chief Ata may not shoot the flying foxes, but Tungi and Albert Tupou, who are *fahu* to Kolovai may do so if they wish.

At this time it is difficult to say to what extent similar tapus for other sacred animals were observed in antiquity. A shellfish called *fuhu* was said also to be sacred to Ata, being at times the incarnation of a god, whose name I did not learn.

Other sacred animals of importance were the white tern sacred to Aloalo, the gecko sacred to Tui Haa Fakafanua, the shark sacred to Taufa, the octopus sacred to Haele Feke, the dog sacred to Pulotu Katoa, the fruit dove sacred to Kafoiaatu, and the herons sacred to Sisi and Faingaa.

> Ofa went to Tongatabu, where he lived at or near the residence of the Tui Tonga. A child was born to the Tui Tonga by one of his concubines. After a time the Tui Tonga sailed to Haapai and left the mother and child in the care of Ofa. But Ofa and the woman became too fond, and when the Tui Tonga returned from Haapai, he found the child ill. Recourse was had to spinning a coconut to discover by whose fault the child was sick, and the lot fell on the Tui Tonga and the concubine. On again spinning the coconut between these two, the concubine was indicated. She admitted her intimacy with Ofa. The child recovered and the Tui Tonga said to name him Takeleveka, after Ofa's father. This child, though the son of a Tui Tonga, was adopted as the son of Ofa. 787 [837] [763]

Another good example of divination by coconut spinning is given on page 298.

In the account of Peter Vi (3) concerning the introduction of Christianity into Haapai, the following example of divination is mentioned, as presaging the favorable or unfavorable reception of Christianity by the Haapai chiefs. Peter Vi was proceeding from Tongatabu to Lifuka Island, [797] about 1830, to give Christian instruction and was doing so at the wish of Taufaahau, the Tui Haapai, who later became King George I. "And we cast lots. If we arrived at Haafeva and Haveahikuleo [Tuuhetoka] was sitting with torn mats around his loins as a sign of mourning, we were to know that the chiefs of Haapai were very angry. And when we arrived we saw that Tuuhetoka had mourning mats on."

The following account was furnished by Mr. W. H. Murley:

> In July 1909 a small boy was sitting by himself in a house in Futu in Niuafoou [Futu had been demolished by a hurricane in April, 1909] and a man whom he had not previously seen entered and asked the small youth if he knew the reason of the frequent earthquakes. The boy replied that he did not, that he was yet young and without learning. The man answered, "Then you will know, for in the month of September your people will not be able to sit down to eat, for something dreadful will occur." With that the man turned to go and the boy saw with startled eyes that the man had wings. He walked a little, then lifted himself and flew out of sight. The boy has been most strictly cross-questioned but he still sticks to his original story. As a consequence people are leaving Niuafoou whenever the opportunity occurs. [731]
>
> The island in the middle of the lake has been split in halves through earthquakes. I will leave this space open so that should anything of importance occur in confirmation of the boy's vision or whatever it might be, I will write it down.
>
> In September 1912 volcanoes burst out in Futu in all directions and the aspect in that part has been changed. Nobody was killed and the eruption lasted only a week or so.

OMENS

Many omens require no priest nor diviner for interpretation at the present day, though anciently the priests and diviners may have been consulted about them. The omens include sneezing, the movements of animals, and certain meteorological and celestial phenomena.

THE ADVENT OF CHRISTIANITY

797 [622] Thomson (54, pp. 200-203) has well portrayed the situation in Tonga during the period of the conversion to Christianity. As he points out, resistance to the spread of Christianity came not from the heathen priests but from the chiefs, who apparently realized that Christianity struck at the root of their time-honored privileges.

[128] I shall not attempt to trace the spread of Christianity but shall merely refer to certain interesting incidents in connection with its introduction—incidents which to some extent reflect the religious attitude of the Tongans.

771 As far back as the fifteenth century there is traditional record of skepticism as to the power of the gods. I refer to the tradition concerning the Tui Tonga Kauulufonua I, who cried, "The gods are fools!" when he was wounded in battle. Mariner dwells upon the skepticism and irreligion of his patron Ulukalala II, who even went so far as to order the priest of his god strangled, but who was prevented from having the execution carried out by his own sudden death, an event which no doubt restored the prestige of the gods in the minds of many Tongans.

776 787 797 Stories are current that certain of the old gods gave oracles concerning the advent of Christianity and the destruction of the old order. At Pea, Tongatabu, it is related that the house of one god miraculously disappeared overnight, because the deity was provoked over the coming of the new religion.

797 798 669 [727] The narrative of Peter Vi (3) refers particularly to the part taken by Taufaahau (afterwards King George I) in the destruction of the heathen places of worship. That he was actuated entirely by Christian motives seems unlikely. In any event, murders and wholesale slaughters of the heathen were indulged in in the name of Christianity. The fortresses of Ngeleia and Hule were captured and their inhabitants slaughtered (pp. 215, 216). The events related below refer to the period just before and just after 1830. Taufaahau was then the Tui Haapai. He had not yet succeeded to the rule of Vavau, or to the rule of Tongatabu. About 1829 the following event took place:

> It was said that Taufa, the Tui Nomuka, was coming to Malupo (of Uiha Island) to get reeds for making spears for Tuita and Lolohea. Taufaahau was to be held while they killed the Christians. Taufaahau was informed of this on the day of the feast of the gods called Tautaulotufonua. The feast was held at the gates of the fortress and boxing and wrestling games, etc., were held. [The killing of the Christians was prevented.]
>
> There were many priests and god houses at Haapai, and Taufaahau said to Peter Vi and some others, "Let us go to the priestess of the god house at Holopeka." When we arrived there we found that she had gone to Faleloa. As we went along the road the king rooted up a big banana plant and carried it along. Peter Vi asked: "What is that for?"
>
> Taufaahau replied, "Something to hit the god with."

[ca. 1830]

And Peter Vi said, "It might kill her; then we will have a bad reputation." Then 797
the king cut the head off the banana plant and we went on to the place. The priestess 798
was frightened, as though she had her suspicions. 669

Taufaahau said to her, "Don't let this scented flower cause the lad (god) pain." The old woman came near and began to shake and get very red. We had arranged to cut a big banana leaf for making the drinking cup, so that the old woman should have a long drink and bend her head far back. When the banana leaf cup was nearly empty, the king was to give her a big blow. It was done while she had her head turned back to empty the cup. The blow landed on her jaw and she fell over dead. The name of the god, and of the priestess also, was Haehaetahi.

Taufaahau persevered in his treatment of the sacred things of the gods at Haapai: the clubs, the kava bowls, and the whales' teeth. The god houses that would burn were burnt, and the things that could be cut were cut, and the things that could be smashed were smashed.

Taufaahau said one day to Peter Vi, "Come and we will go for a walk in the 797
country." We went, and there were standing the sea gods called Tuutuumata, Kahi- 798
tanga, Sausau, and Hafuli. There were many gods and we covered them up and took them to Velata [in Lifuka Island], where a sugar-cane grew, on which was hanging a sea god. Taufaahau brought it and made fire of that which was hanging on the sugar-cane stick and into the flames he put the gods which he had brought. Then we left and went to Pangai [in Lifuka Island], and went to the seashore to have a bath, and there were some sticks for making houses lying there in the sea, and we undid them and swam with them to the ocean. Then he called all the names of the ferocious and mischievous gods of the sea and he sang a chant with their names: "Oh, Taufaitahi (Sea-squall)! Oh, Filimamo-haehaetahi (Fish-that-tears-or-cuts-the-sea)!" He kept repeating the call. And he got tired of calling the sharks (these are names given to the shark-god) which were very ferocious at this place.

One day we went to Haano and the vessel was sailing along, when suddenly a big shark came near in the part of the sea called Olovaha. Taufaahau raised his iron spear and said, "If it is the god Taufaitahi then the spear will not hit him, and if it is only a shark then we will get him." He threw the spear and missed. Then he came and threw Paul Tapu into the sea, also Peter Vi. We swam then to Fakakakai to bring his spear, but the vessel had gone on to Haano. We got a girdle of banana leaves to put on, then we went to Haa Ngana, and met Taufaahau who was returning from the kava ring as we got there. He laughed and said, "I thought that the sea god had eaten you."

After the entertainment at Haapai, Taufaahau [of Haapai] and Ulukalala [of Vavau] arranged that they should each build a boat for a race, and in the year 1831 Taufaahau sailed to Vavau and a fleet of fourteen vessels went with him, and Peter Vi went and took with him a letter from the missionary. The fleet anchored first at Falevai and service was held there. The sabbath was spent there and then we sailed for Koloa and anchored and that was the day that the entertainment of the races was held. I went in the evening to Ulukalala with a present and a letter from the missionary and I read the letter to him. A woman entered whose name was Tukuau, and she gave a great shout at the door, saying: "It is lies, O King." Ulukalala gave me a piece of native cloth, and I departed.

After I had given Ulukalala my advice about becoming a Christian, his face was still smiling, as though he was in a good temper. When Palepau came, Ulukalala said to him, "Why, it is laughable what this man says. He says that the gods whom we serve are not real."

I thought that the matapule would be angry. But he said to Ulukalala, "Who is that man?" and he replied,

"It is Peter Vi," and he asked:

"And what do you think? Has there ever been any wisdom in our land that has been received from the priests of the gods? No, because whoever was a fool went

[ca. 1830]

> and became a priest of the gods." Just then a report was brought that Fakailoatonga 797
> was dying, and I still gave Ulukalala advice. 798
>
> When it was afternoon I told him, "I will go now to the sea, while you get ready your night dance," and he replied,
>
> "All right."
>
> And that night while the dance was being held Fakailoatonga died, and his body was taken to Makave. The next morning Taufaahau called me: "Come Peter, and we will go to the chief's funeral at Makave." And we went. After the funeral of the chief we went to plait baskets for carrying the sand to the grave.

The Vavauans embraced Christianity with great fervor. In 1835, there 797
was an outburst at Haakoka, Vavau; the people, becoming frenzied with 786
religious fervor, ran amuck. Many persons were killed. 579

Undoubtedly the Tongans of to-day are among the most devout of Chris- 795
tians, having accepted Christianity with a very full faith. The following 771
quotation from a manuscript by Mrs. Rachel Tonga, a devout Methodist, is typical of the faith which they hold. After describing the ancient belief as to the Water of Life called Vaiola, Mrs. Tonga proceeds: "But it is all nonsense. The only healing water is the blood of Jesus. Whoever believes in him will be healed. Whatever may be our sins, if we believe in his blood we will become healed."

HISTORICAL CONCLUSION

In this conclusion no attempt is made to summarize the contents of this 175
work. The probable periods of Tongan history are set forth below in 105
tabular form. It seems to me that four periods are distinguishable. The first is a pre-dynastic period before the coming to the throne of the dynasty of Tui Tonga, which terminated in 1865. The second period, which I have called the classic period, for during this period Tongan culture developed distinctive features, is further characterized by the expansion of the Tongan dominions. The third period is one marked by the decline and disintegration of the Tui Tonga's power. The fourth period is one of renaissance and European acculturation, with the Tui Kanokupolu supreme. The earlier dates given in the tabulation are only approximate.

I. Predynastic Period (before 950 A. D.; possibly beginning about 500 A. D.).
  - Shell heaps probably the only cultural remains, though these continue to be formed down to our day.
  - No legends that can be definitely connected.
  - Shadowy reference to displacement of early rulers by Ahoeitu about 950 A. D.

II. Classic Period (950-1450).
  - Tui Tonga I (Ahoeitu)—23 (Takalaua).
  - Ahoeitu (1): Of divine origin.
  - Tuitatui (11): Fijian and Samoan contacts prominent.
  - Takalaua (23): Assassinated about 1450.
  - Achievements of period: (a) Subjugation of Samoa, etc.; colonies probably established in Ellice, Tikopia, etc. (b) Development, or appearance, of great terraced stone tombs. (c) Trilithon erected.

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

121 gate the origin of the people, or how far they may be related to other nations of the same immense ocean. In regard to the philologist, it will help his inquiries into the theory of human language generally; and in respect of the metaphysician, he will not be displeased if we offer to his notice the structure of a language which has advanced in its progress up to the present time, among a people who have no conception of any method of noting down their ideas, and yet pride themselves upon the uniform accuracy with which they speak and pronounce their language. There is, moreover, another class of readers, who will by no means regret that this subject has been thus far investigated; I mean those who take a laudable pleasure in looking forward to the civilization and religious instruction of savage nations, to effect which in the most rational manner is certainly to speak to them in their own language*;—and to

[797] * The king and several other chiefs at the Tonga islands appeared quite surprised when Mr. Mariner informed them

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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construct a dictionary and grammar of it, [121] and teach them to read it, is to do more for them than themselves could effect in many centuries. Lastly, I must beg leave to observe that it is not every European, whom accident or design may station in those islands for a few years, that can learn their language with accuracy; for the idiom is so different from our civilized and more artificial forms of speech, that it must be chiefly young persons, with minds very susceptible of the impressions of spoken language, and of the gestures accompanying it, that can readily accomplish this object without the assistance of an interpreter:—and as Mr. Mariner had acquired this under circumstances peculiarly favourable, it appeared to me paramount to a duty to use those means that lay in my power to prevent all that he had learnt in this respect from sinking for ever into oblivion.

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that the object of the missionaries had been to instruct them [121] in the religion of the white people: they had thought that [197] the latter came to live among them merely from choice, as liking the climate better than their own.

727 arrive, and learning from them the fate of the
829 Port au Prince, take an ample revenge for the injury done their countrymen: but Finow, fortunately, was not of this opinion; he conceived that white people were of too generous and forgiving a temper to take revenge, and therefore declined doing them any farther mischief. He had probably acquired this favourable idea of us, from observing that Europeans were not accustomed to knock out the brains of those under their command for trifling offences!

177 As Mr. Mariner had in his possession a few
754 printed books and some writing paper, he was
797 often found by Finow either writing or reading:
829 one day the latter desired him to give up all his
727 books and papers; which, when he had done, with the exception of a journal of the voyage, he had the mortification to find that they were ordered to be burnt. On requiring an explanation of this extraordinary conduct, on the part of a man who appeared on other occasions to be so much his friend, he was informed, through the medium of Tooi Tooi, that the king could not, on any account, allow him to practise witchcraft to the injury of the Tonga people; and that it was well known to the king and many others, that those books and papers were instruments and means of invocation, to bring down some evil or plague upon the country. Mr.

Mariner could not very well comprehend Tooi 777
Tooi's interpretation; but when he afterwards 754
understood the language, the king explained to 797
him his opinion of books and papers, and gave 829
his reasons for that opinion, in the following 777
account.

"Some years ago, on the arrival of an Euro- 777
"pean vessel, one of the white men came to
"live among them by choice. This man's 754
"name was Morgan. He lived for a considera- 797
"ble time on terms of great friendship with 829
"the natives, and was much respected by them. "Some time afterwards there came another European vessel," (the Duff, Captain Wilson, with the missionaries,) "and from this ship also "there came several white men, to live by "choice among them. The white men that "came last built a house, in which they used often "to shut themselves up, to sing and perform "ceremonies, (as Finow expressed it). Matters "went on very well for some time: at length a "quarrel ensued between Morgan and the other "white men, at first about an iron pot which he "wanted to borrow of them, and then about "some pigs which they said he had stolen from "them: upon this they informed the chiefs that "this Morgan had been a bad man in his own "country, and was under sentence of banishment for his crimes; but from the full execu-

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

177 " tion of which he had escaped." (He had ac-
754 tually escaped from Botany Bay.) " The people
797 " then began to treat Morgan with every species
829 " of insult, so that his life was very uncomfortable, and often in great danger. Morgan " in his turn told the chiefs who *they* were; viz. " that they were men sent out by the king of " England to bring a pestilence upon the people " of Tonga, and that they accordingly shut " themselves up in this house, to perform witchcraft, and make incantations, which was the " cause of the pestilence that then raged:"
[164] [791] (there was an epidemic disease at the time, which was very fatal among the chiefs, two or three dying every day) " and that all their " books were books of witchcraft. The chiefs " began to take Morgan's statement into serious " consideration; there certainly was a great " mortality among them: the white men often " assembled, and sang very loud; besides which, " they would not let the Tonga people be present; and to prevent them even from peeping " through the crevices of the reed fencing of " the house, they stopt them up with all kinds " of filth, knowing that the cleanliness of the " Tonga people would not then allow them even " to approach. And the chiefs said to themselves, if these people are doing no harm, why " do not they allow us to be present? we do

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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" not conceal our ceremonies from them, why 177
" do not they expose theirs to us? In the mean 754
" while Morgan said to the chiefs, 'You see the 797
" 'effect of their incantations; several of you 829
" 'are dying every day; by and by you will be
" 'all cut off, and the king of England will take
" 'possession of your islands; for although you
" 'have the remedy in your power, you will not
" 'make use of it.'—The chiefs took the alarm [721]
" in time; they rushed upon the white men, [727]
" and killed all but three*, who were at that
" time under the protection of Veachi;" a
great chief, hereafter to be noticed.

Such was the cause of the fate of the mission- 727
aries, as related by the king to Mr. Mariner, 797
who often afterwards heard the same relation
from other chiefs. He inquired what became 727
of the three that were under the protection of
Veachi, and learnt that they were killed during 669
a civil war: they might indeed have made their 797
escape, along with some natives who invited
them into a canoe, which was going to another
island, but they chose to remain; urging for
their reason that they had not quarrelled with
any of the Tonga people, and that consequently
they should not be hurt; the others informed
them, however, that it was the Tonga custom

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[*] From the "Transactions of the Missionary Society," it appears that only three were killed.

727 not only to kill an enemy, but also all his friends
669 and relations, if possible: the three missionaries then replied that as they had done no
797 harm, and meant no harm, their God would protect them: at this moment, a party of natives, who were lying in wait in a neighbouring thicket, rushed out and killed them with their spears. The natives in the canoe pushed off from the shore, and made their escape.—How necessary it is to know the customs of the country! how baneful it is to be presumptuous! Our best intentions may be ruined by the ignorance of the one, and influence of the other.

But to return from this digression; Mr. Ma-
727 riner, and his companions, ignorant of the lan-
574 guage of the country, and of the customs of the people, were often much distressed for want of food: sometimes indeed it was brought to them, but often not; sometimes they were invited by the natives to walk into their houses and eat with them; but frequently they seemed to be quite neglected, and were reduced to the necessity of procuring what they wanted by stealth.
[829] At length, through Tooi Tooi's interpretation, Mr. Mariner made known their wants to the king, upon which the latter seemed greatly surprised at their apparent stupidity; and inquired how food was obtained in England: and when he heard that every man procured the necessary

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

to have been shame at the participation of some of the Haa Ngata chiefs 643 in the murder of Tukuaho—Finau himself belonged to a junior branch of this line. The chief whose claim to this kingship was strongest was Tupou [613] Malohi, who, in spite of his name—Strong or Mighty Tupou—Mariner says humbled himself before Finau, and besought the grace of being allowed to live quietly in Haapai (28, vol. 1, pp. 283-287). Tupou Malohi, and after him Tupou Toa, are both included in the list of the Tui Kanokupolu; but during the first quarter of the nineteenth century there were chiefs in Tongatabu who actually wielded a greater power at times than the titular king. With the installation of Aleamotua, in 1827, this period of anarchy may be said to have come to an end; though the mutterings of the storm did not immediately die down. Aleamotua's reign saw the spread of [197] Christianity throughout the group, and the rise of Tupou Toa's son Taufaahau, who was destined to establish a peaceful and effective government from end to end of the group, absorbing into himself the prerogatives of both the Tui Kanokupolu and Tui Tonga. The kingship has continued in Taufaahau's family in peaceful and orderly succession.

The text of the following poem was printed by Moulton (30). There is 127 also extant a shorter poem, identical in large part with this but showing some considerable differences.

POEM OF TEUKAVA[1]

539
669

Tangaloa, arise Maui,[2]
Harken his chain of stranger lands,
All this land of Tonga, yea all,
The assembly that is held at Foui,[3]
At Nukumaanu and Vakatofusi,
With Kaumatule and Pauli,[4]
For good is the course they kept
On the day when 'twas hard to steer.
The king's chiefs were vexed at heart[5]
For the part taken by the blind king,
Because of your hand that was shaken,[6]
And wavering stands [the land] in this lordship;
And Inasiulu went and sought—[7]
This is his name from abroad—
Slept in blood, completed, and overthrown.[8]
Tell Telasili at Tupou,[9]
Naeata and Vakaisanini.
A throng has gathered in this great road,
Majesty is in the lower chiefly road,[10]
And my thought was that unrest would be stilled,[11]
Ay, these evil folk be stilled;
But lo, they are filled with wrath,
Aroused, forsooth, by their foes,
My wrath, too, is aroused;[12]
Cease ye to hope.
It is as *lafo* pieces in close rivalry,[13]
That stands ahead, throw, unchanged.
But harken, O youths, to me,
And the sooth-sayer shall speak;
Stretch the sail and steer through the storm,[14]
The two hulls are loosened and she sails with difficulty.[15]
Be contented chief of Haakili[16]
In the victory that has been given,
Whilst this place has become desolate.
Earthquake and shaking of this Tonga,
And this land sits and makes conjectures
Whether it is a portent of voyage or sickness,[17]
Or a portent of Ula from this west,[18]
Or of folk who have remembered
The appearance from the wood of Pangai[19]
Of the flock who sat on the perch,
Tufaka and Langoia i Pangai,
Mataele who stayed to eat,
Piukana and Toloakaiasi.
Tonga here has been scattered abroad;

in, and for the care and convenience of the huntsmen. Provisionally, but with little confidence I have translated as though buildings of this sort are referred to. The word *ka* is frequently used, as here, between noun and adjective, indicating that the quality referred to by the adjective is possessed in a high degree. 539 823 [343]

6. Literally, "Ka ta naka heu elito'i hea" means "We shall handle [for] snaring [of] *elitoi hea.*" There seems no special reason for mentioning the wood *elitoi hea* except that it was frequently used for making the frame of the pigeon net. *Naka* is properly the handle of the net, but here the word is used verbally, and means "we [shall use as a] handle." The net was fixed between two long poles, hinged like a pair of scissors, with forks on the lower ends (*muniao*) to rest on the thigh, and was closed when the birds entered by pressing the handles together. The *naka* is the part between the hinge and the *muniao*, and was of considerable length. The man who wielded the net was covered with leaves, and sat in a tree on a convenient rest made for that purpose. There is a verse describing the snarer's operations: 539 823 223

Ta ki tu'a 'ae kau-fanga,	Strike outwards the *kaufanga*,
Ta ki loto 'ae kau-vao,	Strike inwards the *kauvao*,
Pea ta omi 'ae muniao,	And press down the *muniao*,
Pea kuku kau-naka.	And grasp the handle.

The *kaufanga* and *kauvao* are the two sides respectively of the frame just where the net hangs. The *naka* was long so that the net projected from the hiding-place, and was turned about in all directions to intercept the flying birds. "Strike outwards, strike inwards," perhaps mean no more than open the net well, one side opening away from the tree, and the other towards it.

7. The word *ahe ia*, sung by the chorus, probably marks a change of key or tune. The rhyme changes at the lines where *ahe ia* appears. 539 823

8. Duck in its flying "Toloa ene puna" is a pun on the name of this surf riding beach. The flying of this duck is the flying spray.

Page 107. A poem of Veehala

1. The author is probably a bard of Hihifo. References to a man-of-war, and to a book, indicate that the poem was composed after the introduction of Christianity, or at any rate after contact with Europeans. It is a complaint that some ill advised action has become magnified in common talk out of all proportion to the real fault. 539

2. The more obvious meaning of this line is that his life is very sweet to him; but it is possible that the meaning is that he has become a choice tit-bit to the gossips, it has been so interpreted by a very competent Tongan.

3. By "talk of death," "mention of death," is meant either that the accusation against him places his life in danger, or, that the report is that he has caused the death of someone. Perhaps both meanings are included.

4. Here is recalled the fact that there is a great chief who will give protection, evidently a chief of Hihifo, and quite possibly the Tui Kanokupolu himself. This is indicated in two metaphors, one of pigeon-snaring, and the other of bonito-fishing. Matamoana is a pigeon mound in Hihifo. The idea is repeated in the metaphor of the Sacred Reef, Hakau Tapu, a fishing ground of the Hihifo chiefs.

5. A double meaning is introduced, both to go early in the morning to a fishing ground and to go to a chief with a presentation (*pongipongi*). The line means that a wise man goes quickly when the propitious time arrives.

6. A sigh for the good old days, before the invasion of the new-fangled book learning and ways. What he had done would have caused little comment in the old "foolish" and "dark" days; it was merely the sort of thing that any old heathen might have done; but now it has become a subject of talk in the assembly (*fono*); or, that it has been talked about as much as if it had been of sufficient importance to be placed before one of these gatherings.

7. "The book left in Hihifo," the Reverend J. Thomas, the pioneer of the effective Christianization of the group, landed in Hihifo in 1826; though Nukualofa, where there were two other missionaries of the Wesleyan Methodist church. Before the Wesleyans came, Hihifo was the center for the ill-fated band of missionaries belonging to the London Missionary Society, who landed in 1797 and who were forced to leave the group soon after the outbreak of war in 1800, leaving three of their men as martyrs. [797]

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
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121 pioneer missionary and explorer, who did much to make known
128 many islands of the Pacific. In the present compilation the
collection of "Idiomatical Phrases" in the Tongan Vocabulary
of the late Dr. Shirley Baker[1] has been included, as well as many
[114] expressions scattered throughout the body of that work. Valuable as Dr. Baker's work is, it is unfortunate that he has printed whole phrases as single words, and without literal translations or explanations. In almost every instance we have been able to separate into their component words and explain these expressions, but there is a small residuum that has not been elucidated by inquiries made among the Tongans of today. Baker's work has been in constant use, and we desire to acknowledge our general indebtedness to it. In the few instances where we have not been able to explain phrases published by him exact quotations have been made.

ORTHOGRAPHY

104 In orthography we have followed what seemed to be the easiest method for European readers. The nasalized *g*, written as *g* in the various Pacific dialects, we have written as *ng*. The pronunciation of course is like that of *ng* in the English word singer, and not like that in finger.

In Tonga itself animated discussion ranges around the letters
[777] *b* and *p*, two symbols which have had an unfortunate history. The
[212] Methodist missionaries, who first regularly reduced the language
to writing, used only *b*. The French Marists, who followed a
few years later, wrote *p*. Subsequently an effort was made by
Dr. Baker to combine the two. It is indubitable that there are
sounds which strike the ear as an English *b*, and others as an
English *p*, and yet others which it is extremely difficult for the
ear to distinguish certainly as the one or the other. But the attempt
to combine the two symbols has only introduced fresh confusion,
as the language does not seem to contain two systematized series of
[194] sounds, the one *b* and the other *p*. The Tongan ear finds the
greatest difficulty in distinguishing an English *b* from an English *p*.

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[113] [1] Baker, Rev. Shirley W., An English and Tongan vocabulary, also a Tongan and English vocabulary. Auckland, N. Z., 1897.

539 21. **Faka-hopo taokave:** Making *taokave* jump.

245 The *taokave* is a kind of coconut which bears small fruits, but carries
524 a large number on the bunch. As the fruits mature the press of so many on the same stalk constantly forces nuts off the bunch. There is a boys'
857 game called *faka-hopo taokave,* which consists in a number of boys lying down side by side all pressing in towards the center. Any boy who gets shoved out of place on to the top of the other must then go to one of the
[578] ends. The expression is used proverbially of a number of people giving someone the cold shoulder, crowding out an individual whom they do not want.

539 22. **Fakatuamelie ki he ete mea oku tau he fuu telie:** Relying
[137] confidently on my thing that is hanging in the *telie* tree (*Terminalia catappa* or *T. litoralis*).

There is an old story about one who used to hang food in a tree for another to get. If the food were good and tasty it was hung in a *telie* tree, but if not very appetizing it was put in a *tavahi* tree *(Rhus taitensis?),* The person for whom these supplies were left always anticipated with confidence that what he got from the *telie* would be first-rate, but never expected anything very good from the *tavahi.* Used generally of relying with full confidence on anybody or anything. (See No. 23.)

23. **Fakatuatamaki ki he ete mea oku tau he fuu tavahi:** Without confidence in my thing that is hanging in the *tavahi* tree.

To expect little good from any person or thing. (See No. 22.)

539 24. **Feji lou-ji:** Breaking off *ji* leaves.
797 This is recent, and is said to owe its being to the missionary's cow.
231 The leaves of the *ji* (*Cordyline terminalis*) are used for cow feed, and a man who wanted to get into the missionary's good graces would recom-
554 mend himself by his readiness to get food for the cow. Used generally of ingratiating services.

539 25. **Fokotuu niu:** Piling up coconuts.

245 Coconuts are very plentiful in Tonga, and large heaps are gathered. Applied to that which is in great quantity.

539 26. **Foui ne fai:** The *foui* tree did it.

461 This is the literal translation following the story told of the origin of the expression. The story is that a man and his wife lived together in a compound fenced all round, but at one spot a *foui* tree growing just outside the boundary leaned over within the compound. The woman often asked her husband to cut this tree down, but he procrastinated until at length a man of irresistible charm climbed up the tree and, thus gaining access to the inside of the compound, successfully paid his addresses to the lady of the house. To her husband's wrath she retorted that his own

187. Pekepeka jio ohuafi: Swift seeing smoke. 539

The swift (*Collocallia spodiopyga*) is attracted by the smoke of fires. 825
The expression is used of a person who is constantly making for the fires 829
of his neighbors, that is, who prepares very little food for himself but when 571
he notices the culinary smoke ascending from some other home invites 574
himself there for dinner. The Tongan is very open-handed, but this chap 431
rather overdoes the giving of opportunity to other people to prove that it [136]
is more blessed to give than to receive. (Compare No. 86.)

188. Pikipiki aho: Wings folded by day. 539

Night birds sit with wings folded during the day. The expression is 825
used of those who don't do much by day but who prowl about at night, 821
very often getting into mischief.

189. Tee pato: Duck excrement. 539

The missionaries were the first to bring the Muscovy duck to Tonga, 825
and people who were specially anxious to appear well in the eyes of the 797
missionaries would not hesitate to assist them by cleaning up the mess made 554
by the ducks. The expression, therefore, is used of one who does all he 157
can to secure the favor of the missionaries.

190. Vea tee peka: Vea flying-fox dung. 539

A man called Vea lived for a long time with a great chief but at 825
last did something for which he was punished. Spoiling one's prosperity 571
or long service by a fault.

FISH

191. Angaanga mo fai: The name of a shark whose head is like 539
that of the *fai*, sting ray, and whose tail is like that of the shark 825 157
called *anga*.

Applied to those of uncertain character, now one thing and then another.

192. Faka-ikeika-lahi: Like a big fish.

Applied to one of a bold resolute deportment.

193. Fakalelei a tukuku: Peace-making of a *tukuku*. 539

The *tukuku* is a small fish (one of the Glyphidodon). This is used 825
derisively of the little chap trying to make things right between those who 571
are bigger, or socially superior, to himself. [136]

194. Fotu ae ulua ngalo ae tukuku: The *ulua* appears, the *tukuku* 539
is forgotten. 226 584

The *ulua* and *tukuku* are two fish, the *tukuku* being small and bony, 564
and the *ulua* large and fleshy. If fishermen are catching the *tukuku* and

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
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539 535 776 787 793 **618. Nofo a mama kae kailao e fakafaanga:** Men doing nothing while the gods dance.

More strictly *fakafaanga* seems to mean the material objects, including priests, in which the gods appeared. The phrase indicates that it is useless for men to let the gods have the entertainment of their dances while they themselves do nothing. Men are unable to share the enjoyment of the denizens of the unseen world, and so they must get to work and make their own fun.

539 535 183 868 **619. Taka i lalo hakanga:** Living below the dancing place, that is, in close proximity to it.

One who lives in a place where dances are constantly learned and performed has exceptional opportunities for becoming proficient. So the expression is used of one who enjoys great facilities for acquiring some art, knowledge, or other benefit, material, mental or spiritual.

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539 183 **620. Afi jii tupu ai e afi lahi:** Small fire, there springs from it the great fire.

A warning of the sort common in so many languages and literatures against the unwisdom of neglecting evil in its small beginnings. It is possible to use it also as an expression of the great good works that spring from humble beginnings.

539 777 **621. Alualu i mala tau ki monu:** Going along in misfortune, reaching good fortune.

797 It is used of one who, after being long involved in ill luck, at length experiences a change of fortune and has prosperity. As a matter of actual present day experience one frequently hears it applied by the natives to their having been so long involved in the darkness of heathenism and having in these latter times come out into the light of Christianity.

823 It is said that *Mala* (Curse, Misfortune), and *Monu* (Blessing, Good Fortune), are two places, and that one who has reached Mala finds it very difficult to return and get to Monu.

622. Alualu i monu tau ki mala: This is the reverse of No. 621.

Going along in good fortune, reaching misfortune, and is used of the change from prosperity to adversity.

539 152 571 695 **623. Fai mai ete meimei tangi:**

We have not succeeded in finding a contemporary Tongan able to explain this. All the words are in common use, and would seem to have some such meaning as "present (a case) almost weeping," as of one making a request with such earnestness that he is on the point of tears; or, taking the word *tangi* in the sense of "appeal, make a request," instead of that of "crying, weeping," we might render as, "I am come with almost a

request," in some uncertainty as to whether to make the request or not. 539
Baker, however, gives the somewhat cryptic forensic phrase, "Generally re- 152
peated; used when two persons report their cases, and the one hearing is 571
alike affected by both." (An English and Tongan Vocabulary, p. 207.) 695

624. Fe-toutou-mo-liliu-aki: "To wander to and fro" (Baker). 539
Constantly changing or going to and fro. 157

Of the different elements of this compound *toutou* is usually employed today as an adverb meaning constantly, repeatedly. Baker gives "alternate" as another meaning, and also has it as a verb, to reciprocate. *Mo* is the conjunction and *liliu* means to change; *fe-* and *-aki* are regularly used as prefix and suffix to make verbs reciprocal or reflexive. The whole word therefore seems to denote a very high degree of instability in opinion or conduct.

625. Hange ha mumu hulu: Like trying to get warm at a fire of 539
dried leaves; a fire that flares up and quickly dies down. 183

Generally of that which makes a great show but is not solid and enduring.

626. Jio kalo jio: Seeing, warning off seeing.

The seeing indicated is that of looking after one's own interests. A [571]
man, in order to get something for himself, goes to a place where he has
no particular right to be and tries to drive off another who is doing the same thing.

627. Maka fetoliaki: Chipping rock with rock. 539

Baker translates the phrase, "To be of one mind; to use freely from 571
each other's stores." To be of mutual benefit. It is explained as meaning literally to chip off a piece from one stone with another and then to take that piece and use it to chip a fragment from a third rock, and so on.
Thus to pass a benefit on from one to another. This was illustrated by the [797]
coming of Christianity, brought by Europeans to Tonga, and taken by Tong-
ans to Samoa and Fiji, and by Fijians to the Solomon Islands. [648]

628. Makaka noa: Hard to no purpose. 539

Noa, here translated "to no purpose" is a very largely used word, and 183
extremely difficult to translate by an exact English equivalent. It is used in 829
all sorts of contexts with such senses as purposeless, valueless, unreliable, being where one has no business to be, acting as one should not. In the phrase above the idea is that of a thing being hard where it should be pliable and soft. The phrase may be applied to that whose conduct is unexpected, not of a piece with the general behavior of the class of things to
which it belongs. For example, the outlandish behavior of the goat has [825]
won this epithet for it. It may be used of one who goes with great vim into some job that is not really his concern.

[For information on Vason's participation in native life, see Category 797.]

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CHAPTER VII. 000

OCCURRENCES AT TONGATABOO, TILL THE DUFF'S RETURN.

Visited by the Principal Chief.—Missionaries land,—Departure of the Duff, and their sensations on that occasion.—The effect of a Cuckoo-clock on the natives.—Death of Moomooe.—Horrid funeral rites.—Election of a new Chief.—Ill conduct of the three Europeans.—Separation of the Missionaries.—Return of the Duff.

THE venerable Moomooe, the principal Chief, or 175
Dugonagaboola of the Island, soon arrived himself, 643
and confirmed the message which Ambler had 797
brought. Our interview with him and the rest of the natives, gave us a very pleasing impression of their disposition and manners.

He made us a friendly offer of a habitation and land, at Aheefo, seventeen miles distant from the place of anchorage, near the residence of Toogahowe, a principal Chief; that we might be under his protection. This Toogahowe was the son of 175
Moomooe, and Nephew of Feenou Toogahowe, 643
who was the friend of Captain Cook, and reigned 634

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175 over Eooa, when that celebrated Navigator landed 643 on this Island. By a course of warlike exploits, in 634 which his power over the other chiefs was confirmed, *he became the Dugonagaboola, or principal chief* of Tongataboo. The extensive district of Aheefo, consisting of the western part of the Island, was immediately under his government, as the Leige Lord; but the two other districts, into which the Island was divided, of Ardeo, and Ahogge, were also subject to his control; and Futtafaihe, the Chief of the former, and Vaharlo, the Chief of the latter, acknowledged him as their superior.

In order to take a speedy possession of the abode, 175 which Moomooe had generously presented to us, 797 I and four or five of the Missionaries entered the canoes, soon after they arrived; and taking with us [609 a stock of useful articles, set off for Aheefo. Many of the natives were in the canoes, who paddled us back, behaved very kindly towards us, and plentifully supplied us with cocoa-nuts, yams, plantains, &c.

It was dark before we reached the place of our destination. The natives went for some persons to assist in conveying our articles to the habitation designed for us; and we had to wait from ten till twelve, before they returned. Our situation, during this time, was by no means pleasant; as we were only five in number, and were therefore afraid that the natives, through desire of our Articles, might be

175 agreeable to the choice they had made before our
122 arrival at Otaheite. After steering round the reef,
he waited for us to come off, to inform him still further,
of the treatment we met with. But at this
time there came on a tremendous gale, which did
not allow us to venture to the ship, and obliged the
Captain to push off from the shores; whence, the
mountainous billows soon tossed the vessel along
the ocean, till we lost sight of her. We watched
her labouring amid the waves, till she sank in the
175 horizon, from our view. A sigh of sadness then
122 arose, and some tears of regret fell from our eyes,
797 whilst we looked round upon this Island, far distant
from the regions of civilized life, as the scene where
we should pass, and end our days. "This," we said,
to each other, "is the ground where our bodies will
moulder to dust. This we must now look upon as
our country, and our grave." But there were ten of
us in company, all social and friendly, all attached
to each other, all of similar sentiment, all at this
time, united in love and zeal for our divine Master,
and all glowing with an earnest desire to convey
the blessing of his inestimable and glorious gospel
to the friendly, but heathen inhabitants around us.

175 Our painful sensations were soon allayed with
797 these considerations, and we turned to our habitation,
endeavouring to address our minds to the
grand concern on which we came; cheered with
the hope that when the ship visited us, in its return

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from the Marquesas, according to orders given be- 175
fore she left England, we should, through the favour 197
of Heaven, have it in our power to present to the
Captain a bright and cheering prospect of future
usefulness and success. We consecrated our habi-
tation, as soon as the natives retired, (two excepted,
who stayed with us as our guard,) with hymns and
praises to our God for all his providential mercies,
and our favourable settlement in the Island: and
then imploring his continued blessing and protec-
tion, committed ourselves to rest, much wearied
with the fatigues of the day. A sound and pleasing 175
slumber soon relieved, and refreshed us all: from 197
which we were not roused, till the arrival of nume- 609
rous visitors, who came to pay us their respects, and 431
indulge their curiosity, awoke us. They all appeared
persons of rank, as none came without considerable
presents of bales of cloth, roasted pigs, bunches of
ripe plantains, or strings of cocoa-nuts. They seemed
to consider it a great honour to be permitted to en-
ter our habitation; and were anxious to receive any
presents from us.

Placed under the protection of a powerful chief,
no one offered to molest us; but all appeared to vie
in paying us honour and attention. So many pre-
sents were at length made us, of beautiful bales of
cloth and mats, that we had not room to deposit
them all. The cloth was by no means so contempti- 175
ble as some Europeans may imagine. It was ad- 287

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175 mirable,—made as is shown in another part of this
281 work, out of the inner bark of trees, moulded, battered, and spread into a fine stout cloth, which, fringed with white, forms a very becoming and ele-
175 gant dress. The mats were very curiously wrought
285 with a tasty intertexture of different coloured threads: some mats were so closely knitted together, that when laid on the floor, they were a sure defence from insects, as they were impenetrable to them: and the insects crept under them, in the same manner as under a floor-cloth, or a board.

In return, we made the natives as many presents
175 as our stock of articles afforded; but especially to
197 the old chief, who was our protector. We always conducted ourselves towards our visitors with the utmost cheerfulness; and in every thing that appeared to excite their curiosity, we were most assi-
175 duous to gratify them with information. We soon fixed up a cuckoo-clock. This was viewed with
197 great surprise, before it was put in motion. Pre-
177 sently, we set it a going; when, out came the cuckoo, and sounded, as the pendulum moved, "cuckoo cuckoo." They were filled with amazement, and for a time could not take their eyes off; till at last, they looked at each other with dumb surprise, and withdrew, without noticing or speaking to us, in perfect astonishment. The news of this surprising phenomenon, soon spread all over the Island. They reported we had got Accoulair, i. e. "wood

that speaks." Every one who saw it, went and told 175
his neighbour "Nago* mamattai accoulair." i. e. I 797
saw the wood speak." The numerous visitors that 177
it attracted to our habitation, wholly employed us
from early in the morning till late in the evening.
We were obliged therefore to rise at a very early 175
hour, to unite in our morning devotions before they 797
came to interrupt us. Our visitors, at length, so 609
multiplied, that we were obliged to refuse admittance to many. Every chief came with a large train of attendants; but as they were habited like the rest, we were obliged to behave with attention to all, lest we should, perchance, not distinguish a chief, and so give offence.

Amongst our visitors was Duatonga, or Futtafaihe, 175
who, next to Dugonagaboola, was the most power- 643
ful chief in the Island. He was son of Poulaho, a descendant of those, who were supposed originally to have descended from the sky. When Captain Cook was at Tongataboo, this native was eleven years of age. After the death of his Father, which happened when he was too young to have any share in the government, his Mother lost the sovereignty.

Toogahowe, or Dugonagaboola, who was a great

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*Nago is a kind of affix in their language, used very frequently at the beginning of sentences, like now, so, well, &c. in our tongue, in conversation.

175 warrior, wrested it from her, and then invested his
643 Father Moomooe with it, who was the reigning
chief, when we landed.

Duatonga was particularly delighted with the
175 cuckoo-clock, and wished to have one. As we
643 had several, we were glad of this opportunity of
797 gratifying the second chief in the Island, with so
171 acceptable a present. He took it home. Curiosity prompted him to examine the inside. He succeeded in taking it to pieces; but had not skill to put it together again. We were sent for to mend it; we made the attempt; but unacquainted with the mechanism of the clock, we were equally unsuccessful. This excited great laughter among them, and brought down upon us much ridicule. They were naturally very conceited, and this circumstance much encouraged their vanity; and now they prided themselves in the idea, that they were as skilful and cleaver[1] as we.

175 Soon after this, Moomooe, the reigning chief,
643 died. His disorder and danger excited great concern through the Island, and one of his own sons
[782] was slain, through a delusive hope that his health
[763] and strength would be communicated to his dying
Father.

175 But it is beyond the power of description, to paint
766 the dreadful scene of horror and bloodshed, which
took place at his funeral, and continued to be acted
[768] round his tomb, for weeks after. Two of his wives

[1] [Errata: this should read "clever." Cf. errata sheet, cat. 116, p. 235--Analyst]

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tempted to attack us. Their voices also were constantly heard near us. 175 797 But through awe of their chiefs, and fear of our firearms, of which they had some knowledge, they were restrained from robbing us. We guarded our little baggage, till the last of the goods were removed; and then accompanied the porters a mile and a half, to the appointed settlement, which the two Europeans had obtained for us. It was a comfortable dwelling, in a [342] little field, inclosed with reeds neatly interwoven, and fastened to green stakes driven into the ground, which had shot forth suckers and branches, that now were entwined into a verdant fence.

By the sixth day, after the ship had come to an 175 122 anchor, we had conveyed on shore, the principal part of the articles which were then needed, and had met with such a favourable reception from the natives, that already there appeared to us a good prospect of prosperity and peace. The Captain, in the mean time, received and paid visits to the chiefs, carried on a friendly intercourse with the natives, and obtained every requisite confirmation of their friendly dispositions towards us. Finding, therefore, he had little time to spare, as he was bound to China, from whence he was authorised, by the East-India Company, to bring back a cargo of teas, in company with the fleet, he weighed anchor for the Marquesas; whither William Crook and John Harris still retained their determination to proceed,

175 in the post of distinction, had, ever since, strength-
649 ened his power with the chiefs by making them his
[662] companions and friends. No sooner therefore were
they met, in publick assembly, than one stepped
forth from the circle, and proclaimed, "Do bou
Toogahowe Dugonagaboola fy talliaba gee ma too-
lou." i. e. Toogahowe shall be the chief, and we
will do as we please; upon which he was unani-
mously elected, as none dare[1] to oppose him.

Futtafaihe had entertained the hope of regaining, by the vote of this general assembly, the family authority, which his Mother had lost: but as Toogahowe was elected the Dugonagaboola, by the voice of the chiefs, he thought it best quietly to acquiesce in their decision.

175 We soon became intimate with many of the
797 chiefs; and in separate parties, often joined them
in distant excursions, and were treated with the
177 best of every thing which the Island afforded.

175 From our own countrymen, we met with our
797 greatest troubles, at this time. No sooner had the
ship left the shores, than the two Europeans before
563 mentioned, joined by a third, named Morgan, whom
we likewise met with on the Island, began to disturb and harrass us.

Our conduct, so different from their abandoned habits, excited their enmity: and their eagerness for our articles, soon compelled them to show it. Out of kindness to them, as our countrymen, how-

[1] [Errata: this should read "dared." Cf. errata sheet, cat. 116, p. 235--Analyst]

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ever unworthy in themselves, we had given them various commodities to a considerable amount; till their applications to us became intolerable. We were obliged to refuse them; and then they shewed themselves in their true character. They demanded the goods, as their right! and one day, forcibly entered our habitation, and attempted to seize them. We then stood upon our defence, and repelled force with force. One of them ran up to Kelso, and struck him, the other also made an attempt on one of us; but overpowering them with numbers we soon drove them off the ground: they left us however with dreadful imprecations and threats, that they would inflame the natives against us, and that not one of us should be left alive by morning. Could they have influenced the natives, I have no doubt they would have murdered us all. They attempted it with all their might, but a gracious, vigilant Providence frustrated their evil designs. Indeed, their bad conduct had rendered them too unpopular, to have much sway with the natives; and at length, it provoked them to inflict upon them that death, in which they wished to have involved us.

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Their conduct and menaces, however, alarmed us; and for this reason, and on account of the small progress which we had made in the knowledge of the language, by living together, separate from the natives, we came to a determination to part, and to take up our abode, in little parties, with different

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175 chiefs: with some of whom, all of us were become
799 intimately acquainted, from our many visits and ex-
[563] cursions among them.

Upon this point, a deputation was sent to consult our old chief Toogahowe, who was now Dugonagaboola, under whose protection we lived, who was of chief authority in the Island. The plan receiving his approbation, we took leave of each other. Two went to live with Vahargee, at Ardeo, one with Moolee, in the district of Ahogge; an inferior chief, but an industrious man, and possessed of a considerable tract of fertile land. I went alone to live with one Mulkaamair, the first chief in the Island, next to Dugonagaboola. Two went to live with Duatonga, at Mooa, and three remained at Aheefo.

Two or three months had now elapsed since the ship left us. During my stay with Mulkaamair previous to the ship's return, I went once to visit the brethren. This I found of considerable use to revive and strengthen my religious principles, and to fortify me against those temptations with which I was daily surrounded, and enticed. It would have been well, had I more frequently assembled with them.

Every means of grace was now of great importance. I was going, the second time, to pay them a visit, for which purpose I set off in a small canoe
[177] for Aheefo, to wash my clothes. But, just as I was

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leaving Mooa, and coming down the channel by 175
Noogoo, I discovered a ship in full sail, at a distance. 797
I concluded it to be the Duff, and immediately 177
stood forward to meet her, and followed her to the place of anchorage. The Captain was rejoiced to see me. I immediately dispatched a messenger to the rest of the brethren, to hasten them to the vessel. It was not long before several were on board; but some, from their distance, did not arrive till the next day. Our meeting was joyful indeed. The [563]
Captain was pleased with the relation which we gave him of our treatment amongst the natives; but our account of Ambler and Conelly determined him to take them, if possible, and carry them prisoners to England, to answer for their illegal attempts on their own countrymen, at a bar where distance from the seat of justice, would be found no excuse for the transgression of her laws, and the lapse of time would not be allowed to diminish its enormity.

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to the Marquesa's, was so terrified and disgusted by 000
the indecent behaviour of the natives towards him, that instead of staying to civilize and improve them with the light of christianity, he deserted his post and fled to the sea shore, where he was taken up by the vessel; leaving poor young Crook to attempt, alone, the arduous work of evangelizing these benighted heathens. Crook, however, whom they afterwards saw, did not wish to return with him to Otaheite, but with apostolic firmness determined to remain, though by himself.

As the Captain had given orders to seize the Europeans, who had showed us all the ill usage in their power, and had attempted our destruction, we proceeded to the habitation of Conelly, and seized him, and brought him prisoner to the Duff. But Ambler and Morgan hearing of our intention, made their escape, and eluded our search. 175 563

We now proceeded to a division of the property, which the Missionary Society had sent in the vessel. Their liberality much exceeded our expectation. We found abundance of hardware, wickerwork, metal, earthenware, prints for thin trowsers, jackets, &c. and books. We conveyed our respective portion of each article to our different residences, which much ingratiated us with our chiefs, who considered all as their own, because we were their inmates. I presented all my stock to my chief, but with a royal generosity, he refused to ac- 175 797

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175 cept of any thing; telling me he did not want
797 my property, but me.

One day, Ambler and Morgan, who had heard
175 of our endeavour to take them, entered my habitation,
797 armed, with an evident design of revenging themselves
by murdering me. I expected that in-
563 stant to be speared. But providentially there was a chief with me, who they knew had a great regard for me: they departed therefore without molesting me. I learned whither they had retired, and immediately went to the vessel; and Mr. Faulkner the third officer, myself and some others proceeded directly, well armed, to their retreat. We had searched several spots without success, till night came on. At length I advanced from the field by myself, before the rest, up a narrow lane; and meeting with some of the natives, I inquired of them if they had seen Ambler. They replied by seizing me, and held me immoveable by my arms behind. I could easily have shot one of them with a pistol, which I held ready loaded in my hand; but knowing that my own death would have instantly followed, I forbore to touch the trigger. They dragged me forward, along the lane, and threw me on my back. Whilst two or three held me, another raised his club to strike me on the head. I despaired of escape, and expected the suspended club would finish my life. But, that instant, the moon emerged from under a cloud; and shining full in my face, as I lay

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upon my back, discovered who I was. The natives immediately dropped their clubs, awed by reverence for the chief, with whom I resided, as they well knew I was a great favourite with him.

Just then Mr. Faulkner and his party, alarmed by my outcries, came up, and fired upon my assailants, but missed them. They fled, but followed us afterwards for some time, as we retired to the boat. I did not enter the boat with them, but returned to my chief. I was surprised, when I arrived at his habitation, to find the doors of the inclosure secured: and was obliged to stay some time in the publick road. At length, roused by fear of pursuers, I succeeded in forcing the entrance. I was more alarmed, when I entered, to perceive the natives all under arms. As I approached, they pointed their spears at me. I inquired for the old chief: they sent for him, but told me in the mean time that they were informed by Ambler and Morgan, that it was our intention to kill them, and seize the Island.

These men had succeeded in exciting the indignation of the natives against us by this malignant calumny. They took every step to lessen us in their esteem, and to exalt themselves. They gave it out, that they were persons of the greatest consequence, that one was the king's son, the other a duke, or great chief; but that we were only of the lower class, and servants to them in our own country.

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175 By this time, old Mulkaamair arrived, and re-
797 ceived me with as much joy as ever. I convinced
him that we intended them no injury, but every thing
563 that was good; and that it was only the two turbulent
Europeans that we wished to take. I informed him
too of our danger, and the loss of my pistol, which
was wrested from my hands when I was seized.
He promised I should have it again, and sent for it.
Having used every means to take the Europeans,
without effect, we gained over the chiefs to our side,
and agreed that they should continue on the Island.

175 The Captain, finding he must not delay his re-
797 turn, made preparations to depart. We wrote many
letters to our friends in England, which when the
177 Captain had received, he affectionately bade us fare-
well; assuring us that he thought himself bound, as
far as it lay in his power, to see that the solemn en-
gagement, by which the directors of the mission
had pledged themselves to us, should be accom-
plished; which was, that "sooner than neglect us,
they would suffer every evil and inconvenience
themselves." We took an affectionate leave of our
beloved and pious Captain. I felt more affected
175 at parting with him than I ever did before. When
797 we returned to the shore we retired to our respec-
tive dwellings; and, as we had much property, en-
deavoured still more to engage and confirm the
friendship of our chiefs, by making them large and
frequent presents. Indeed this was necessary to our
safety.

Ambler also and Morgan, though they never were 175
reconciled to us, yet came to us in a mild manner, 797
and were glad to pretend a reconciliation with us, 563
in order to get some of our articles. We enriched them with presents of considerable value; for trifling articles amount to great possessions in Tongataboo; yet they did not desist from their endeavours to prejudice the natives against us, by every possible unjust insinuation. But the Chiefs would not listen 175
to them. Some of them, however, became suspici- 797
ous of us; and in an assembly gave it as their opinion 563
that we should not be suffered to remain there. But 565
Mulkaamair, my friend and chief, made them the following answer. "If the men of the sky, discovered by any attempts of violence, or secret "whisperings, that they meant to take our land, and "kill us, we ought all to strike hands, and root them "out from among us; but they have brought great "riches, they have given them to us freely, we reap "the good fruits of their living among us, their articles are of great use to us, they behave themselves well; and what could we wish for more?"

This satisfied the objectors; and we gradually 175
increased in the esteem of the natives. Old Mulka- 797
amair was, indeed, an unalterable friend to us all; 565
when he saw any of us coming to his habitation, he would lift up his hands and clap them with joy, and take us by the hand, and say, "Noofou ge lala, ge tou tellanooa," i. e. "Sit down, let us have some

195 talk with you;" and then he would make us sit by
797 him, and treat us in the most hospitable and gene-
565 rous manner, as long as we chose to stay.

We thought it safest to have no correspondence
175 with Ambler and Morgan; and, indeed, there was
563 soon no need to court their favour, or fear their displeasure; for they speedily lost the esteem of the natives. Whatever pretensions they made of being dukes or princes, the natives had sense enough to conclude, that if they were really men of rank, they would have received presents from their country, as well as ourselves. But, as they had none to bestow, they were treated with little respect; and at length, their bad conduct obliged the natives to put them to
[687] death. Ambler, at the breaking out of a civil war, which will be related in its place, had spoken very disrespectfully of a neighbouring chief: for which, and for his endeavours to excite disturbances in the
[684] Island, the natives killed him. Morgan came to the Vavou Islands, just before I went to take possession of one of them, and here, for the brutal violation of a chief's daughter, he was put to death.

I had now taken up my residence with Mulka-
175 amair, without any companion to admonish, correct,
797 or assist me. The temptations of my situation, uniting with my natural depravity, now no longer restrained by the presence of others, but fostered by all around, gradually corrupted my soul, and overcame me.

Here, therefore, I am approaching a period of my life, in which I little regarded the pure heavenly design on which I set out, and disgraced my character as a christian. The remembrance of this has caused me bitter remorse, and often fills me, still, with deep contrition, shame, and self abhorrence. But I trust, by the grace of God, I have now truly repented. I hope in the mercy of God through that gracious Redeemer who "came to seek and save the lost," and "call sinners to repentance." I am cheered by the belief that "he is able to save all that come to God by him, seeing he ever liveth to make intercession for them;" and I endeavour, by the aids of his blessed Spirit, which, I daily need, and therefore daily implore, to walk again in the paths of righteousness. 175 797

From the period that I returned to live with Mulkaamair; when the ship left the Island, and I bad adieu to my companions, I had little or no connexion with them. The remainder of this Narrative will, therefore, relate principally to myself, and the circumstances in the Island, in which I took a part, until my merciful escape from it. In this, I shall not disguise my conduct, but declare every thing with that scrupulous attention to truth, without exaggeration or palliation, to which I have endeavoured, uniformly, to adhere, in all that I have related. If the circumstances that perverted me from the paths of righteousness and purity, and the 175 797 121

175 unhappy influence which they had on my mind,
797 should serve as a caution to future missionaries, or
121 deter any from those omissions of duty, and those indulgences of depraved inclination, which lead to declension and destruction, the narration of my disgrace will not be useless nor unprofitable.

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CHAPTER X. 000

The Author's Declension.

Bad influence of heathen customs.—Progress of it.—He joins in their amusements and dress of the natives.—His marriage.—Ill effects of it.

Accustomed to these scenes of pleasure, luxury, 175
and amusement, unrestrained by the presence of my 797
companions, unassisted by any publick means of grace, having singly to stem the torrent of iniquity, it was not long before I felt the pernicious influence of general example. This however was much owing to my own negligence of private duties, and my yielding to the corrupt inclinations of my sinful nature. Indeed, when I look back, I perceive that the unsubdued propensities of my heart, which began to operate before I came to reside with Mulkaamair, were not duly resisted. Instead of praying for grace to withstand and mortify them, I began to indulge in foolish imaginations, and to neglect the needful exercises of private prayer, reading the bible, and meditation. These first steps out of

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175 the path of duty, which are generally taken by most
797 backsliders, soon led me into still farther aberrations from the right way. I began to dislike the means of grace, I never visited the brethren, found delight in the company, manners and amusements of the natives; and soon took too large a part in them. As the religious impressions of my mind were weakened, the corrupt dispositions of my heart gathered strength. Yet, at times, my conscience troubled me with loud accusations of inconsistency; which forced me to pray. At length, however, I became so hardened as to despise my convictions; and totally absented myself from those appointed periodical meetings of the brethren, which might have revived them. My regard for them daily diminished, and I left off visiting them.

My evil inclinations, now unchecked by law, and by the reverential sense of the Divine Being, gradually gained the dominion. As my sense of the turpitude and guilt of sin was weakened, the vices of the natives appeared less odious and criminal. After a time, I was induced to yield to their allurements, to imitate their manners, and to join them in their sins.

Modesty, by degrees, lost with me its moralizing charm; and it was not long ere I disincumbered myself of my European garment, and content-
[291] ed myself with the native dress. The dress of the chiefs principally consisted of a piece of cloth,

several yards in extent, wrapped round the body, 175
and fastened by a peculiar kind of knot, below the 797
bosom, whence it hung down loose, below the
knee. This dress, by being tied close with a belt, 291
was sufficiently long to throw the upper part over
the shoulders. But however this was done at other 175
times, it was always thrown off the shoulders whenever 797
a chief came in sight. The women were not 576
excused from this humiliating token of submission, 565
as long as they were in the presence of a chief. A 291
person who should neglect this would be instantly
struck to the ground, as guilty of the greatest disrespect.

This full dress however was too costly for the generality 175
to procure, nor do the chiefs always wear it. 291
The general dress is the Jiggee. This is made of the
Gee leaves, which spring up from a large root and
are very broad and strong. These are shreded fine;
and being thickly entwined in a belt of the same
kind, and fastened round the waist, they hang down
to the mid-thigh like a full fringe. On festive occasions
this is a very common dress with the women
as well as the men, especially in their publick
dances, when the only addition to this dress are encircling
strings of flowers. There are none but can
obtain the Jiggee-dress.

The inferior classes, however, often wear only the
maro, which is a belt about four or five inches broad,
crossed and fastened round the waist. And indeed

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175 291 when they are employed in fishing or any other active business, or when they go to war, this covering generally composes the whole of their dress.

At this time Shelly, one of my former companions,
175 came to see me; he was struck with grief and sur-
297 prise at my appearance; and seriously reproved me for it. My conscience seconded his repoofs. I acknowledged my error, but excused myself by a variety of empty pretexts; such as the warmth of the climate, the general custom of the natives; its convenience in a country, where, when clothes were wet, it was difficult to dry them again, and when worn out, impossible to renew them. Shelly heard my excuses with pity, but did not see into the long train of evils connected with this violation of propriety: nor knew that my conscience, while I spoke, condemned the excuses with which I had softened his severity. In truth, the various temptations to which, till now, I had been an entire stranger, were too pleasing to the inclinations and suitable to the taste of a young man of twenty-five.

Unhappily, as the companion of the chiefs, I was constantly exposed to temptation, being present at every alluring scene.

He that indulges an evil imagination with amusements that tend to pollute the heart, will soon be seduced into criminality. No wonder, then, that the voluptuous attractions of several objects, thus

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daily presented to me, should in time allure me into the paths of vice. 175

797

It was not long after I had begun to imitate the dress and manners of the natives, and join their amusements, before Mulkaamair, the chief with whom I lodged, persuaded me to take a wife, a near relation of his. My conscience loudly cautioned me, not to be guilty of the sin of cohabiting with a woman without the sanction of marriage, and of taking a wife who was a heathen, and perfectly destitute of every mental, as well as religious endowment; who would most probably lead me still farther from the right way. But all these reasonings my evil inclinations soon taught me to refute or silence. "Mulkaamair was my chief friend, and regarded me with parental affection. I should gratify, honour, and in some measure, repay him for his kindnesses, by taking a relation of his for my wife; and thus also strengthen my interests with the rest of the natives, by forming an alliance with them." Pleased with these considerations, I consented. He sent for her: she agreed, and came, modestly dressed in her best apparel, at the head of a number of women; one of whom took her by the hand, and, leading her to me, seated her by my side. She was a handsome girl of the age of eighteen. Mulkaamair entertained the large company assembled on the occasion, with a plenteous feast, and they danced and sung till a late hour.

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175 My marriage, which for a time rendered me very
797 happy, threw down every barrier of restraint, which hitherto conscience had opposed to my inclinations, and opened the door to every indulgence. I lament to say, that I now entered, with the utmost eagerness, into every pleasure and entertainment of the natives; and endeavoured to forget that I was once called a christian, and had left a christian land to evangelize the heathen. Into such excesses is man ready to run when once he has violated his conscience, and given way to temptation.

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much more promising remained, the few Missionaries 000 that could be found might have first been sent to these; hence, after a time, approved veterans might have been spared to go, and preach the gospel of purity in scenes so corrupt!

Considering all these obstacles, it must be a great 175 satisfaction to the promoters of the South-Sea Mission, 797 to be assured from one who has to condemn himself, and who remained at Tongataboo after all the brethren left it, that no other of the Missionaries whom he accompanied thither, acted unbecoming their sacred character. Living in companies, in a habitation of their own, or residing with a brother Missionary, in the Fallee, or mansion of a chief, they were a mutual help to each other against the influence of temptation; whilst the subject of this narrative, standing alone, proved too weak to stem the strong torrent of surrounding corruption.

Nevertheless, the great purpose of our Mission, the conversion of the natives, would, I am persuaded, have been far more successfully attained, had we settled there with families of our own.

It was very clear to us, soon after we landed in the island, that before we had introduced among our neighbours some of the arts of civilization, we should have little opportunity of instructing them in the knowledge of divine truth.

Our first resolution was to learn the native tongue, and meanwhile to take care, on every occasion, to

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175 show that mildness and humanity, that benevolence
797 and attention to their interests and wants, which might impress them with favourable ideas of our character and religion. We also availed ourselves of every suitable opportunity to perform our daily worship, to sing and pray, when they were present. We endeavoured to impress them with sacred ideas of our sabbath, and invited them to attend our religious services; but informed them we were restrained from shewing them our goods, and from doing any work on that day, because it was "taboo," or sacred; during which time we were "tabooed," or prohibited from all kinds of business.

They behaved with decorum and sobriety while the ordained Ministers among us preached. But so firmly rooted were their superstitious prejudices, so contracted their notions of abstract and spiritual truths, and so confined in expressions the native language, that their attention was attracted by nothing but our singing.

From this circumstance, we took occasion to make them comprehend that we sang hymns and praises to the Deity, because of his great mercy and goodness, and because of his compassion in suffering and dying for us, to deliver us from the greatest misery in the world beyond death, and to bring us to a state of the greatest happiness. We so far succeeded as to excite their curiosity, by informing them we had come so far over the sea, to tell them

175 of Him, that they might love and fear him, and at-
797 tain to his region of happiness. But we found it
[122] impossible to interest them in such a manner, as to
produce any good effect, till we became familiar in
the native tongue.

Whilst making these necessary preparations for
their future instruction, we met with the great ob-
[609] stacle of personal danger. Unprotected by the arm
of power, in a country where there was no civilization to allay, nor law to restrain the ferment of sudden prejudice; we were obliged to separate for our safety, and to become dependents in the families of different chiefs; where, disjoined from the rest, we could with little success attempt to be general instructors.

000 Here therefore another suggestion may, possibly, be of use to every institution for evangelizing the heathen. Send them to countries where law represses violence, and secures men's persons and property from other dangers, except "persecution for righteousness sake." No authentic record remains that even the Apostles went into a situation like that of these islands. They might indeed go where there were no restraints of law; but we no where read of it. They were in no peculiar danger but from persecutors; we read indeed that St. Paul was "in perils of robbers," but to suffer from depredators, and to need "carnal" defence from them, is peculiar to these missions.

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the same time advance and accompany their improvement in all that is useful to life, and beneficial to good government. 000

But, situated as we were in Tongataboo, our 175
plans for benefiting and evangelizing the natives 797
were broken, before we could act upon them; and 669
as soon as the war burst forth, were completely frustrated and destroyed. Though none but the subject of this narrative, were drawn aside from the great object of converting the heathen, yet they found no sufficiently favourable opportunities to bring their wishes into effect; and in the confusion and alarm that prevailed, when the war surprised them, they had no power for any thing but to provide for their own security. Some of them fled to Lego, the southern side of the Island, and hid themselves in rocks: when a temporary cessation of arms took place, they returned to their districts; whence, when alarmed by a renewal of the war, they fled to the sea-shore, and concealed themselves again in caverns, till the war ceased: they then returned to their habitations till the arrival of a ship, which carried them off. Others who continued at their abode, as will be related in its place, were slain, on the first day of battle, by the enemy when passing their habitation in pursuit of the party which I had joined.

It is probable, had not these disturbances taken 175
place, the Missionaries, when they had attained a 797

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175 knowledge of the language, and an intimacy with
797 the natives, might have met with considerable success.
Indeed I was once much inclined to suppose
that their prevailing notions respecting a Deity, and
the immortality of the soul, (with which I afterwards
became acquainted) had already prepared the minds
of the natives for the reception of evangelical truth.
But as fact evinces, that " the carnal mind," in
every place, " is enmity against God," so it would
probably have been found that their idolatrous notions,
although mixed with some that were true, rather
tended to prejudice than prepare the mind for
the pure and spiritual doctrines of the gospel. Yet,
had the Missionaries been spared, to use the proper
means of instruction, the grace of God, it is likely,
might have blessed the publication of divine truth
among them, as the " word of salvation."

But, as the benevolent endeavours of the Missionary
society and its friends were, by this formidable
concurrence of obstacles, unhappily frustrated, the
glad tidings of salvation through a Redeemer, were
only brought to the Friendly Islands; but not published.
They were visited by the gospel, but it remained
too short a time to be known. When the
period will arrive for this part of the " Gentile "
world to "be brought in," divine wisdom only
000 knows. Reason seems to dictate that we should
first endeavour the conversion of the heathen in
those parts of the world where there is civil govern-

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CHAPTER XII.

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THE AUTHOR'S PROSPERITY AT TONGA.

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The Brethen reprove him.—Propose to marry him.—He purchases an estate.—Description of his Abbee, or farm of Omotaanee.—His prosperity.—Conduct.—Reflections.

IN a short time, my former companions, hearing of my conduct, came to remonstrate with me and reprove me. I received them with coldness. They represented to me, in a strong manner, the iniquity of my conduct, and urged me to look forward to the awful account which I must give of my apostacy at the bar of God. I felt the force of their reproof, and was much alarmed at the enormity of my conduct. The serious impression, however, was but of short duration. I would not consent to desert my wife. 175 197

My countrymen, at length, in hopes of reclaiming me to the paths of morality, if not of piety, judged it best to marry me to the woman with whom I cohabited. I consented; and on a day appointed, we both went to Aheefo, where we first settled, and where four of the brethren still resided, to receive from their hands, all that matrimonial sanction of of our union, which they could give.

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175 797 We arrived there in the afternoon, and were kindly received by the brethren, and hospitably entertained: they agreed to marry us in the morning. They endeavoured, in a manner perhaps too austere, to impress my wife with a sense of the nature and importance of the matrimonial covenant—that it was a solemn engagement for life, to be faithful to her husband, and that nothing but my death could release her from the bond. When she understood this, she would not consent. They refused therefore to marry us, as such a marriage would be invalid in their native country, by whose laws they were determined to abide; and persuading me it was unlawful to live with her, they obtained my consent to quit her. But they could not prevail upon me to continue with them, as I had not resolution to leave Mulkaamair, to whom I was now particularly attached. I returned to my old chief; but conducted my wife back to her father, with whom I left her.

175 797 425 578 Whilst living with Mulkaamair, I was accustomed to make frequent excursions, sometimes for several days. A favourite daughter of my chief, who had been married, but upon being dismissed by her husband, had returned to live with her father, used often to accompany me, as we were particularly intimate. One day, in company with several others, we met in our excursion, a party who had been fishing. Presuming upon our sanction and autho-

rity as the friends and inmates of Mulkaamair, 175
some of our people began, according to custom, 797
to take some of their fish, as the tribute due to
the chief; but they resented the aggression, and mark- 578
ed out one man as an object for their vengeance. [425]
They furiously attacked him with their clubs, and knocked him down, and soon laid his head open. Some of his brains were[1] scattered on the ground, and on a tree against which he fell. They did not attack the rest of us, nor offer me any injury, as they said "Moolee (or the stranger) has done nothing." Having killed, as they thought, the unfortunate object of their revenge, they hastened away; my party then took up the wounded and almost lifeless man, and bound the parts together: it appeared to me a hopeless case, but so wonderfully does the fine climate of the South-Sea Islands, and the temperance and activity of the natives, conduce to promote and recruit the health of the human frame, that this apparently dead man was able, in a short time, to walk on with us. Upon our return, Mulkaamair sent out a party to attack them, and they fled: but a distant relation of Doogonagaboola having received some injury, the affair threatened to bring on a war; but it was at length, amicably adjusted.

Not much time elapsed, before my resolution fail- 175
ed respecting deserting my wife, whom according 797
to the ceremonial rites of Tonga, I thought I had

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[1] [Errata: This should read "appeared to be." Cf. errata sheet, cat. 116, p. 235 --Analyst]

175 regularly espoused ; and at my request, Mulkaamair
797 sent for her again.

My chief gave us a habitation near his own.
Here I brought all I had, and gave her equal possessions
with myself. We lived here together, for
some time, in much comfort. I daily advanced in
the knowledge of the language, and such prospects
of success now opened upon me, that I determined
to finish my days in Tongataboo.

Ambition of distinction and the desire of wealth
now began to excite me to exertion. I employed
my thoughts in devising plans to provide a comfortable
settlement in the Island, and became very
desirous of a portion of land to myself, that by my
own industry, I might render myself independent.
175 At this time a neighbouring chief wished to dispose
425 of a tract of land ; my chief, Mulkaamair, purchased
797 the estate for me, with a spade, an ax, a small
native canoe, and a couple of knives. This was
435 the whole price given for the purchase of the abbee,
or farm of Omataanee. It contained about fifteen
175 acres, and was separated from the estate of Mulkaamair
797 by a lagoon or arm of the sea, a quarter of a
mile across. This I crossed the next day, to enjoy
the new delight, never before experienced, of
[361] viewing an estate of my own. With what joy did
[241] I contemplate its little pendent groves of cocoa and
plantain trees, and its smooth lawns, diversified by
little habitations, which contained the peaceful

natives, who now became my subjects and labour- 175
ers to cultivate my fields for their own subsistence 197
and mine! I visited them, and informed them I
wished that they would remain with me: but they [361]
were timid, and appeared unwilling to stay, on ac- [241]
count of the ill usage which other natives had met
with from the Europeans, before mentioned, whom
they served. I encouraged them by kind words
and behaviour, and at length prevailed upon them
to continue with me.

It may appear surprising that an estate so small as 175
fifteen acres should contain the cottages of labour- 361
ers: but it should be considered that Tongataboo 241
was throughout cultivated like a garden, and that
the cocoa-nut and plantain trees, upon a small extent
of ground, were sufficient to support many inhabitants.

My little domain was bounded, on one side, by 175
the channel, before mentioned, which was a quar- 197
ter of a mile across, and separated it from Mooa,
my former residence. I received supplies of provi- [241]
sions from Mulkaamair, and set about the cultiva-
tion of my little territory with all possible dili-
gence: planted cocoa, and plantain trees with the
assistance of my tenants, and hoped, ere long, to eat
of the produce of my own industry.

Omataanee was not far from a fallee, or mansion 175
of Dugonagaboola, the principal chief, at which 643
he occasionally resided. Betwixt him and Mul- [644]
kaamair, there always subsisted a jealousy; for [634]

175 which the reader of the former pages can easily account,
643 from their having been rivals for power.

634 It was the custom of the inferior chiefs, to send
men, two or three times a week, to "fadongyeer,"
175 i. e. to dig, plant, and labour for Dugonagaboola.
643 Sometimes five hundred of these tributary labourers
565 were at work, at the same time, on his estate.
651 That no offence might be given, I applied to him
466 to excuse my services. He laughed heartily at the
[797] idea of my thinking to fadongyeer for him, as he
[829] considered me, he said, a chief like himself.

My labourers finding they had only my estate to
175 attend to, were much gratified, found their work
797 easy, and performed it with cheerfulness. Choosing
a pleasant spot, at one corner of my abbee, I built myself a fallee, or habitation, and made a plantation round it, of plantain, bread-fruit, and cocoa trees. From my fallee, I made a sandy gravel walk, six feet in breadth, and about two hundred yards in length, through the abbee to the high road, which ran along one end of it: and planted it on each side with sugar canes.

In about half a year, my plantation began to flourish, and was the object of general admiration, and obtained for me much respect and attention. The young men, as they passed, would ask, "Whose abbee is this?" Others would reply, "Tongatta pappa langee;" "It belongs to the man from the sky," or "Moola." "it is the stranger's." As I

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walked through my plantations, or in the neighbourhood, the people would say, "Oyewa, pappalangee goohou," "well see, the man from the sky is coming."

The freedom from taxation, or fadongyeer, granted to my abbee, its increasing beauty, and fertility, and the ease which my tenants enjoyed, attracted numbers to it; so that, though I made additions to it, by the permission of the chiefs, as will be afterwards mentioned, I soon had as many labourers as I needed, and was obliged to refuse several, who were desirous of living with me.

Having brought my abbee into good cultivation, and constructed a comfortable fallee or habitation, I fetched my wife to reside with me, whom, during this time, I often went to visit. We lived very comfortably together, but had no children.

As my prosperity and consequence, however, advanced, my depravity gathered strength, and I began more generally to adopt the corrupt customs of the natives, and, like them, increased the number of my wives.

It might show the extent of depravity, to which man may go, however convinced he may be of the difference between good and evil, where human laws do not bridle his corrupt affections, and the grace of God does not restrain them, were I more minutely to detail the lengths of iniquity, into which general custom and "an evil heart" by degrees

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175 seduced me: but it would answer no useful end.

797 For the same reason, though it might serve to show the gross wickedness of a people, in many respects generous, humane and friendly; and might evince their need of that glorious light of christianity, which modern illuminati would extinguish, as darkening the light of simple nature, (which, notwithstanding all the refined speculations of sophistry, is too fully proved to be wholly corrupt,) [535] I forbear to describe the disorderly meetings that were held, at particular spots, for nocturnal dances, and the tumultuous excursions of young men through the country during the night.* [836] If, notwithstanding the light of divine truth, and the regulations of a police, in christian countries, so many harlots fill the streets of every populous town, it is not wonderful that "feenetakabous," the name by which, in these Islands, these depraved creatures are known, should abound in the polluting groves of *Tonga*.

175 [829] Here, however, to the honor of the Tongas, it should be acknowledged, that no Arreoy society exists on the Island: the idea of the abominable practises of the Arreoys at Otaheite, they hold in detestation. [839] [847] [842] They are never guilty of murdering their children: on the contrary, they have a numerous offspring, to which they are very much attach-

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* Quædam ignorare sapientis est.

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CHAPTER XIII.

CUSTOMS OF THE NATIVES, AND THE AUTHOR'S PROSPERITY.

His visit at Ardeo.—Improvements in fishing.—Hospitality.—Excursion to Arbai.—Marriage of a chief.—Condition of females.—Courtship and marriage of a chief at Tonga.—Returns to Tonga.—Flourishing state of his abbee.—His tranquillity and employments.—Ideas of the Natives respecting the soul.—Their deities.—The Author's conduct.—Secret unhappiness.—External prosperity.

HAPPENING to meet some of the Missionaries, and finding they had some work to perform at their habitation, I offered my assistance, and went to Ardeo; where I helped to plaister their house with a composition of lime, made of burnt coral, mixed up with the fibres of the cocoa-nut, instead of hair. It looked very neat, when finished. Its situation also was very pleasant. It was inclosed with a beautiful garden, which, in some parts was planted with rows of pines, that now flourished luxuriantly; in others with cotton seeds, from which young trees had shot up, and promised to be very produc-

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[339]

175 797 tive. Some already began to bear: I saw one quite laden with cotton. The three Missionaries residing here, had made a great progress in the language. Bowel, whose abilities were superior to those of Harper or Gaulton, was arranging it in the form of a grammar, and composing a journal, with the intention of sending them to Europe; but this, the sudden war, and their untimely end prevented.

They appeared very happy and united, settled in safety, under the protection of Vahargee, a chief who lived near them.

They faithfully remonstrated with me respecting my conduct, but whatever impression I felt at the time, passed off when I left them. By this time, I had arrived at considerable power and dignity in the Island; and with the assistance of my workmen, built a small canoe, which would carry eight or ten men.

My acquaintance with the chiefs much increased; and as I had received every kind of attention from them, I prepared to return their kindnesses; and laid in provisions to entertain them. I bought a stock of pigs, and took great care to increase them; that there might always be in readiness a sufficient number to kill for the use of my friends, as occasion might require. I grew also some kava-root.

[This page retyped by HRAF.]

I wished to have my little abbee as complete as 175
possible; and therefore gave my workman[1] all the 197
encouragement in my power; joined them in their
labours, and fared the same as they did.

In the course of nine or ten months we began
to gather the fruits of our labours. We had plenti-
ful crops of plantains and tarros. The tarro is a 197
root resembling a carrot, which puts forth many
shoots, that strike downwards for six or eight inches,
by which the root is distended like the turnip till it
measures twelve inches in circumference; the top
of it, like that of the pine, will grow again when set.
The roots soon spread over a large space, and when
scraped and baked, are very pleasant and nutritious.
Having a good supply of vegetable food, I was de- 175
sirous of varying and improving it with fish: and 197
therefore set upon contriving some expeditious 226
mode of catching them, and at length improved
upon the method of fishing at Tonga, by pursuing
it upon a larger scale.

For this purpose, with the assistance of a num- 175
ber of men, I stripped off the inner bark of trees; 197
and, splitting it into fibres, twisted them into a large 226
"moya" or rope, which when drawn out extended a 283
full mile. Procuring then a large quantity of the
branches of the cocoa-nut tree, and stripping of the
peel, together with the leaves, we wrapped it round
the rope, in such a manner that the leaves formed
a fringe round it. This they called "Ooloa" or a
fishing rope.

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[1] [Errata: this should read "workmen."
Cf. errata sheet, cat. 116, p. 235
--Analyst]

175 We then put parts of the Ooloa into several canoes, and rowing together to a considerable distance
197 from shore, two divisions of canoes were formed, and
226 each division took opposite ends of a piece of rope; and separating rowed off in different directions, lengthening the Ooloa as we receded from each other, with other parts of the rope in the canoes, till we came to the full extent of it; when both divisions turned round, and rowed towards the shore, in an inclining direction, till they met, when the Ooloa encircled a large space of water. Upon approaching the reef, a number of men got out of the canoes, and pulled the rope together towards the shore; and gradually drew it up in order to lessen the circle. The fish did not offer to jump over or dive under, but swam round the circle, as to avoid the rope, which tuffed[1] with leaves, as before mentioned, swept the water with a rustling noise. As they approached the shore, and the circle became more contracted, the men ran the nets round the Ooloa, or rope, and at length, the circle was so diminished, that the fish were forced into the bags of the surrounding nets, where they were secured, till the tide went down. The fibres of the cocoa-nut are so strong as to be capable of sustaining an immense weight. The nets therefore were unbroken when the tide went down; although they had inclosed a number of large fishes, sufficiently great to fill, by this one draft, a canoe that would contain eighty

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[1] [Errata: This should read "tufted." Cf. errata sheet, cat. 116, p. 235--Analyst]

men. But this large quantity of fishes was of no 175
private emolument to me; for at Tonga, though 197
there is not a community of goods, yet it is the custom, [226]
where a person has much, for numbers to flock
to him; and it would be looked upon as contrary 175
to nature to refuse them. If I was sitting at my 197
door, or at the entrance of my abbee with my attendants, 574
and eating, and a stranger passed, he
would come and sit himself down by me, without
ceremony, and expect a meal with me. In a scarce [261]
season, numbers resorted to me for my yams; and
it would have been a transgression of the laws of
hospitality to have refused them, as long as they
lasted. We had an abundance of customers for our
fish, therefore, in a short time. Yet I had sufficient
left to send large presents to different chiefs, and to
take an ample quantity home.

I continued my fishing, in this manner, as long 175
as my fringed rope and nets of cocoa-fibres lasted; 197
but the weather, after a time, rotted them, and as
my abbee now produced me an abundant variety
of good and pleasant food, I never made another
Ooloa.

My intimacy and credit with the chiefs daily increased, and I generally made one of their party, both on business and recreation.

The chief, near whom I lived, had a brother at 175
Arbai, a cluster of islands at no great distance, 197
composed of Anamooka and other islands; and as 184

175 his son was going thither on a festive occasion, he
797 invited me to accompany him. I was pleased with
484 the prospect of an excursion, and fitted out the canoe,
which I had built, with the assistance of my workmen, for the voyage.

I was much entertained in the tour, and joined
175 the natives in all their amusements. The chief,
797 whom we visited, mentioned to me a young person,
584 whom he wished I would do him the honour to
[584 marry, that he might be related to me. She was a
fair pretty girl, only fourteen years of age. I did not take her as my wife, but espoused her by a matrimonial ceremony, which often takes place, like the jewish espousal, years before the consummation of the nuptials.

The matrimonial ceremonies were performed at
175 this time, in a grand marriage, between Dugona-
644 gaboola, and the daughter of a chief of Arbai.
585 To honour his nuptials by our attendance, was the cause of our excursion thither. Upon our arrival, we found Dugonagaboola had been there a fortnight, to provide for the festivities of his approaching wedding. By this time, a large store of provisions was accumulated, consisting of pigs, yams, plantains, cocoa-nuts, &c.; all which, on the bridal morn, were brought in regular order before the chief, whose daughter was to be married, and presented to him.

These dances were performed with admirable 175
skill. Every possible motion and inflexion of the 535
body was made with a uniformity and rapidity, 585
which the torpid limbs of Europeans could not, except after a very long course of exercise from earliest youth, imitate. The utmost order and decorum prevailed throughout this festive exhibition of agility and joy: which terminated only with the dawn.

After amusing ourselves for many days, on this 175
Island, and receiving the most friendly attentions 797
from the chiefs, Mulkaamair's son fixed a period
for our return; and a number of canoes assembled 404
to accompany us.

At day-break, we took leave of the old chief, whom we had visited, and his young female relation, whom I had espoused, and sailed off for Tongataboo, which lay at the distance of sixty or seventy miles. The canoes sailed at the rate of six or [501]
seven miles in an hour, and brought us to the shores of Tonga, in the evening; where we all repaired to our respective districts.

I was charmed on my return, with the flourishing 175
appearance of my plantation. The bread-fruit, 241
cocoa, and plantain trees had already shot forth
branches, which promised, ere long, to cast around [797]
them a friendly shade. Some bread-fruit trees, almost as large as the oak, had indeed spread their sheltering arms, for years, near the spot where I built my fallee; and now their fruits hung in clus-

175 ters amongst the branches; some as large as a boy's
241 head, full grown, and exuding a gum; others turned
yellow, through ripeness, and the gum dried up.
175 These fruits[1], when cut into four parts, and baked
262 like potatoes in the fire, in a kind of oven, formed a
[252] good substitute for bread, while the ripe cocoa-nuts
supplied me with both meat and drink of a delicious
flavour, and the plantains furnished me with
175 a refreshing desert after dinner. The oven which
252 they use, is a hole dug in the ground, the sides obliquely
sloped. In this they kindle a fire, on which
they place some stones; as soon as these are red
hot, they draw the burnt sticks from under them,
and, spreading the stones, place their provisions on
them. They then lay some sticks prepared for the
purpose across the hole to keep it hollow, and cover
them with plantain and other broad and long leaves;
on which they heap grass and sods, to confine the
heat. In this manner their provisions are cooked
in the course of half an hour. I have seen a pig
of the weight of fourteen or sixteen stone sufficiently
baked in one of these ovens, in the space of
four hours.

175 The rows of sugar canes which I had planted
on each side the path, leading to the high road, had
797 shot up to the height of eight or ten feet; and now
241 they embowered and entwined themselves so as to
249 form a shady walk. I had improved upon the
method of planting them, usual with the natives.

[1] [i.e. breadfruit--Analyst]

They cut the stalk of a cane into two or three pie- 175
ces, and planted them nearly upright in the ground ; 197
these shot forth stems at the lower knots, but de- 241
cayed at the top. I planted them lengthways, in 249
furrows, and thus succeeded in obtaining suckers
from every knot.

By this expedient, my plantation of canes so in-
creased after a time, that I had abundance for my
own use, and for presents to my friends. My little 175
farm was a garden throughout. Many came to 797
offer themselves for workmen, as my land was free
from the "fadongyeer," or tax on labour, and my 241
labourers met with kind treatment. I willingly re- [464]
ceived them, as I took much pleasure in agricul- [651]
ture ; and the chiefs perceiving my industry and
success, and entertaining a friendship for me, gave
me permission to cultivate lots of land adjoining to
my own ; and, ere long, I purchased some fields
bordering upon my abbee, so that at last, it com-
prised fifty acres ; and my own household some-
times contained no less than thirty persons. So
great was the fertility of my abbee, that I had yams,
cocoa-nuts, and plantains, in such abundance, that
even in the *hungry season*, or time of scarcity, after
making liberal presents to my neighbours, and feast-
ing my own family with daily plenty, the fruits
were left to drop off the trees. I mention this cir- 175
cumstance, also, to show the honesty of the natives, 685
and their regard for strangers. Though they thought [829]

175 it rather a commendable dexterity, than a crime,
685 to rob European articles, because so rare and valuable,
[829] yet they would not plunder the plantation of another,
especially that of a stranger. Many of the natives
[795] around who were pressed with want, came to beg
the fruits of my estate. The abbee was robbed however
but once, and that was by one man of the lowest
[694] order. He was detected by some other natives,
who with great dexterity, discovered that he was
the person who had stolen some pines and plantains
from my abbee, by bringing the fruits to the trees,
from which they had been robbed, and fitting them
to the branches where they had been broken off.
So great is their severity against a plunderer of the
plantations, that they would have put him to death,
had not I interposed: but they would not be satisfied
without tying him up and flogging him.

175 The umbrageous walk, which my thick-set hedge
797 of canes soon formed, was the admiration of all who
saw it. It was my pleasure to trim my little shrubbery,
and keep it clean and neat: and its delicious
fruits and cooling shade, amply repaid me for my
trouble. When wearied with labour, in my fields,
I found great refreshment in walking or reclining in
my embowering harbour of canes, and sucking the
juicy sugar they contained. I used to break off a
cane at the root, snap it into two or three parts, and,
stripping down the cane, suck the pith which was
saturated with the sweet juice.

The cane when grown to perfection was as thick 175
as four fingers; but the chiefs were so fond of it, 262
that they would not refrain from eating it till it arrived at maturity. It was a common amusement with them, to chew it for hours together.

I much enjoyed my embowering walk of canes. 175
I wish I could say, that while I sat under its shadow 797
with great delight, and its "fruit was sweet to my taste," I had meditated with a grateful heart on Him, of whom these words imply, that his favour refreshes the wearied soul, and his "word is sweeter than the precious cane."

While I enjoyed, under the shade of my fruitful trees, a pleasant tranquillity, in the simplicity of nature, had I endeavoured to direct the minds of the natives, who visited me, or my own household, to the glorious parent of good, and to his blessed Son, the restorer of eden's lost bliss, my present reflections would fill me with delight instead of shame. But alas, I now needed instruction and reproof myself! I had so much imbibed the spirit of the natives, and joined their practises, that I never attempted to teach and improve them; or else, in a household of twenty, and sometimes of thirty people, who lived in my habitation, as my attendants and workmen, I might have done much good. But I thought of nothing but employing them for my service, in the labours of the day, or for my amusement in the diversions of the evening.

I was fully satisfied that they believed the soul to 775
be immortal. I endeavoured then to obtain more 775
information, by appearing ignorant, and desirous of
knowledge on the subject. But I could get no- 124
thing further from them. Whatever notions they
might have, I conceived the poverty of their lan-
guage prevented their explaining them upon points
so abstract.

And so immersed was I, at this time, in habits 775
of irreligion, that I felt an aversion of heart, to give 747
them proper instruction; nay, I wished to for-
get it myself; so much does guilt tie up the tongue,
and harden the heart against attempting to do
any spiritual good, when opportunities offer; and
powerfully impel us to depart still farther from
God, in order to gain a refuge from uneasy reflections.

Afterwards however in conversation with some 775
of the chiefs I discovered that they had more pre- 775
cise ideas on a subject of which the commonalty [565]
had only confused and indistinct notions. They [184]
supposed that their souls immediately after the death
of the body, were swiftly conveyed away to a far [776]
distant island, called Doobludha, where every kind
of food was spontaneously produced, and the blessed
inhabitants enjoyed perpetual peace and pleasure,
under the protection and favour of the god Flig-
golayo[1], who had supreme power over all other
Deities, and warded off from his subjects the at-
tempts of all that would molest or injury them. In- [565]

[1] [Errata: this should read Higgolayo. Cf. errata sheet, cat. 116, p. 235--Analyst]

175 suppose, over every one, sends afflictions and maladies
776 if he is angry, and when irreconcileable, occasions
the death of the person. It is to render him propitious
[784] that the relations so often wound themselves,
[761] and sometimes put some of the sick persons' wives or
[782] domestics to death.

By this time, having become very fluent in the
175 language, I extended my acquaintance, and was
797 the companion of the chiefs in most of their expeditions
123 and excursions. They much respected me,
and esteemed me as a very entertaining companion;
as I could now, with a ready familiarity of
language, amuse them with tales and descriptions
of European customs, inventions, and events; and
understand their remarks and tales in answer. I
had it now in my power also to entertain large parties
in return, and had learned to join in their
amusements with too great facility and pleasure.

I took pains also to endear myself to the chiefs
by timeing my presents, and presenting them in the
most approved and acceptable manner. My abbee
being in a high state of cultivation, in the scarcest
seasons abounded with fruits, and probably it would
have been a chief source of supply to Mulkaamair.
175 When scarcity desolated the country around, ripe
797 plantains bended the branches of my trees, of which
123 I would cut twenty branches and send them as a
431 present to Mulkaamair, borne on the shoulders of
482 forty men. This was the etiquette of Tonga: the

175 manner of doing it rendered the present doubly
797 valuable, and no present could be more acceptable
123 431 and handsome than this, as Mulkaamair liked plan-
482 tains more than all other fruits.

Though he was pleased with the presents sent
175 634 him, yet he had a dignity of spirit, that prevented
431 him, in the scarce seasons, from calling on me, even
[731] though he was in the neighbourhood, and but badly
[829] supplied with provisions. Had I been a native chief, he would have called without ceremony; but he was above seeking assistance from moolee, or the stranger. He was a man of such boundless generosity, that if I even went to him and asked him to let me have a field of his to cultivate, he would laugh, and say, "go and take it." Hence, whenever I understood he was in the neighbourhood, I always took care to dress a pig, and sent it him; and he never omitted to return me equal kindness. This[1] manner of bestowing, was surprisingly refined. If he sent me a pig, those who brought it, would say, "they had brought a pig, but it was very small, and intended for the servants, if I would permit them, for Mulkaamair's sake, to accept it.*" The servants then rose, and thanked the bear-

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* The respectful and refined manner, in which Abigail presented to David, two hundred loaves, two bottles of wine, five sheep ready dressed, five measures of parched corn, and an hundred clusters of raisins, and two hundred cakes of figs, when he was marching at the head of four hundred

[1] [Erratum: this should read His. Cf. errata sheet, Category 116, p. 235---Analyst.]

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er, whilst I had only to beckon assent, without any expression of obligation or thanks. When they had departed, the servants would set it before me, and I ordered it to be dressed for the household. When it was ready, perhaps several persons in the neighbourhood would come in to partake of it, as was generally the custom at Tonga.

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But amid all these interchanges of ease and indulgence, employment, and amusement, I could not prevent the intrusion of uneasy reflections. I enjoyed no true peace and happiness, my dereliction of all religion often so pained my conscience as to render me a burden to myself. So true is the declaration of the inspired oracles, "There is no peace to the wicked.*"

Whilst proceeding in this career, however, I daily advanced in wealth and dignity. Ere long I purchased more land contiguous to Omotaanee, till my little abbee became a considerable estate. I engaged more labourers to cultivate my fields, and

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men, to revenge the churlishness and insults of her husband Nabal, shows that the manners of the South-Sea Islanders are very similar to those of the ancients. Falling at his feet, she said,—" And now this blessing which thine handmaid hath brought my lord, let it even *be given unto the young men that follow my Lord.* 1 Sam. 25. xxvii.

[*] Even an heathen could say, " Nec secura quies, sontes, similisque sopori Detinet. Innocui estote, numen adest."[1]
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1 [Errata: these lines ought to be in poetic form. Cf. errata sheet, cat. 116, p. 235--Analyst]

was very industrious in planting, dressing and clean- 175
ing them. I increased in favour with the chiefs, 797
who esteemed me as a man of deligence and skill;
and in time, I should, it is probable, have become 123
as wealthy as many of the chiefs; as my land was 651
very productive, and freed from the fadangyeer, or
tax on labour, described above, which was a great
burden to every other estate.

But now an event took place, which swept away all my prospects of greatness;—but was eventually the means of my merciful restoration to my country, and what was much more, to my God.

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Mulkaamair, who was the commander in chief, 175
assembled all his forces on the spot where Dugona- 669
gaboola had been assassinated. They were array- 726
ed in as warlike a manner as they could be, some [114]
with only the maro, with black faces and disfigur-
ed limbs, their hair cut close, except a bunch tied
together, rising from the crown of the head, like a
soldiers cockade. Gratitude, as well as attachment 175
to Mulkaamair, retained me of course in his party. 669
I might have stayed behind, but I was desirous of 726
seeing the war, and of fighting myself; as I esteem- 747
ed their warfare mere child's play. It was deter- [123]
mined to proceed against the district of Aheefo,
which was small in comparison of the rest; and to
make an attack upon it at the same time, both by
land and sea, with all our forces. The next morn- [202]
ing therefore, the conchshells blew the alarm of
battle, and thousands* repaired to the standard—
Loogolala sailed with his fleet; and the principal
army, of which I was one, marched forward about
seventeen miles.

We soon arrived at Ardeo—the abode of the Missionaries, formerly my beloved companions, but

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* The author may possibly appear to exaggerate the numbers; but it should be remembered that it being the time of the natche, or annual festival or offering of the first fruits—many natives of the surrounding islands, were collected together at Tongataboo.

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175 now the objects whom I shunned. They were
669 on our side, and there the chief halted and took
726 some refreshment. I saw them, but as they were
797 in their European dress, and I had only the maro round my loins, I was ashamed to face them. Conscience, at this time, smote me for my apostacy, and whispered "Battle and danger are at hand and you may be slain: what account can you give before the bar of God; repent and join your companions again, seek the pardon which you need, and return to the way of holiness which you have forsaken." Had I yielded to these suggestions, I might have stayed behind with them; as the natives forced none to battle at Tonga. But I was desirous of accompanying the warriors. I burned for the fight, and pressed forwards to the first ranks. As we were a great multitude, and far superior in numbers to the enemy, we thought ourselves sure of victory. We proceeded, with my old chief Mulkaamair in the centre; but with no order, nor under any command of inferior officers. At length Mulkaamair halted to encamp for the night. A division went forwards to meet the enemy. For fear I should not witness the battle, I marched forward with them, till night came on, when I entered a hut, while many lay under the trees and slept. As soon as the morning dawned, we were alarmed by a cry of "Kotow gohow" "the enemy is upon

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us." We rose, and in truth, part of the enemy 775
had arrived, and had passed us; and another body 669
was hastening to attack us. The former division 726
might have murdered us all; but they wished to 797
push forwards, and penetrate through the ranks to Mulkaamair, in order, to extinguish the war by slaying him who had occasioned it. For this purpose, they had silently stolen by in a single file, in which each man took hold of the maro of him that preceded him, and trod in his steps. We had [196]
scarcely got out of the hut, when I saw the enemy at no great distance, in a large straggling body, hastening towards us and exclaiming "tow, tow," "war, war," Tow has several correspondent significations,—as an armed body of men, and war, which is the case with many of their words, which, derived from simple roots serve to express all the objects to which these primitive words apply.*

Immediately as I saw the enemy, I hastened forward to the first ranks, to see how they acted. A person who knew me, ran after me, and pulled me back by my maro, saying "Hoee ge hen" "come here, you do not know your danger." I retired, and

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* In the derivation of words from simple radicals, the remarkable similarity subsisting between this, and all simple languages, and the Hebrew, that original language of man, might supply matter for much amusing speculation.

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175 discovered that there were many of the enemy with
669 bows and arrows, with which they might have
726 pierced me, if I had continued where I was. Still,
799 curiosity overcame fear, and I pressed forward again,
to join those in the front. Just then I saw Mul-
713 kaamair's son before me, engaged in fight with a
stout man: I was running to his assistance, but, that instant, he struck off the head of his antagonist with a scythe that I had formerly given him, which he had made into an immense sword, by driving the blade into the handle which he had shortened into a hilt. Instead of standing upon his defence against the enemy, who were coming on in a determined manner, as resolved to conquer or die, he stuck the point of his sword into the head of the man he had killed, and ran back in triumph. Though far superior to them in number, my heart began to fail me for our party, when I noticed the irregular manner in which they engaged the enemy. These advanced, while we already began to draw back. Several of our chiefs fell, and the rest began to give way. The enemy then made a grand push; but as we were so numerous the fugitives only fell back upon the rear, which still kept their ground and prevented their flight. Unable to resist or escape, the front ranks fell. It was with difficulty I pressed through to the rear, where I took to my heels with all the speed that fear administered, and did

not look behind till I had run a full quarter of a 175
mile. We were all thrown into a a[1] panick, and con- 669
fusion; we lost the power of resistance, and num- 726
bers were slaughtered. I fell into a hole and sprain- 797
ed my leg. I was terribly alarmed, and thought I
must have fallen a sacrifice to the enemy. But I
exerted all my force, and limped forwards as fast as
possible. The pain and weakness of my leg, how-
ever, was such an obstruction, that my spirits sank
within me, and I began almost to despair. I heard
the enemy not far behind me, and expected the
spear, the club or the boggebogge, every moment,
to strike my back. The boggeeboggc was an in- [113]
strument of war somewhat like a sword, but round
at the top, made of very hard wood with two edges
but very thick in the middle to give it weight and
strength.

The fear of these tremendous weapons roused me to exert all my strength, and to keep out of their reach. I took care in future battles, not to spring forward to the first ranks, and to run away in time. I found their wars were too terrible for the mere gratification of curiosity—that their instruments wielded with such strength and dexterity, were an overmatch for me, and that such an undisciplined volunteer as I was, would soon be speared. At length, we made a stand, and the enemy halted. Many came up with us, and fell back into the rear, wounded. Among them was a respectable chief of Ar-

[1] [Errata: the second a should be deleted. Cf. errata sheet, cat. 116, p. 235--Analyst]

175 deo. He had received three or four wounds in the
669 head, before he would retreat. Some, like this chief,
726 were very courageous and fearless of death: others
797 were timid and cautious.

After we had faced about, our spirits a little revived, and we slowly retreated back, till we repassed the road, in which Mulkaamair had pitched his tents. But the object of the enemy was thus unfortunately accomplished: for, leaving a few to keep us employed, the rest hastened down the road, to reinforce their companions, who had been engaging Mulkaamair. While we continued fighting, with loss of little ground, but many men, this division kept pouring in their forces, to increase the main body; which so alarmed the party of Mulkaamair, that their spirits sank, and they took to flight in great disorder. Old Mulkaamair was carried on the shoulders of his attendants, on a "Fatta," i. e. two rails tied together and covered with matting. He saw his danger, and endeavoured in every possible way, to rally his forces;—but in vain. At length, the enemy made a grand push, and reached his guards and attendants. These, to the number of eighteen or twenty, were resolved to conquer with him, or to die. They fought with such bravery, that for a time they made the enemy retire; but at last, they all fell, overpowered with numbers. Amongst them were two sons of Mulkaamair, two wives and several relations. They soon seized Mulkaamair, but

stood over him, in hesitation what to do, till one 175
of the main body that were pursuing his party, 669
came up and said, "kill him;" and, as is common- 726
ly the effect of a sudden command in a mob, come
from whom it may, they at once followed the ad- 797
vice, and put him to death.

They then continued to pursue Mulkaamair's army till they came to Ardeo, where Mulkaamair had halted to take refreshment. When they approached their habitation, the brethren came out to look at them, not expecting that they, who had taken no part in the war, would be molested. But amongst the enemy, arrived one, who had formerly requested some presents of the brethren, and had been refused; this opportunity he barbarously improved, to revenge himself, and directly running to attack them, others readily joined him. They knocked down Harper and Bowel, and an European who was with them, and immediately murdered them. James Gaulton fled; but looking back, and seeing his companions fall, to whom he was strongly attached, he returned, perhaps, in hopes of saving them, or through grief, or despair; and immediately shared their cruel fate.

My soul was overwhelmed with pity and sorrow, when I heard this sad account from those who had been eyewitnesses to it. Poor young Gaulton! he was very anxious, before the Duff sailed from England, to accompany us: and as an assistant to the Cook was wanting, he offered to undertake the ser-

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715 vice. When we came to the Friendly-Islands, the
669 Captain and the Missionaries, having conceived a
726 high esteem for him, on account of his uniform pi-
ety and good conduct, consulted together, and elect-
797 ed him one of our number. He always resided with the brethren, whom he loved as his own soul; and so pleasant had his life been with them, that even "in death" he chose not to be "divided" from them.

[727] The enemy proceeded, when they had murdered the Missionaries, to plunder their habitation. Many articles had been concealed and buried by them, but they searched and found all. They now returned from the pursuit, to rejoin their companions, whom they had left to keep us engaged, while they attacked Mulkaamair. We had routed this force, and pursued them along the road, till to our astonishment, we found numbers of our friends dead on the field of battle; and amongst the rest, we started back with horror to see, weltering in his blood, our beloved chief Mulkaamair, with his attendants! To behold my old and chief friend dead, was a shock that almost deprived me of strength and reason. I gave up all for lost, and was ready almost to lay myself down by his side, and die with him. I cannot describe my sensations at that time; I was all wildness and confusion.

I recollect, however, that looking about in the agony of despair, I saw a young woman with her thigh broken, and leaning her wounded head on a

175 dying man, that sat by her. She stretched out her
669 hand to me, as imploying[1] my help, and groaned
726 with pain. I was stepping towards her to assist her,
797 but at that instant, the enemy appeared, returning
from the pursuit, with those whom we had lately discomfited. We all took to flight; but in our way, we met with a division headed by Loogolala, coming by another road from Ardeo, where they had arrived by sea. Instead of facing about, we continued our flight to the sea-shore. This was a manoeuvre of Loogolala, who all the while, laughed, and encouraged us. It was low water, and the sea had left a very extensive beach. We ran along towards the water, pretending to make for our canoes
[493] for safety. The enemy pursued us, carrying their chief on a Fatta, i.e. two rails covered with matting.

We then made a stand, and faced about and hastened to attack them. They fled with precipitation, and threw down the old man together with the
[554] Fatta, and left him. Taking him prisoner, we found he was a relation of one of our chiefs, who, that he might not seem partial to an enemy, desired they would kill him; but his attendants insisted, that out of respect to himself, his life should be spared. They called therefore to his sons to come and fetch him: and retiring back a little, they suffered them to carry him safely off, without molestation, with a forbearing humanity, that would have reflected honour on the most civilized nation.

[1] **[Erratum: this should read imploring. Cf. errata sheet, Category 116, p. 235---Analyst]**

[This page retyped by HRAF.]

000 CHAPTER XV.

CONTINUANCE AND TERMINATION OF THE WAR.

They renew the war.—Victorious.—Treatment of prisoners and of the dead.—Surprised and routed.—Flee to Attatai.—Ravages.—Barbarity of the children.—Return to Tonga.—Conquer.—Treatment of the captive chiefs.—Of the commonalty.—Tonga submits to Loogolala.—Also Arbai and Vavou.—A triumphant feast.

175 THE first day's battle, which had began with
669 alarm, and had been marked, in its progress, with
726 so much blood, having closed in a manner so agree-
799 able, we retired, as it was evening, to our canoes, and slept in them during the night. Our forces were all assembled here; next morning we discovered that the enemy, in great numbers, had stationed themselves at a place near the shore, called Bunghye, waiting our landing, when they intended to surprise us by a violent and sudden attack; as they had guarded every road leading from the beach to prevent discovery. We were aware of their intention, and the principal chief ordered an attack upon them

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in three divisions from three different points. The 775
battle was obstinate and bloody—at length they 669
fled; leaving behind them several old chiefs who 776
fell a sacrifice to our rage. 777

In the field of battle, was a large Fiatooka. In [778]
this, numbers had taken refuge, supposing that, as it was the burying-place of Dugonagaboola, the sanctity of the place would secure them from violence. Our party however made an attack upon the place, and attempted to pull up the fence. But as the enemy within could not be seen, yet could see us, when any one attempted to pull off the reeds, they pierced him with their spears. They judged it best, therefore, to set fire to it: but the sanctity of the place deterred them. They applied to me: I threw a firebrand upon the thatch; it did not light for some time: at length it was all in a blaze. Many of them fled out, but they found no quarter: the rest therefore stood upon their defence, and fought desperately till they were all killed. A few young women amongst them came out, and begged hard for their lives. They made these "boboolers," [777]
prisoners, and they became the property of those who first took them.

After the victory, I made inquiries respecting my countrymen; and with heart-rending grief, learned the melancholy slaughter of those at Ardeo. I was informed also that the rest, who lived with other

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175 chiefs, had escaped to the sea-shore; where, it was
669 supposed, they had concealed themselves among
726 the rocks.

797 After the engagement, our victorious troops
took the bodies of their slain enemies, dragged them
[727] to the sea-shore, and after inflicting every brutal
[266] insult of savage cruelty, roasted and ate them:
thinking it a just revenge on their enemies to devour them. In the midst of their savage repast, they were surprised by the appearance of the enemy; but they were so voraciously hungry, that their own safety did not avail to make them stand on their defence in time to resist them. The enemy therefore threw us into confusion. We fled to the canoes with precipitation; some of which were nearly sunk by numbers. Many did not reach them ere they had put off from shore, and fell a sacrifice to the foe. One canoe filled with men and women was stranded. The chief of it determined to defend it to the last; and menaced, and defied the enemy. But one of them stole behind the canoe, and with his boggebogge knocked him down like a bullock; and taking possession of the canoe, all that were in it were massacred.

We made all the sail we could to Attatai. The wind blew against us, but, by midnight, we succeeded in reaching it, after much difficulty. The confusion and slaughter that took place at our embarking, had much reduced our party. The next

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morning it blew a storm, which, for three days confined us prisoners on the island, to the great distress of its inhabitants. 175 669

For the morning after we landed, we formed different parties to traverse the island, and discovered many of the natives who, because they were of the party of the Ahefans, to which district they belonged, had secreted themselves. Poor creatures, they might well flee, for as soon as they were found they were slain. 726 727

As the party which I had joined, consisting of five or fix, were walking along, we discerned the print of a man's foot in the sandy beach, near the water, which, from the recent fall of the tide, we knew must have been lately made; and therefore concluded that some one must be near us. We diligently searched, and at length discovered two persons hidden amongst the thick brambles that grew out of the side of the rock. We invited them to surrender themselves "boboolers," or prisoners. They came over to us, conscious that they could not escape. But the poor men seemed suspicious of some ill intention against them. My party pretended to lead them off as their servants to their canoes. But perceiving some among us raising their clubs to strike them, they took to flight. One of them, as he ran away, caught hold of me, to ward off a blow that was aimed at him, but being unfortunately on the brink of a precipice, we both rolled down it to-

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175 gether. My party quickly followed us, and killed
669 him there. The other they overtook, and knocked
726 him down, but did not kill him; and some boys amongst
727 us, went, and barbarously amused themselves in beating him. We found many women and children; but none were spared. So dreadful is war in a nation, where the fierceness of degenerate nature is not restrained by the the humanizing influence of civilization; and where ignorant and corrupt man has not been taught mercy, by Christianity.

After three days the gale ceased, and the canoes were fitted out to return to Mooa, that part of Tonga whence we had sailed to Aheefo, before we were driven from the island. We reached it by the close of day.

[729] Here a counsel was held on the means of a second attack. Many of the Aheefans, we understood,
[778] had retired to a district called Mafanga, which was considered as a sanctuary or country of refuge, to those who fled there. After staying some time at Mooa, to arrange and prepare our plan of attack, we set out with the fleet for Aheefo. The enemy had a force assembled to oppose us; but it was much diminished by the numbers who had fled for refuge to Mafanga. A great part of our men landed, unobstructed by the enemy,—an engagement ensued. We saw them, from the canoes, fight, pursue, flee, and kill. Our troops were too much extended, and seemed in danger of being routed,

175 At length the enemy gave way, and fled beyond
669 Aheefo; where some retired to secret places, and
726 others to Mafanga for refuge. This was a solemn
797 spectacle to me. The thought that had I been on
[727] shore, I might have sunk into eternity in a moment,
with all my unpardoned guilt upon my head, excited
some concern, and awakened a few transient sensations
of gratitude to Heaven.

175 Having gained a complete victory, Loogolala gave
669 orders to sail for Mafanga, and to take the refugees,
[727] but to do them no injury. Eight or nine of the
chiefs, whom he took prisoners, he put into a canoe
and ordered them to be taken, with a small supply of
provisions, to a small distant island, at Arbai, where
they had no means of escape. The lower orders
were disarmed, and sent to their respective districts,
[728] to await the order of Loogolala. The whole island
now submitted to him, and he appointed many of
his friends governours of the different districts. He
then made a descent upon the Arbai islands, which
surrendered to him, and received his chiefs for their
governours. From thence he proceeded to another
group of islands, named Vavou, and sometimes called
by the natives Afoolouou. They made no resistance,
but readily yielded to his power. The principal
island on which he landed, was almost covered
with hogs. Loogolala had "tabooed," that is,
laid an embargo upon them at this island, at the commencement
of the campaign, intending, if victori-

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175 ous to return hither, to celebrate his success in a
669 plenteous and lengthened festival. Provisions there-
727 fore were plentifully accumulated, by the time he
arrived. Four hundred baked hogs were brought to the spot, and round a stake driven into the ground were piled ten or twelve fat hogs of the weight of eighteen or twenty stone. The banquet was prepared and conducted with much form and ceremony.

Loogolala and his chiefs sat in all the dignity of savage pride, giving out their domineering commands, and drove the natives about like so many dogs. Here they stayed for a month or six weeks, eating and drinking, feasting and dancing, and making excursions of pleasure to the surrounding islands, where they were entertained in the same manner. After exhausting the provisions of these islands, they returned to the Arbai isles, where they continued some time, that Tongataboo might recruit its losses and accumulate provisions against their return.
175 Whilst going from place to place, on these triumph-
799 ant excursions of pleasure, I was frequently expos-
304 ed to the reflections and sarcasms of the young peo-
[515] ple, especially in the hour of bathing, which gene-
rally recurred three times every day, for being destitute of that cuticle vesture, which modesty has taught the South-Sea islanders to throw around them as an excellent imitation and substitute for garments; I mean the Tatoo. On these occasions, they would raise a shout of merriment and call me by opprobri-

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ous epithets, such as Ouchedair, &c. I was at length 175 determined no longer to be singular and the object 797 of ridicule. While at Vavou therefore I consented 304 to be tatooed. But the pain was so great, that I could not endure to go on with the operation, till I came to reside at Arbai, and superintended Loogolala's brother's estate (as will be related in its place). Then I summoned up resolution to have the tatooing finished by a professed operator in the neighbourhood. It was performed only every third day, the pain being so exhausting, and the large tumours which immediately follow not subsiding before that time. When it was completed I was very much admired by the natives, as the European skin displays the blue colour, and the ornaments of the tatooing to very great advantage: I looked indeed very gay in this new fancy covering.

The tatooing is used as much for the sake of decorum as ornament, and it certainly bears so admirable a resemblance to a close dress that it might in some circumstances be taken for it. When I arrived in America, a case of this kind occurred with respect to myself while at New-York. I had engaged myself to a vessel which was going to India, and having fatigued myself during the day in assisting in the lading of her, I went on shore in the evening and stopped and plunged into the water to refresh myself with bathing. Some people not far off, who saw me enter the water, supposing that I was

6

175 swimming in trowsers, came near to look at me.
I remained in the water till they had walked away,
797 but a boy about fifteen stayed till I came out: he
804 looked at me with great surprise, as though he could not believe his senses, and upon coming nearer, exclaimed, "I thought you had got some clothes on. Others upon hearing him began to approach, and had I not put on my clothes, their curiosity also, it is probable, would have discovered equal cause for surprise.

175 I recollect there was a chief at Tonga who could
304 not endure the pain of tatooing, but so impressed he appeared with the absolute necessity of it, as a decent covering, that he never was seen without his garment: but the rest of the natives had no delicacy in that respect on account of the seeming vail which the tatoo spreads over them.

175 Amongst the tribes of the Friendly Islands, the
565 advantage of being a chief is, a life of ease and indulgence, and the subserviency of all the inferior orders to his will and pleasure. While the chief revels in plenty, the lower classes are often pining for want: and after all the exactions that are made from them, they are treated by those who have the superiority, with harshness, contempt, and brutality, as though they existed merely for the purpose of drudging for their support and luxury.

Yet, amid the loud demands that have been made in these times of disorganization, for equality and re-

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CHAPTER XVI.

He finds his wife at Arbai.—An account of her escape in the war.—He goes to Tonga.—Learns the fate of the other Missionaries.—Rebellion at Tonga.—Horrid effects of it.—Loogolala defeated by the rebels.—Takes revenge on them by tootang.—His stratagems and their success.—The Author's prosperity.—Distress.—Made governour of a district.—Appointed Chief of an Island.

175 RETURNING with Loogolala to Arbai, I lived in
797 harmony and ease with the young woman whom I had espoused at the age of fourteen, at my visit to Arbai, as before related. Although no mention was made of her in the relation of the war, that the history might not be interrupted; yet for the information of some of my readers who may be desirous of knowing what became of my wives during the war, I will subjoin some account of this young woman. At the time that the war broke out, I had no wife. When therefore the brother of Mulkaamair, whose daughter the betrothed damsel was, came with Loogolala to Tongataboo, to assist Mul-

kaamair at the beginning of the war, he brought the 175
virgin with him to Mooa, and presented her to me, 797
and I conducted her to my Abbee. We returned the
next morning to Mooa, to see her father, before
his departure with Loogolala for Aheefo. The same 175
day I sent her up an arm of the sea to Ardeo, with 797
some of my people, in my canoe, while I marched 669
thither, as before related, among the troops, on foot, that followed Mulkaamair. The war commenced beyond Ardeo, as already detailed, the next morning; when, our party being defeated, they returned in the canoe down the same arm of the sea to Mooa; and not aware that Loogolala, with his division, was successful in another quarter, they conceived that the whole army was defeated; and fled away, in company with other canoes, to Arbai. Here my young bride remained, till victory declaring in our favour, and Tongataboo being subdued, I came with her father, to whom I attached myself after the death of his brother Mulkaamair, my old friend, to Arbai, and took up my abode with her at his fallee.

During this interval, the Aheefans, stung with shame and rage, took courage to rebel; and sent this message to Loogolala, "that as they had always been their own masters, they would rather die than be subject to him as slaves." [726]

At this time, I had gone to Tongataboo, with two or three more, as provisions were scarce at Arbai, to obtain a supply, to bring back with us in [724]

175 the canoe. Anxious for the rest of the brethren,
191 who escaped the slaughter which their companions
669 at Ardeo met with, and who had fled and conceal-
[724] ed themselves, as it was supposed in rocks on the
sea-shore, I made particular inquiries respecting
them.

I learned, that at the time the war broke out, Shelly, Kelso, Wilkinson, and Buchanan lived together, or near each other, at Aheefo, under the protection of Dugonagaboola. I heard also that Cooper, who took up his residence with Moola, an inferior chief, at Ahogge, had fled to them for protection. For one day being left alone in his apartment, the natives broke in, and plundered him of every thing, and threatened to kill him. He begged hard that they would spare his life, but told them they were welcome to take all his property.

When Dugonagaboola, under whose protection they all lived, was killed in the treacherous manner which has been related, (in the thirteenth chapter) they were all taken under the care of Komavai, who was a deputy chief under Dugonagaboola. He was always a kind friend to us, and we were all much attached to him. But as soon as two parties were formed, and their friends, the Aheefans, marched to fight Loogolala and his party, then they fled to the
[133] back part of the island. This they could easily do, without molestation, as the island[1] in some places, was not above six, in others only four, and even two

[1] [i.e. Tongataboo--Analyst]

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miles in breadth; while, in length, it was upwards 175
of twenty-six miles. I cannot, however, from my 797
own knowledge, ascertain its proper extent, having 669
been often much deceived respecting the relative [1331]
distance of places, through the pain and fatigue of
travelling barefoot: the natives never using any 175
protection for the feet, in the form of bandage or 797
sandal, and my own shoes being soon worn out, or 481
stolen by the natives, who, though they knew not [291]
the use of them, yet as belonging to us they conceived
they must be valuable.

I recollect travelling a whole day in company with Harper and Futtafaihe, to see Duatonga at Mooa, but walking barefoot, I was so fatigued and pained that I thought it must be at least thirty miles, but, upon inquiry, I found it to be only seventeen.

When the war terminated with the subjection of 175
the Aheefans, by the party of Loogolala, and we 797
had retired to Arbai, the five brethren returned to
Aheefo, and put themselves again under the protection of Komavai, with whom I understood they now resided.

I had some intention of visiting them, but I understood that an European vessel was off the island. I immediately hastened to the beach and went on board. It was an English ship with a spanish prize in her possession: she had put in here for provisions, by the persuasion of John Harris, who was on board. He had settled at Otaheite after he had

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175 returned thither, in the first voyage, from the Marquesa's,
797 whither he had accompanied William Crook.
The vessel having touched at Otaheite, he went on board in order to return to England. He remonstrated with me on my unbecoming appearance in the native dress. I felt conviction of the truth and justice of his remarks; and promised to return again to the ship to have some more conversation with him; but I never saw him more. Mr. Harris having sent word to the brethren they came on board the vessel that very evening; and the next morning I heard with extreme distress that the ship had sailed: whilst I, disjoined from them, was left behind as a just punishment of my dereliction of them and their cause. I now appeared to myself to be deserted for ever. My powers of mind were scarcely able to support me. But I endeavoured to summon up all my fortitude to meet my unavoidable lot, and to reconcile my mind to the prospect of settling as a native, and spending my future days at Tongataboo.

Just as the rebellion began, I arrived in a canoe,
175 with several of the friends of Loogolala, with the
797 intention to carry back provisions from Tonga to
669 Arbai. We had not proceeded far from Mooa, the
726 place where we landed, ere we met affrighted fugitives almost out of breath, who told us that the Aheefans were burning every thing they could, and killing all whom they met. We saw at a distance

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the smoke ascending from the burning fallees, or 175
cottages, that were scattered about the country, and 797
discerned clouds of dust rising as from the feet of 669
running multitudes. I, who had already been in 726
their wars, and had known what it was to tremble at the apprehension of a club, a boggebogge, or a spear at my back, was terribly alarmed. We hastened back to our canoe, and pushed off to sea to a considerable distance, as soon as possible. After a time the trembling fugitives pursued by the enemy came to the beach; they knew not where to run, nor what to do: many ran into the sea and were drowned—numbers were killed. Multitudes ran along the shore, and were pursued to Ahogge, one end of the island; whither great numbers were also driven by another party of the Aheefans, who had swept the island in their dreadful progress: here hemmed in by the sea, in front and flank, and their retreat cut off behind, where the island, being very narrow like an isthmus, was occupied by the enemy, the wretched party of Loogolala that had remained on the island after his departure were cruelly massacred.

We rowed off to a little island, and remained there till the arrival of Loogolala, who as soon as he heard of this rebellion, sailed off with a number of canoes for Tongataboo, and landed all his forces. We joined his fleet, and disembarked at the eastern 175
end of the island, in the district of Ahogge, in order 797
669

175 to obtain provisions. Here we were grieved to ob-
797 serve the ravages which the enemy had made.
669 Spectacles too shocking for humanity to contem-
plate, soon sickened my sight, and sunk my spirits.
175 I beheld, with shaking horror, large stacks of hu-
797 man bodies, piled up, by being laid transversely
669 upon each other, as a monumental trophy of the
669 victory.

727 Proceeding a little farther, a horrid spectacle almost froze my blood. It was a woman in a sitting posture, with folded arms holding a child to her breast as in the act of suckling it. Upon approaching them, I found both the mother and child cold and stiff with death. The enemy had killed them while in this posture, and indulged their savage revenge in amusing themselves with placing the dead
175 bodies in this affecting attitude. Having obtained
797 provisions, we sailed for Aheefo, and leaving our
669 canoes in the care of a few, we disembarked, and
726 were joined on shore by the district of Mafanga. I
followed them at a little distance, but near enough to
observe them, as they marched against the enemy
who had fled to Aheefo, where they found them
[712] prepared to receive them. They had enclosed
themselves with a fence formed of reeds and stakes,
from which there were only two outlets.

Loogolala could not attack the fence, because of of men stationed behind it, on the watch, who the instant an assault was made, would have speared the assailants through the enclosure: he made there-

fore a grand push at the entrance. The enemy 175
stood immoveable, as determined to keep their 797
ground. A bloody battle ensued. Only a few of 669
our troops could engage them. The enemy, therefore, 726
at length, made us give way; and pouring out
of the enclosure, chased us to the beach, where we
took to our canoes with all possible dispatch; and
made for Arbai. Here Loogolala formed the resolution 175
to improve every opportunity of making a 669
descent on Tonga, to "tootang," i. e. secretly to 726
massacre and plunder, and then return.

An opportunity offered too soon. In a clear day, and with a good breeze, we sailed from Arbai at noon; and arrived at Tonga as soon as it was dark. The followers of Loogolala were all well acquainted with the country; every harler, or road, was familiar to them. Loogolala therefore had only to form his plan, that canoes should convey troops to take possession of particular harlers, or roads, as far up the country as a certain limit in the district of Aheefo, and every man at once knew his post, and the part he was to act. These were ordered to march down the roads towards Ardeo—in profound silence, to await the enemy who should flee towards Ardeo. As soon as they were supposed to reach the appointed posts, the main army entered the different roads, at the extremity of Aheefo, leading to the district of Ardeo, where their comrades awaited the arrival of the affrighted

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
OU9 Tonga OU9

The horrible revenge by tootang was taken more 175
than once, while I was with them. When they 669
found that they were not sufficiently powerful to 726
make a descent to fight them, they would go in a
cowardly manner and cut down a field of plantains
or cocoa-nuts. By acts of revenge, like these, the
enemy were at length reduced to a state of starvation.
Our numbers at Arbai were also so great,
that we were often in extreme distress for provisions.

My father-in-law, Mulkaamair's brother, having a 175
considerable family of his own, I left him, during 797
this time of scarcity, and went to live with a relation
of Futtafaihe, or Duatonga. I wished also to
work myself into a state of independence again;
and he soon put me in the way to it, by giving me
the superintendence of a tract of land. Finding 175
that I had such methods of cultivation, and gave 797
such encouragement to the labourers that the estate
was soon brought into a fertile condition, he placed 634
me over an island in Arbai. Besides the greater [609]
improvements which he thought I should make,
there was another reason why he made me the superintendent
of it: because I was moolee or a
stranger, and such were the national ideas of the
duty of hospitality and forbearance towards strangers,
that this very consideration would preserve the
younger chiefs, as well as the other natives, from
plundering the fruits. But as the event proved, 175
[illegible] 797

175 there were no superabundant fruits to plunder. The
797 number of us was too great for the productions of
the island.

I had reserved, however, a field of plantains for
myself, and having my hut placed in the middle,
that I might the more effectually guard them, I
[609] preserved them till they were nearly ripe. But so
pressing were the calls of hunger, that I was subject
[685] to several depredations, notwithstanding my character as "moolee," or stranger; and one morning, upon opening my hut-door, I perceived that had I been awakened to defend my plantation from some thieves who had robbed it during the night, I should have been murdered. The traces of human feet and spears on each side the hut, plainly showed that two men had taken their station there with spears ready couched to pierce me as soon as I should come out.

175 The scarcity of provisions was at length so great,
that we were obliged to eat the roots of the plan-
797 tain tree for our subsistence, and to drink the milk
261 of the cocoa-nut, when very unripe. Hunger pro-
[262] voked me to drink such a quantity, that I was for a
[272] time swelled as though I had the dropsy. When
pining with hunger, I endeavoured to refresh myself with sleep. But upon awaking, I was scarcely able to rise, from weakness. Many were in this deplorable state, and numbers died through want.
[634] At length I repaired to Loogolala, as well as others,
for food.

His brother was at that time in want of some 175
assistance in his district, to prevent the people from 797
plundering the fruits, before they were ripe. He
appointed me superintendent of his district under 634
him, and I managed it with great care and success
for some time.

Before long, however, this brother of Loogolala, 175
feeling umbrage at not possessing larger power, and
finding provisions scarce at Arbai, determined to re- 669
volt against Loogolala, and to take possession of the
Vavou islands. Having made known his intentions [797]
to some neighbouring chiefs, and to the young men
in his district, most of them joined him: and he [634]
set off for Vavou, leaving me in charge of his district.

My chief deserting Loogolala, the supreme chief, 175
I was at a loss what to do. Knowing my life was
in danger, I repaired to Loogolala, and put myself 797
under his protection. I resided with him some 634
time. Becoming intimate with him and taking an active part in his concerns, he at length appointed me chief of one of the islands of Vavou; where, as provisions were scarce at Arbai, he sent me with a number of men to bring it into a state of cultivation.

The idea of having an island of my own much delighted me; and I set off for my little dominion with the greatest joy, already anticipating the happiness I should find in being freed from the many inconveniences of dependence, as a resident with a chief;

175 and doubted not, but I should soon bring the island
797 into a cultivated and fertile condition. Already in
imagination I saw the shady trees of my little Ab-
634 bee Omotaana, again flourish. Already fancy painted to my view rows of sweet canes, embowering new walks of refreshment, and pleasure. Already my busy imagination had erected a fallee or habitation upon a larger scale, planted round with bread-fruit and cocoa-trees, forming for me again the abode of plenty and peace.

But I was not aware of the dangerous post which I had accepted. The chief, whose district I had left, viz. the brother of Loogolala, resided at the Vavou islands; and if I had entered upon my government, I should soon have fallen a victim to his revenge. But a gracious providence was pleased, by a peculiar concurrence of favourable circumstances, to preserve me to see again my native land, and what is far more, to look back on my past ways with repentance, and to attend the long-neglected means of grace with gratitude and pleasure.

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
OU9 Tonga OU9

CHAPTER XVII.

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THE AUTHOR'S ESCAPE FROM THE SOUTH-SEA ISLANDS.

Sets off for Vavou.—His new government.—Hears of a ship.—Sensations produced by it.—Contrivances to reach it.—Dangers in the attempt.—Providential escape to the ship.—Reflections.—The benefits of civilized life and British privileges.

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I HASTENED into the canoe with my new subjects, and a good breeze soon wafted us out of sight of the Arbai islands. It was dark before we came off the Vavou islands. At this time the wind fell; and it was midnight before we reached the shore. As we approached the island, under what the sailors call "the lee," or sheltered side of it, the moon was above the horizon, and by its light we saw a man getting out of his canoe as though returning from fishing. Being hungry I jumped out of my canoe upon the beach, and ran after him, calling out as I approached, "mi a heker mago," i. e.

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
OU9 Tonga OU9

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"give me some fish." Notwithstanding I spoke the language fluently, yet discerning a difference of tone and accent, he turned round and said, "Koe vacca, pappa langee goo he hen,—ahoo tolou." "There is a ship of your's here, and it has been here these three days." Thinking he was only diverting my attention from his fish, of which my hunger made me very desirous to get some, I replied, "don't tell me, I say, give me some fish." But he assured me that there was a very large ship there. This intelligence excited great agitation in my mind: however I had the prudence to conceal it as much as possible; and appeared to take no notice of the information. Various plans rushed into my mind: sometimes I thought of taking a small canoe, and making my escape to the ship. But well knowing that if met by any of the natives I should be killed, I waited till morning, hoping to prevail on the chief who brought me from Arbai to Vavou, to go to the ship to trade. I told him, I doubted not, but I could get him some iron tools if he would go immediately. At this time another canoe arrived at the island on which we were, from Neua, or the Hoorn islands, not under the government of Vavou, but belonging to a separate nation, who spoke a different language. The natives in it had been some time at Vavou. They informed us that the brother of Loogolala had formed a party against him, and gave me to understand that the chief intended to re-

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
OU9 Tonga OU9

venge himself on me for leaving his district at Arbai, of which he had left me superintendent. Sensible therefore that death would be my inevitable lot, if he could get me into his hands, I used every argument to induce them to go to the ship.

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At length they consented, but as we approached had the unhappiness to see her under weigh; and was terribly afraid she would sail without me. As the wind however blew only a light breeze, the ship was some time in getting round, and the canoe could go faster than she was then able to do. I persuaded them to let me steer; and we soon came up with her, when the natives refused to let me be any longer at the helm, for fear I should run the canoe against the ship.

When we came near, I called out "How do you do countrymen." But the sailors only laughed at me, as they supposed, from my dress, that I was a native who had picked up some European phrases.

The ship was now just beginning to sail; and the only opportunity of getting out of the hands of these savages was likely to be lost for ever. What should I do? I attempted to call out who I was, but I had been so long unaccustomed to my native tongue, that I perpetually mixed the language of these islands with it: which rendered all I said so unintelligible, as to increase the ridicule and unbelief of the sailors. I jumped overboard, knowing I could easily swim to the ship; when a chief who

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
OU9 Tonga OU9

175 was near, said, "get into my canoe, I will take you
197 to the ship." But no sooner had I entered it, than he turned with me towards the shore. My situation then was almost desperate. I cried out as loudly as I could, partly in the native and partly in the English tongue: but the ship's company paid no attention. What could I do? I lifted up my eyes to heaven in despair!

Providence at length pitied my distress. "The Lord will not cast off for ever, for the spirits would fail before him."* The good captain coming on deck, my anxiety and exclamations caught his attention: he said, that must certainly be an European; and immediately ordered out a boat for me, manned with eight persons. I saw the boat coming; but the natives rowed away from it, tantalizing me, and jeering, "such a chief," said they, "wants to see you. You must visit Loogolala's brother before you leave us." At length a young man at the head of the boat beckoned to me to plunge in. I watched my opportunity, and dived deep into the water, in a direction contrary to that in which the canoe was sailing, and kept myself underneath, that they might not strike me with their paddles. Mean-

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[*] Miseris cælestia numina parcunt,
Nec semper læsos, nec sine fine premunt.
OVID.

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
OU9 Tonga OU9

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while, the boat came up with me, and the sailors pulled me in. The boat then attempted to run the canoes down; but knowing the consequence, that we should all have been murdered, as they were much superior to us in numbers, and we had no fire-arms, I called out to them to desist, telling them our danger: but here, again, I had actually so forgotten my own tongue, that I spoke in that of the natives. The natives understanding therefore what I said, were emboldened, and instead of continuing their flight turned about and began to pursue us. If they had known that we were without fire-arms, it is probable they might have overtaken and murdered us all. We made all the haste we could to the ship, which, through the kindness of a merciful providence, we safely reached. Secure upon deck, I had the satisfaction to behold my late savage companions, from whom I had been delivered, by this concurrence of circumstances too singular to be called merely casual making for that shore, on which, had I set my feet, the cruel revenge of a barbarian would soon have made it my grave. I often shudder at the thought of the peril in which my life and soul were at this alarming crisis, when a delay of a few minutes might have for ever cut off my return to the tranquil delights of civilized life, the soothing pleasures of a peaceful sabbath, and the supporting consolations of religion.

175 Had it not been for the arrival of this ship, and my sudden escape to it, it is most probable I should 797 at this moment have been lifting up mine eyes in a world of dark despair; as at this time I was "living without God in the world, and sinning against the light and knowledge of his blessed gospel," and the convictions of my own conscience.

After such a signal deliverence, I would not be backward to acknowledge the gracious providence which attended one so unworthy. I feel it my duty to retrace the steps of it, so kindly displayed in my behalf, with admiring gratitude.

000 I shrink not from the declaration of my errors, however it may disgrace me in the eyes of some, if by the confession of them, I may vindicate religion from the reproach which my conduct may have occasioned. But I trust I have to praise the Father of mercies, and the Son of his love, that by his blessed spirit, he has made me penitent for the evil of my past ways and doings; and by his grace, I now endeavour, under many infirmities and interruptions, to live to his praise and glory.—Here I cannot but make one reflection on the error of that revolutionizing philosophy which would make the world happy, by bursting the bonds of society and government, and reducing man to the state of a wandering savage. The joy which I felt upon being restored to the comforts of civilized life, a well-ordered government and the holy duties and services of revealed

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or women, except perhaps a very occasional and formal meeting with a white missionary's wife. The case is slightly different for the Catholics of the village. At least once each week men and women journey to Neiafu to attend Mass. The women use this opportunity to consult with the Convent Sisters on matters that are of common interest. At least one of the adolescent girls in the village is a boarding-pupil at the Convent School and several of the village boys journey each day to attend this same school in Neiafu. The teachers here are naturally all women. It is likely therefore that Catholic girls, women, and some of the boys develop attitudes toward white women that differ sharply from those developed by their relatives who remain Protestants. It is also likely that one reason for cultural conservatism in the field for instance, of birth customs, lies in this fact that the village women have practically no opportunity to acquire any knowledge of the birth-customs and practices of white women.

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This reasoning would also appear to hold when applied as an explanation for conservatism in the village woman's dress. Her dress is of the overall sack-style known as the "Mother Hubbard," a style introduced by missionaries to the South Seas almost one hundred years ago. The style was then supposed to add a small amount of femininity to large amounts of modesty. It has been carried on unaltered to this day even though dress styles worn by the white women in Neiafu are only a little behind the latest Paris creation. Because of this lack of intimate contact however, between village women and white women there has been no incentive among the village women to alter or modify the old-fashioned Mother Hubbard dress.

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Some have suggested that in this matter of culture-contact women are more conservative than men in taking over elements from one culture to another. Whatever the worth of this generalization, if it is assumed to hold true for Tongan women and is then considered along with the relatively few contacts that village women make with whites, a still further key may lie in our hands for interpreting the dynamics of culture-contact in present-day Tonga.

Village women have no opportunity to engage in domestic service among the few white families in Neiafu,

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

MOTHER'S BROTHER

The mother's brother is termed *fa'e tangata,* "male 604
mother." Between him and his sister's children *(ilamutu)* [601]
there is a relationship termed *fahu* which also extends to his own children. This relationship is one of great freedom, [797]
so much indeed that the missionary Baker, for instance, in compiling his Tongan dictionary defines *fahu* as "one that is above the law." The definition is not strictly correct because the *fahu* relationship is governed very precisely by the law of custom, but this custom allows behaviour that to the early missionaries must have bordered on a horrible license in regard to the disposal of property.

According to the *fahu* relationship as observed in the 604
village today, the children have full liberty to help themselves 425
to the property of their mother's brother. Thus when Biukala went to Tongatapu to boarding-school, he naturally expected his mother's brother to provide him with pocket-money, food, and clothing—just for the asking. His mother's brother never failed to give what was required. Biukala also lived with this relative during school vacations because he had free access to the mother's brother's house and all that it contained. Similarly with the complex relationship shown in the genealogy on page 74. When Heu functions as an *ilamutu* to Beni, she goes without asking permission to Beni's plantation gardens and takes whatever food she requires—bananas, plantains, yams, *taro.* She also asks Beni for a pig should she need one and have none of her own available. She does not ask Beni either for money or clothes although she would be well within her rights in so doing. After one of these visits to his gardens, Beni usually comes to Heu's house and asks if she is the one who has taken the food. Heu says yes, and Beni leaves without further comment. His visit is merely to make sure that no unauthorised persons have been tampering with his property.

Where there are several *ilamutu,* it is generally conceded 604
that the rights and desires of the senior take precedence over 561
those of the junior *ilamutu.* Seniority is based either on chronological age if all *ilamutu* are of the same generation, or else on genealogical reckoning if there is generation disparity.

771 they probably represent not so much significant differences
795 in the pursuit of spiritual truths but rather symbolic
standards which served in the past and still serve today in
the life of the village as catalytic agents in the obscure
struggles of unusual personalities to secure expression in
their conflicts with group-interests.

794 Church membership in Pangai is shown in the following
795 table:

162 TABLE 14.—CHURCH MEMBERSHIP IN PANGAI.

Church	Membership Men	Women	Boys[31]	Girls	Total	Per cent. village membership	Per cent. kingdom membership (Census 1931)
Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga	25	32	27	23	107	41	58
Free Church of Tonga	24	12	21	16	73	28	16
Church of Tonga	6	4	7	7	24	9	10
Roman Catholic Church	14	12	15	16	57	22	12
Other Churches[32]	—	—	—	—	—	—	4
Totals	69	60	70	62	261	100	100

797 That the Tongans have really believed in their religion
795 in the sense of taking some doctrinal differences seriously,
however, is shown by a brief glance at the religious history
of the kingdom. The mission of the Wesleyan church was
begun in 1822 and again in 1826. The mission of the Roman
Catholic church began in 1842. Doctrinal differences
797 between these two missions and between the missions and the
798 still pagan Tongans, were inextricably mixed in the early
795 wars of Tonga, particularly in the war of 1852 when the
669 scattered islands were being united into one kingdom. The
Tongan history-books stress the fact that this war was fought
purely for political reasons and that religion had no part
in it (as if politics and religion can be separated as neatly
in the lives of men as they can by words on a printed page!).
It is significant, however, that the king's army was composed
mostly of Wesleyans while one of the strongholds this army

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[31] Boys and girls, according to the classification of the church rolls, include those under the age of about sixteen years.

[32] "Other churches," of which there are none in Pangai, include the Church of England, the Church of the Latter Day Saints, and the Seventh Day Adventists. These three churches had a total kingdom membership in 1931 of 1,271 people.

attacked was the centre of the Catholic mission-work. And 797
it is also significant that after the war was concluded, 798
Napoleon III insisted on a treaty with the kingdom (1855) 795
in which the kingdom guaranteed freedom of religion and 669
agreed that any who had been banished or robbed of their
land because of religion should be allowed peaceably to return
to their lands again. The king objected that none had been
banished for this reason, but this clause remained in the
Treaty despite the objection. Thereafter Protestant and 795
Catholic remained and have remained at peace within the 798
kingdom, ostensibly at peace that is, because talk with
Protestant pastors that is turned to doctrinal subjects will
today, sooner or later, bring to the fore complaints about
the manner in which the Catholic church, for instance, is
alleged to recruit new members from among the Protestants
by alleged unethical methods. These complaints are probably
of significance not because of what they allege but because
they show that the Tongan takes his religion sufficiently
seriously to be worried intensely by doctrinal differences.

Differences within Wesleyan Christianity itself are a 795
further story. Shirley Baker, premier of the kingdom, a [645]
man of autocratic mind, and his king, Tubou I, in 1885
decided to form a new church, the Free Wesleyan Church of
Tonga. This action resulted in a split within the Wesleyan
church of the day because some Wesleyans did not wish to
join the new church. These Wesleyans were persecuted.
There was disorder, robbery, violence, and banishment of the
dissenters, finally banishment of Baker himself (1890). The
net result was two forms of Wesleyan Christianity. In 1924 (643)
the queen conceived the idea of bringing about a united
church. She tried to reunite the Free Wesleyan church to
the Wesleyan church to form the Free Church of Tonga.
But again a minority decided to be different and members
of the Free Wesleyan church who objected to the union
formed a separate church which they called the Church of
Tonga. Thus there have come into being three groups of
Wesleyans. The villager seems to align himself with one
or other of these three or with the Roman Catholics according
to vagaries which become explicit only when he thinks of
changing affiliation.

14: Thomson OU9 Tonga OU9

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[For further information on Shirley Baker, the missionary, in his role as premier of Tonga, see Category 645.]

648 suggestion did not occur—namely, that the "Honourable and Reverend" Shirley Waldemar Baker, First Minister of the king and the State Church, had fallen from his high estate, and had been removed from the little kingdom where he had so long ruled the natives for their good and his own profit.

The tongue of rumour was hushed at last. Suva awoke one morning to find the Red Cross fluttering from the signal-staff, and her Majesty's ship, ironically christened
[797] the Rapid, creeping slowly along the reef. Almost before
the yellow flag had been hauled down the news flashed along the beach that Baker had indeed fallen, and could not again set foot in Tonga for two years on pain of imprisonment.

128 A sketch of the events of the last few years cannot be avoided, but it shall be a sketch in outline only.

797 When George Tubou became king in 1845 his people
were in the white-heat of a conversion to Christianity.
[212] The missionaries had taught them to read and write, and
[671] to pass a simple code of law. They had imbued them with
797 envy of the dignity of civilised States,—their law courts,
177 their police, the uniforms and salaries of their officials,
178 and their other blessings of civilisation—including taxes.
All these the Tongans might have if they were shown how to begin. For years there was no one to direct their nascent aspirations. Their teachers had no enterprise, and devoted themselves to the spiritual rather than the temporal needs of their flock; but at last with the necessity came the man. Mr Baker was a genius in his way. None knew better than he how to work upon the feelings of his congregation, or could better gauge the exact

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

moment to send round the collection-plate. None could 797
lay out the funds thus collected in church-building with 177
better effect. None was so jealous of the honour and in- 178
dependence of Tonga, warning her when any of the great
nations cast greedy eyes upon her emerald shores. He [186]
designed the national ensign, and the royal standard with
three club-knives, such as the European officers strap to
their sides, and a dove carrying a branch in its beak, and
the Great Seal, and many other things that make a nation
respected. These were foreigners' things and their mean-
ing was therefore not known to Tongans, but they were the
emblems of civilisation. He it was who ordered the tim-
ber for the palace and the churches and all the public
buildings, which cost a great deal of money. And lastly, [648]
it was he who persuaded a German Consul-General to
come to Tonga in a man-of-war to make a treaty, so that
Tonga was recognised of the Great Powers: for this
honour only a small island was given to Germany as a
coaling-station, and for his labours as interpreter between
the plenipotentiaries Mr Baker received, as was right and
proper, a decoration from the German Emperor.

Then Unga, the premier and the king's son, died in 797
Auckland, and Mr Baker, out of his love for the king, 645
brought back the body to Tonga in a German man-of-war,
and consented to fill the place that Unga had left empty.
For charges had been made against Mr Baker—the great [794]
are always envied!—and a committee of his peers in the
Methodist Church had advised his removal to Australia.
Thus Unga's death saved him from the pain of leaving
the Tongans whom he loved.

Now the king had a grievance against the Conference. 797
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797 795 Every year the mission collected for church purposes large sums that were not spent in Tonga, but were transferred to some other circuit more in need of money. He contended with reason that this money ought to be spent for the benefit of those who had contributed it. Mr Baker, as head of the mission, had been the most active in developing a doubtful method of collecting funds; but as he, too, had a grievance against the Conference who had profited by his ingenuity, and turned round upon him when the facts became too notorious to admit of denial, he threw in his lot with the king. After King George he was now the most powerful man in the kingdom, and his power could be greatly developed, provided that the missionaries left him alone. He had to choose between conciliating or fighting them, and he chose the latter alternative as more consonant with his tastes. If he failed, their opposition to him could not be more bitter than it was before; whereas if he succeeded in driving them from Tonga, his government would be independent of all opposition, while his thirst to avenge his private wrongs would be gratified. It was a bold scheme, and it very nearly succeeded.

King George had long been asking that Tonga should be constituted a separate Conference, having control over its own finances; but unsuccessfully, because the Wesleyan authorities felt that an infant Church, whose members were but yesterday practising heathen rites, and who were never remarkable for diffidence or stedfastness of purpose, were scarcely in a fit state to be freed from leading-strings. Mr Baker began to irritate this old sore. [643] He suggested to the king that, if the Conference persisted

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

in resisting his most reasonable demands, he ought to set 797
up a Wesleyan Church of his own, a national Church, 795
ruled by the same laws as those that governed other 643
Methodist churches. He even persuaded his successor in the chairmanship of the district, a Mr Watkin, to betray his trust and secede with him. When all was ready, he telegraphed to the Australian Conference, then sitting, warning them to accept the king's terms, or suffer the consequences. He was probably aware, when he sent this telegram, that there was no time for the receipt of a favourable reply before the date he had fixed in his ultimatum, but he had, he considered, cleared his own character, and he now proceeded to make his *coup-d'état*.

So the new Church was set up, and in a few weeks it 795
had been embraced by a majority of the people and of the native ministers, who joined the new Church "out of their love for Tubou" and received higher salaries for
their loyalty to their sovereign. The king's influence 798
was enormous, but Mr Baker had slightly overrated it; 797
for, in spite of all persuasions and threats, a very re- 795
spectable minority were left who flatly refused to turn, not probably for conscientious motives,—for the tenets of the two Churches were exactly the same,—but because they disliked Mr Baker and were attached to the Wesleyan missionary, and also because their natural obstinacy and dislike of being "hustled" came to their support. He had now to face the Wesleyans, armed with very good grounds for complaint, and, to save himself from losing ground, he had recourse to persecution, petty at first, but descending later to rather gross out-

798 rages. Unfortunately for the Wesleyan cause, these
797 outrages were much exaggerated by well-meaning but
795 inaccurate friends, so that people grew sceptical as to
the truth of any of them.

798 Being now in the zenith of his power, in the enviable
797 position of a ruler who is his own treasurer and auditor
and also controls the law courts, he became, as men of his stamp always do become, a petty tyrant, without the tact or temper to control the disaffection he created. A dangerous feeling against him began to develop itself among the chiefs, and instead of conciliating them, as a shrewder man would have done, he trusted everything to his ascendancy over the king, and treated chiefs and com-
798 moners alike as his inferiors in virtue of his office. In
797 1886 four prisoners, undergoing imprisonment for petty
682 offences, escaped from jail, and hid for months among
[681] the caves at the back of the island, living upon such food
[697] as the sympathy of the people procured for them under
cover of night. On the night of January 5, 1887, they lay in wait for Mr Baker as he drove home in the dusk with his son and daughter. They fired, but the shot missed its mark, breaking the boy's arm as he ran to stop them, and wounding the girl as she tried to screen her father. The horse, not less terrified than its driver, bolted, leaving the two wounded children on the ground, nor could it be stopped until it had carried its master to a place of safety. It was a savage crime, but the revenge
[694] taken for it was scarcely behind it in savagery. There
were wholesale arrests: there was a trial in the presence of the native Chief Justice, a native jury, and Mr Baker; but as the public was not admitted to the court, and the

few Europeans present were ignorant of Tongan, we have 798
only native accounts of the proceedings to rely upon. 797
Several men were condemned to death, including the 682
actual perpetrators of the crime, and four, one of whom [694]
was more than probably innocent, were taken to Malinoa [696]
island and summarily shot. Others would have followed [648]
had not the Europeans interfered and threatened Mr
Baker personally, and during the delay thus secured
H.M.S. Diamond arrived with the High Commissioner,
Sir Charles Mitchell, from Fiji.

Mr Baker had affected from the first to regard the 798
attack upon him as a conspiracy of the Wesleyans, and 797
sought to connect the missionary, and even the English
Vice-Consul, with the crime. It was an opportunity for
wiping out the remnant of the Wesleyan Church. On the 798
pretence that there was an insurrection against the king's 578
authority in Tongatabu, he summoned the men of Haapai 669
and Vavau to come and restore order. They came with
all the savage ruffianism in them aroused by the remembrance
that Tongatabu was their ancient enemy. Armed,
and with blackened faces, they spread over the country,
plundering the houses of the Wesleyans, flogging and insulting
all who refused to join the Free Church. The 798
remnant of those who still held out, some two hundred 688
souls, were huddled on board two small schooners, and 167
shipped off to Fiji. They were thus thrust destitute upon
the Government of that colony, which was put to no
small inconvenience and expense in providing for them.
Eventually they were settled on the fertile island of Koro,
dissatisfied, and in continual disagreement with their
Fijian neighbours. It was their sudden arrival that [648]

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798 caused the High Commissioner to visit Tonga. The ex-
688 haustive judicial inquiry which he held furnished ample
167 grounds for the removal of Mr Baker under the Order in
648 Council which empowers the High Commissioner to remove
797 any British subject who, in his opinion, is dangerous to the
648
645 peace and good order of the island in which he is living.
But since Mr Baker, in fact, constituted in himself the Tongan Government, it was not clear that his removal would not be followed by anarchy; and as the king undertook to put a stop to the persecution of the Wesleyans, and to adopt certain other reforms, Sir Charles Mitchell preferred allowing them to be effected through Mr Baker's agency to incurring the risk of the chaos that might result from his removal. The ship of war therefore sailed for Fiji, taking with her the rest of the prisoners lying under sentence of death.

645 Now Mr Baker had expected to be removed, and he
797 attributed this leniency to a different motive. He argued,
798 doubtless, that if the High Commissioner had failed to
[648] remove him after the wholesale persecution of the Wes-
leyans and other illegalities, it was because he was afraid to do so, and that he was not likely to take extreme action against him for any lesser cause. So long, therefore, as he restrained himself within certain limits, he might continue his former policy without let or hindrance. The king, who had so often been his scapegoat, could be made to bear the sole blame of breaking the promises made to Sir Charles Mitchell. So the promises were not fulfilled, and things went on very much as before, except that the annoyances to which the Wesleyans were subjected were a little less flagrant. Not content with having escaped

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retribution, he wanted to celebrate his triumph to the 797
world. He was living in the king's palace, and to some 798
extent at the king's expense. His crippled children were 645
drawing pensions from the Treasury. It was time to settle with his enemies—such, at least, as had not been shot or exiled to Fiji. He called a shorthand writer, and dictated in Tongan a report of the attack on him, which he persisted in calling "the assassination," writing with gross disrespect of the High Commissioner, and accusing the British Vice-Consul, since deceased, of having furnished the musket with which the crime was committed. This document was thereupon taken to the native Chief of Police to be signed as his report to the king, for by this means did Mr Baker innocently suppose that he would protect himself from the penalties for the libels of which he was the author. It was then translated, and published as a Blue-book headed "Private and Confidential," probably with the view of protecting the Auckland printers.

But this time he had gone too far. The High Commissioner at once called upon him to retract the libels or take the consequences, and he apologised in the most abject manner; but, when it came to publishing a refutation of the libel, difficulties arose. The Chief of Police flatly refused to sign it, and when at last he was induced to present it to the king, his Majesty threw it on the ground, declaring that he had been made a fool of. But it was printed all the same, "By his Majesty's command."

The Tongans were beginning to have quite enough of 797
Mr Baker, who lived most of his time in Auckland devis- 645
ing obnoxious laws, travelling backwards and forwards at

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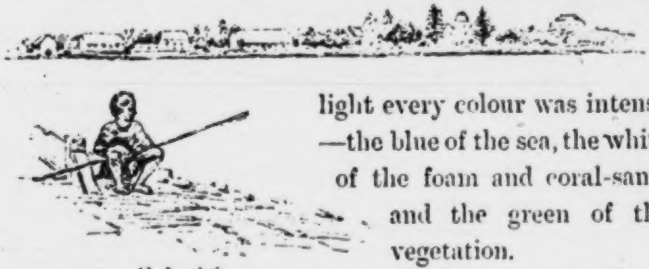
797 their expense, and only coming among them accompanied
645 by a retainer armed with a revolver. In 1889 they simply
651 neglected to pay their taxes, and the Premier was in consequence unable to pay the salaries of his numerous
651 officials. Now when a Government, however small, fails
687 to pay its own servants, its time is near. The power to distrain for taxes was useless, for as soon as the sheriff's officer was abroad the defaulter made temporary loans of his property to his relations. The alternative was to sell the defaulter's labour to the highest bidder, but a Government cannot put the whole of its subjects up to auction. So the Premier wisely went to Auckland, and, to tide over his more pressing necessities, floated a loan on the security of copra to be hereafter levied.

But the High Commissioner had not done with him.
648
645 The king's promises to Sir Charles Mitchell had not been fulfilled: the Wesleyan exiles were still a burden upon the Government of Fiji. It was useless for Mr Baker to shelter himself behind the king, because a Minister whose advice is not taken ought logically to resign. Mr Baker had, however, no intention of resigning, and could not afford to let the High Commissioner see the king in his absence. In May 1890, therefore, he went from Auckland to Tonga to await the expected visit, writing to some friends that he would return as soon as he had disposed of the "champion of the Wesleyans," as he playfully termed Sir John Thurston.

648 H.M.S. Rapid anchored at Nukualofa on the 25th June
645 1890, and on the 27th Sir John and his suite paid an
643 official visit to King George at his house, the greater part of which was occupied by Mr Baker and his family. He

798 geysers as each heavy sea forced the water into the cave-
167 like tunnels in the reef; between the main island and
[133] picturesque Eua; through an intricate channel among the
reef islets, until some houses showed white against the
thick mass of palms. This was Nukualofa. In the sunlight every colour was intense—the blue of the sea, the white of the foam and coral-sand, and the green of the vegetation.

[361]



Nukualofa.

From the moment
[152] when the first land was sighted the exiles began to show
signs of anxiety, which increased with every throb of
798 the propeller. They got out mats from their bundles,
167 presumably in order to land neatly dressed; but, to our
292 surprise, we saw that the outer mat petticoats they
576 were putting on were impossibly dirty and ragged. Not
ragged enough, however, to satisfy their critical taste, for as we neared the shore they began nervously to tear and unravel the edges of these filthy garments, stopping at times to inspect their progress towards disreputability. We had yet to learn that a Tongan expresses humility, repentance, and respect for dignities by the raggedness of his attire. The High Commissioner's advice regarding their demeanour on arrival had not been lost upon them.

798 We were boarded by the Collector of Customs and the
167 Vice-Consul, and while we were still talking to them, two
797

excited missionaries dashed up the ladder and fell upon 798
their flock. It was a demonstration that might well have 167
been spared, for the wharf was now filling with people, [797]
and it was the interest of the mission, as well as of the
exiles, that they should return as the king's subjects, and
not as members of a Church of which he disapproved.
Meanwhile the chief men among the exiles, William
Maealiuaki and Matealona, landed to report themselves
to Tukuaho, the Premier, and we pulled to the wharf
and landed among the crowd of sight-seers. I tried in [152]
vain to detect any enthusiasm, but, with the exception of
the near relations of the exiles, who could be distinguished
from the others by their eager questioning of the native
crew of our boat, the people, who numbered perhaps 150,
seemed to have come from mere motives of curiosity.
Mrs S., the daughter of one of the missionaries, explained
the absence of demonstration by saying that we had been
expected on the previous Sunday, when large numbers
had awaited our arrival; but this explanation scarcely
accounted for the absence of the townspeople, who had
had fully two hours' notice of the arrival of the steamer.
The people assembled were scarcely more than would have
come to see the arrival of the ordinary monthly steamer.
Mrs S. went on to say that affairs were less satisfactory
than had been hoped. The king had gone away to Haapai 643
to finish the building of a church. There had been a free 578
fight between the lads of the Government and the Wesleyan [798]
colleges. The Collector of Customs had had a difference [645]
with the Premier about a copra contract, and, to the
great inconvenience of the public, had closed the Customs
office for a whole day as a protest. Moreover, "certain

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578 persons" had been endeavouring to set my native colleagues
against me, and they were so demoralised by the
turn affairs had taken that they talked freely of resignation.
[651] There were, in short, rumours of wars everywhere,
and not a shilling had been taken as taxes since the High
651 Commissioner left a month before. A little later I heard
439 the other side of the story, which was that an enterprising
436 copra-trader had persuaded the native Premier to proclaim
that the Government would accept copra in lieu of money
for taxes, and to sell the copra thus obtained to him at a
fixed rate; and Tukuaho, being new to the business, had
been easily persuaded that the offer was disinterested, and
had acted upon it, to the great indignation of the rival
traders and the detriment of the Government, as will be
explained hereafter.

But the worst news of all, although the least unexpected,
793 798 was that the Free Church ministers were up in arms.
795 They felt, naturally enough, that in Mr Baker they had
[797] lost a powerful champion, and that the Government was
no longer to use its machinery for the annoyance of their
adversaries, the Wesleyans. The return of the exiles was
a triumph for the minority, for among them were the only
persons of rank who remained faithful to the old Church.
[797] Mr Baker was their prophet and their *defensor fidei,* who
alone could keep alive the spirit of enthusiasm, and insure
the punctual payment of their salaries from the annual
[618] mission collections. Naturally enough, therefore, they
"talked *lotu*" from their pulpits—that is to say, they vilified
the rival sect, and hinted that the removal of Mr
Baker was but the preface to the seizure of the country by
186 Great Britain. Now every Tongan is hysterically patri-
829

VI.

THE POLITICAL USES OF A STATE CHURCH.

THE *bolotu*, or night-service, is a growth of Tongan soil. 796
As Christians the Tongans may no longer enjoy the mild [795]
excitement of taking kava to the shrine of a god, and see [782]
the priestess shiver and foam at the mouth in an ague fit, [793]
or hear her scream the favourable oracle in high falsetto.
The missionaries have stopped all that. True, they may [797]
take to preaching, but they cannot all preach—there must
be some to form the congregation. They have the histri- [152]
onic instinct, and no outlet for it in private theatricals or
drawing-room recitations; therefore they wisely make the
mission supply the place of that which it has taken away,
and to do them justice, they have produced an exhibition
far more picturesque than the religious orgies of the
Salvation Army.

The little thatched church blazed with kerosene-lamps [373]
that threw broad streaks of light from the windows upon
the palm-leaves wet with the rain, lighting the gay *valas*
and brown legs of several mysterious groups who had
formed at a distance. We found the inside of the build-

645 only the women had been impressed, but now the men's
186 set faces relaxed, and there was a chorus of "*Malo!*")
645 But that was not all. There were some perhaps who
797 loved the man who was gone. Well—he was not there to
speak ill of the absent, but he would say this, that the
accounts were now being audited, and that some very
strange things were coming to light. Did they think that
any Tongan could thread the dark passages of such cunning?
645 No. The king knew that when he asked for a
[643] white man to be sent to audit the accounts, and to make
[609] the dark ways plain. He was present, sitting at his side.
(I tried to look unconscious.) In six short months he
would leave them: it would be useless for them to ask
781 him to stay longer—he could not. But he (Tukuaho) was
there to-night to speak of his soul, and not of politics.
What had politics to do with a church in which before
God all men were equal? It was true that his soul was
pained, but he had at least the comfort of knowing that
he was doing his duty.

634 Before the applause had subsided Fatafehi was on his feet.
"I hear that you are all angry with me. Very well:
that's your affair. But what is it about?" He laughed—
not his hereditary laugh, but a less pleasant sound. "I
will tell you why you are angry," he went on, and lashed
the mischief-makers with great vehemence, not even deigning
to end his speech with a devotional peroration.

796 "There will be less foolish talk to-morrow," said
645 Tukuaho as we came away. "It was a good *bolotu*, only
I am sorry that Fatafehi's words were so hot."

203 208 As soon as we reached home the spies were set in

in virtue of his local rank. His office, however, seemed 634
to place him next to the Governor in importance, for he 624
alone can have the ordering of other men's labour without 554
paying for it—a distinction that carries weight in every 466
community. Tukuaho told them how much he regretted 645
that an empty Treasury had tied his hands, so that he 634
could not yet pay them the nine months' salary due to 624
them on Mr Baker's departure; but he announced that 465
from that day forward their salaries would be punctually
remitted to them, and that the payment of the amount
owing to them by his predecessor (he was not going to
speak ill of the absent) would depend upon their own
loyalty. The sooner they could induce their friends to pay [651]
their taxes, the sooner would they receive the arrears due
to them.

Next day the mail-steamer from New Zealand put in, 205
after touching at Nukualofa. From the former place she 797
brought Mr Baker's son—formerly his private secretary— 645
carrying, for distribution among the natives, a bundle of 795
lithographs of his father, subscribed "The Premier appointed by Tubou"; and from the latter Mr Watkin,
the chief minister of the Free Church, and the staunch
ally of the late Premier, ostensibly to make church collections, but also, as it afterwards proved, to further unsettle
the minds of his flock.

At mid-day we set sail for Nukualofa. A chain of 823
volcanoes traverses the Tongan group from north to south, 795
and one or other of the craters is generally in a state of [133]
sufficient activity to be employed by one of the contending Church parties against the other. In August 1886, [186]
the sudden eruption in Niuafoou was pointed to by the

621 with hands lifted above their heads. They were of every
203 age—from the dressed-up monkey fresh from college, in
623 black coat, trousers, and bare feet, proud in the possession
645 of all human knowledge, to the grey-headed elder in the
[291] quiet dignity of the *vala* of native cloth. Tukuaho made a capital speech, denying emphatically the false reports that had been set about, and appealing to the patriotism of his hearers to get their taxes in and save their country from ruin. They must, he said, hold *fonos*, at which only those who were in arrears with their taxes should attend, and as each man completed his payments he should be relieved from further attendance. Then he called upon me for my maiden speech in Tongan, and I delivered myself of a string of platitudes about the independence of Tonga, and the desire of England to see her stand alone: that England did not want Tonga, having quite enough to do with the slice of the world she had already, to which Tonga was but a fly-blow on the map: that I had come at the king's request, not to meddle in their concerns, but to help them, and when they wanted help no longer I should go away. Then the spokesman fidgeted and asked leave to proffer a request. They were tired, he said, of talking to those who would not listen to them: would the Premier himself come and hold their *fono?* After some discussion it was settled that we should hold a *fono* in each of the three great divisions of the island.

578 News now came from Vavau that Mr Watkin and
797 Mr Baker's son and former private secretary had between them contrived to stir up a hornet's nest. The boy, with the secrecy of a conspirator, had been distributing leaflets and photographs of his celebrated father, and the minister

of peace had been talking war. My informant, the Wes- 578
leyan missionary, showed me a letter from one of his 797
native colleagues which left no doubt upon the point.
Mr George Brown, the energetic and able head of the
mission, would have liked Mr Watkin to be allowed rope
enough to hang himself, but as that would have involved
the starvation of the Government, already reduced to
inanition, I decided to "belay." I was armed with a 648
letter from the High Commissioner—to be given or with- 578
held as I thought fit—warning him in plain terms that 797
abstention from politics was required of him. The time 795
for using this letter had now come. There being a special
reason for an interview for the purpose of adjusting the
outstanding accounts between the Government and the
Free Church, I invited him to meet me at the public
offices, and asked C—— to be present and take notes
of the conversation. The reverend gentleman was rather
restless throughout the interview, and seemed particularly
uncomfortable at seeing an unobtrusive figure busily
writing columns of figures at the other table. Experience
of his absent colleague's methods of diplomacy had taught
him where traps were to be suspected. I kept him in
conversation for some minutes upon matters affecting
the welfare of the Church, and then he seized his hat,
and would have beaten a precipitate retreat had I not
stopped him, and handed him the letter. As he read
it his face became cadaverous, and his hand trembled
so that he could not have understood the words. I told
him that there was a particular reason for giving him the
letter at this moment, since he was reported to have been
using the language of disaffection at Vavau, and, before he

648 could express the denial that rose to his lips, I read him
578 a quotation from one of his sermons in which he talked of
797 the injustice done to the good Baker, and of fighting. I
795 asked him whether to talk to natives of fighting was not likely to put the idea into their heads, if it was not there already. He said, "When I said that I meant to warn them of doing anything so foolish; and though I do sympathise with Mr Baker, there were many of his actions with which I did not at all agree." I then told him that the Government, with great reluctance, had resolved to take action against him unless he gave me a formal assurance that he would not only abstain from opposing them, but would also hold himself responsible for the actions and language of his subordinates; and I added that we expected more from him than mere abstention — he must give us a loyal support. After some hesitation he promised to do all that lay in his power, and C—— took his words down as he spoke them. He then said that there was one thing which he wanted very much to know—who had given me the information? I told him that I did not doubt his curiosity, but that I had not the slightest intention of enlightening him. The man might have fared badly if his identity had been known. Whoever he was, he was a good reporter.

797 However difficult it may be to sympathise with a man
795 who has betrayed his employers, I could not help pitying
793 Mr Watkin, who was made responsible for the actions of the most self-satisfied and insubordinate body ot ecclesiastics in the world. Since Mr Baker's departure it was evident that his influence over them was waning, and

already they were asking why they should not elect 797
one of themselves as President of their "Conference," 795
and why their salaries should be lower than that of their 793
white brother. From this it is only a step to a new
and original interpretation of the Scriptures, and to a
bastard Christianity like the Hauhauism of the Maories
and the Tuka of Fiji.

Our three great *fonos* were a decided success. We rode 621
first to Hihifo with an informal escort of mounted police 645
and clerks, not excepting the faithful spy, Peter. Tungi, [493]
being past the age and figure for equestrian exercise, [492]
travelled in an American buggy, which stuck fast every
now and then in the deep mud caused by the rains, while
we rode on at the untiring canter that is the easiest pace
for Tongan ponies. Few of our escort had girths, and not [492]
all had saddles, but this did not seem to incommode them
in the least. We reached Kolowai, the chief town, plastered
with mud, and halted under the celebrated colony of
flying-foxes. They were a revolting sight. Four great 825
banyan and ironwood trees shaded the road, and these
were covered with the living fruit so thickly clustered
that the branches drooped with their weight. Thousands
upon thousands hung there from their hind-claws, sleeping,
crawling, squealing, quarrelling, stretching their
uncanny sails, and scratching their light-brown heads
with a winged claw. The leaves and the grass beneath
the trees had long ago been killed by their unwholesome
presence; and the stench was so overpowering that we
had to edge to windward. They are *tabu*—Heaven knows
why, for they do immense damage to the plantations—
and they are never shot at. Formerly, it is said, they

on an island in the bay; but the majority lived upon the 696
Government banana plantations. All alike were free to 466
sleep where they pleased, and, if their homes were at a distance, were obliged to beg or steal their food. The female prisoners, who were generally in trouble for social offences, might be seen any day weeding the public squares; while their brown babies, oblivious of the fact that they had no right to exist, rolled about in the shade of the nearest tree. As a natural consequence of such a [554]
system, there was not only no disgrace attaching to imprisonment, but, since the beginning of the Church quarrels, there was even a certain *cáchet* in being one of the goodly company of ministers of the Church and men of rank in trouble for their religious views.

Let it not be supposed that so great a legislator as Mr 681
Baker had forgotten to provide regulations for the control 797
of his convicts. I discovered them by mere accident, for 645
they were not published. As already related, the son of 697
the late Premier had passed through the group distributing photographs of his estimable father. The day he left Nukualofa, Ula, the head jailer, came to Tukuaho with a document in Tongan in the young man's handwriting, which may be translated as follows: "I, Ula, do declare before God that I have never flogged a woman by the orders of Mr Baker." There was a date and a place for the signature and the seal, neither of which had been affixed. "He sent twice to me to ask me to sign this," said Ula, "but I would not. Then he came himself, and asked me to sign by the love that I bore his father, but still I would not, so he called me by bad names and went away in the steamer."

681 “And did you flog women by order of Mr Baker?” I
777 asked.

645 Ula fumbled in his waistband, and produced a tiny
697 green-paper book, printed in Tongan, and pointed to the words, “It shall be lawful to flog any prisoner guilty of unruly conduct.” Then turning over the pages he showed me the signature at the foot, “Misa Beika.” They were the Prison Regulations, and I at once annexed them for future study. “There is nothing there forbidding me to beat women,” continued Ula, “so I beat them when they were unruly, and Mr Baker knew that I did and said nothing. It is not forbidden in our customs.” It appeared that the story of the women being flogged had been carried to Auckland by one of the ships-of-war, and the fallen Premier wanted to clear his character by an affidavit from a Tongan jailer.

681 As the right to punish was vested in the jailer, it was
697 of course not used against those who had taken the precaution of winning his favour. There was in fact no discipline, and the prisoners were fast becoming a source of public danger.

696 Yet smooth as was the life of a Tongan malefactor, no
Tongan likes work; and since it was so easy to escape, it
[461] became fashionable to steal boats and set sail for Samoa or Fiji. There was a spice of adventure and danger about such an escape that exactly suits a Tongan. They suffered sometimes. Jope, who reached Lakemba in an open boat in 1886, would have died of hunger in another twelve hours. Two men who sailed from Niuafoou were never again heard of. On the other hand, several such attempts were successful. The men who stole the Government

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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IX.

A SCHOOL OF COOKERY FOR ACCOUNTANTS.

000 MUTUAL confidence has so far decayed in this cynical age
that the financial powers of statesmen are usually limited
to the disbursement of the money voted to them by the
Legislature, while even this limited authority is subjected
645 to the rigid scrutiny of an uncompromising auditor. But
797 Mr Baker saw the ignoble suspicion that such a system
652 implied. He said to King George, "Trust me not at all,
451 or all in all," and thenceforth voted his own supplies,
kept his own Treasury, and was his own auditor,—a combination of offices that reflects equal credit upon the intellect that devised it and the high-minded confidence of the people who suffered it to be.

But what public character escapes the self-debasing slings of calumny? There were many who dared to throw doubts upon this arrangement, and to ask how the Honourable and Reverend Shirley Waldemar Baker so far transcended his fellow-men as to be exempted from the audit to which other Ministries are subject. It showed a mean and grovelling spirit; but the hydra-headed body called the public is composed for the most part of mean

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and grovelling spirits, who pay their taxes without en- 645
thusiasm, and persist in regarding their rulers as men of 797
like passions with themselves. So wise a man as the 652
ex-Premier was not ignorant of the fact that public con- 451
fidence was worth maintaining, even by pandering to the lower wants of his constituents, and he gave them the independent audit they sighed for. He selected as auditors a doctor, since deceased, an ease-loving soul, who chose life in Tonga because it was far from the irksome conventionalities of an effete civilisation, and the manager of the German firm—both unconnected with his detractors, and above the suspicion of partiality for himself. On the appointed day the books, and as many of the receipts as could be found, were laid before the two auditors, who added up the totals, and ticked off the receipts against the corresponding entries in the ledger. Then they asked for more receipts, and the Premier's office was ransacked without complete success for documents that had been mislaid. The audit dinner followed—a very sumptuous repast, if the viands bore any analogy to the wine-merchant's bill,—the audit certificate was signed, and forthwith printed and published to the censorious world.

The auditors conceived that their business began and ended with the books. If the money spent was all accounted for, it was not their affair to ask the Premier whence he derived authority for building a railway, for whom a cargo of strong liquors was intended, or why his club subscription should be paid from public funds. They were called in as accountants to audit certain books, not to ask irrelevant questions. They had perforce to accept the statement of the books as to the amount of revenue,

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645 because Mr Baker said they were correct, and there was
797 no means of checking a calculation that was arrived at by
652 the ingenious yet simple method of counting the balance
451 of coin in the safe at the end of the year, and adding it to
the expenditure. This, by the way, is the best of all methods for ascertaining one's income, because the sum must come out right. Once a-year the Premier published a financial statement, but with this the auditors had nothing to do, and one must reluctantly confess that it was received by the world with cold suspicion.

I have already related that the fallen statesman was very anxious to take away some of his account-books. Not long after my arrival in Tonga he had written officially to demand them, and to challenge the right of an auditor to examine accounts which (he was pleased to say) had received the approval of Parliament; adding that if any adverse criticisms were made upon his financial transactions, he would demand an independent audit of his own. He was indeed so hyper-sensitive upon the subject of this threatened audit, that we felt a pardonable anxiety to lose no time in setting to work.

One glance at the disorder of the books and papers sufficed to convince me that I could not hope to make a complete audit for months to come, and I therefore wrote to the High Commissioner to ask him for the services of an accountant from the Colonial Government of Fiji. The return steamer brought Mr Forth, the present Auditor of that colony. He was allowed a fortnight only in which to attack his difficult task, and, considering the confusion and deficient information with which he had to contend, he made remarkable progress.

Some time was lost in attempting to begin at the date of 797
Mr Baker's dismissal and work backwards; but with the 645
discovery that many of the vouchers were missing, and 652
that there was no means of ascertaining the exact amount 451
of revenue, we abandoned hope of making a complete audit of the past year, and contented ourselves with a scrutiny of the payments we knew to have been made. But before examining the books for which an audit certificate had been published, I applied to Herr T——, the only surviving auditor, for permission to publish a criticism of these accounts, a request to which he very kindly acceded.

The financial system is worth describing. There was a 652
head-treasury at Nukualofa, and sub-treasuries at Haapai, 651
Vavau, and the two Niuas. The native revenue-collectors were required to pay in their weekly receipts to the sub-treasurer, who kept with intermittent exactitude elaborate books ruled in columns for every conceivable head of receipt. When sufficient time had been allowed for accumulation the Premier made a descent upon the sub-treasuries, and carried off the money to Nukualofa, amid the murmurs of the men of Haapai and Vavau, who thought that the money should be spent in their own island. When the bags of silver reached the head-treasury, Tubo, the chief clerk, patiently counted it over, entered it in his books as revenue from Haapai or Vavau, as the case might be, and put it into his safe for the liquidation of "Treasury Orders." These "Treasury Orders" were a financial 652
triumph of which any Chancellor of the Exchequer
might be proud. When salaries or accounts became due [436]
the "Paymaster" drew a cheque upon the Treasury,

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to the Wesleyan cause worth far more than the value of 795
the trumpery church property said to be unlawfully de- 798
tained. So long as the Rev. George Brown remained in 795
Tonga as the head of the mission the Wesleyans showed 798
the most admirable self-restraint. They bore their disa- 797
bilities with good temper, and did not run the risk of irritating the susceptibilities of the Free Church ministers by attempting to regain any of their lost ground. But he was the General Secretary of Missions, and could not continue to stay in Tonga now that his Church was no longer in imminent danger of extinction. As soon as his restraining influence was withdrawn, and Mr C—— became the head of the mission, there was a change. He was an amateur lawyer, whose natural turn for hair-splitting polemics had been sharpened by much bandying of words with Tongan magistrates during the Reign of Terror. In an evil hour he came to Nukualofa, and with his brother-in-arms began to plan cutting-out expeditions into the enemy's country. They held the fallacious belief that the people were only deterred by fear of the king from returning to the bosom of their old Church, and that since a period of toleration had been proclaimed they might safely hold services again in the villages that they had lost. It chanced that an old woman from Havelu had lately been reconverted, and she, questioned as to the spiritual attitude of her fellow-villagers, declared that they were only waiting for a favourable opportunity to follow her example. Mr C—— consulted the impetuous Kubu, who told him that there would be no danger in holding services again in Havelu, and upon the following Sunday a chosen band of native teachers rode thither,

795 and reopened the long-disused church with a thanks-
798 giving service. In the evening the Free Church held a
797 *bolotu*, and in the excitement of that inebriating act of
worship vowed that they would not again suffer their
village to be desecrated by the hosannas of the *Fakaongo.*
795 Each speaker surpassed the last, until nine fanatics rushed
798 out of the church for their axes and fell upon the Wes-
797 leyan church, hacking at the tie-beams until the roof fell
685 in with a crash. The news reached Nukualofa very late
on the Sunday night, and before daylight the nine men
of action had been haled to the police station, and thrown
into the dark cells. Then the fiery Kubu, having had
time for reflection, came to me for advice. I called at
the mission-house and tried to point a moral. The
reverend gentlemen were not a little aghast at the (to
them) unexpected result of applying a match to dry
gunpowder, and were as anxious as I to repair the damage
they had done. The men had been arrested for rioting.
They could not be kept in jail, but it would not be politic
to let them out without trial. On the other hand, if they
were severely punished there would be a new outbreak of
[696] indignation against the *Fakaongo.* I suggested that they
should be brought before a magistrate that afternoon, and
that Mr C—— should attend to beg them off on condition
that they rebuilt the church. He seemed to feel quite a
glow of Christian forbearance in anticipation of the lustre
that so politic an act would shed upon him. An intima-
tion of the stage arrangements was conveyed to the magis-
trate. The culprits — the only actors in the scene who
had not learned their parts—had been so calmed by nine
hours in the dark cells that they were ready to promise

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anything, and the magnanimity of the Wesleyans in 795
begging them off was not without its effect. A dis- 798
agreeable crisis was thus averted, but the incident did 797
considerable damage to the cause of the mission. 685

Church matters were not going smoothly at Vavau. 795
The mayor of a small village took the opportunity of the 798
change of Government to turn Wesleyan, and Manase, the 634
Governor, immediately dismissed him. The right of dis- [645]
missal of Civil servants, including mayors, is vested only [647]
in the Premier, and therefore Manase was obviously exceeding his powers; but being a bigoted Free Churchman, without sufficient brains to see that the Church had now to learn to stand alone without bolstering from the State, he did not stop to think of legality. If Manase's action had been one of intolerance only, I do not think that we should have interfered, for the coveted end of sectarian peace would have been better served by the patient endurance of all present injuries for the sake of allaying the natural irritation of the Free Churchmen at the change in their circumstances; but Manase had wilfully broken
the law, and this could not be passed over. Tukuaho [645]
wrote to order him to reinstate the mayor: Manase took no notice of the letter. To a stronger command he replied that "it was not his wish that any *Fakaongo* should hold
office," and therefore he could not reinstate him. This [643]
was a declaration of war, but the king only had power to dismiss a governor, and he was at Vavau at the time, and more likely to listen to Manase than to his Ministry.
News from the distant islands of Niuafoou and Niuatobu- 795
tabu was equally disquieting. No sooner had Kubu and 798
Sateki set sail than Tuia of the former and the powerful

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The cart stopped, and there was an animated discussion. 651 My envoy was apparently successful, for at last the wheels creaked again, and I saw it crawling down the road to the left. But when I saw the store-books that evening I found that no copra had been received. The man had taken the road to escape my importunity, but as soon as he was out of sight he had diverged along the beach towards the traders' stores.

Through the influence of the Wesleyan missionaries, [795] who were anxious to compare favourably in loyalty with their rivals, a few of the *Fakaongo* had paid their arrears, but not enough to satisfy the contractor, who was becoming restive as time passed and his prospective profits grew more and more hazy in the distance. He now proposed [652] to lend the Government money, thinking, no doubt, that if he could put us under an obligation to him, we should bring a pressure to bear upon the defaulters more effectual than the mere threat of seizure and sale of their chattels; but we "feared the Greeks even when bringing gifts," and declined. He objected to the issue of writs of distress, thinking rightly that the majority would prefer even that disagreeable formality to a few days' steady work.

The captain of the mail-steamer that arrived about this 797 time put into the hands of the Government a parcel of 645 printed papers, which had been handed to him by Mr 578 Baker for secret conveyance to some of his friends to distribute among the natives. Not wishing to involve himself in the turgid politics of the little kingdom, or to infringe the Customs law, he landed it at the Customhouse like any other parcel of merchandise. It proved to be an ingenious mistranslation in Tongan of the letter of

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797 prohibition, the High Commissioner being styled throughout
645 as "the Governor of Fiji," probably in the hope of
578 exciting native jealousies of their despised neighbours
interfering in Tongan affairs. As it was doubtless sent to pave the way for more seditious documents, and was designed to further disturb the native mind, a Cabinet Council was summoned to consider the propriety of
[671] confiscating the packet. It so happened that Mr Baker, fearing hostile criticism in the vernacular, had passed an Act that all printed documents should bear an *imprimatur*, on pain of heavy penalties; and this Act being still in force, the temptation to hoist him with his own petard was too great to be resisted. The packet was accordingly seized and burned with due indignity in the backyard of the police station by Ula, the jailer. From an angry protest in the Auckland 'Star' we learned that our shaft had gone home: at any rate, we were troubled no more with seditious papers.

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Another, Tuabaji, after re-
565 sisting for years the teachings of the missionaries, brought [797] about that dramatic conversion of the whole island to Christianity that seemed to the missionaries so striking an instance of divine interposition. The line was not extinct. Though Manase was governor under the king, a Finau Ulukalala lived in the person of an unwieldy man of thirty, a *nobele* of the House of Lords, it is true, and the king's aide-de-camp, but in all other respects ignored by the Government. He was not a man of high moral elevation, nor could the missionaries point to him as a cheering instance of the efficacy of their work. He swore fluently in both German and English, and had a cultivated taste for strong waters. Finau was a ne'er-do-weel, but perhaps a scapegrace of the kind that is not past reform if intrusted with responsibility. There was no doubt about 565 554 his being the hereditary ruler of the place: one might [634] see that from the manner of the old men as he rode through the country. Surrounded by rowdy young boon-companions, holding no post that gave him a vestige of authority, he yet could not enter a village without holding an informal *levée* of all the inhabitants, while Manase the Governor might pass unnoticed. Possessed of such inherent influence, he was certainly worthy of trial as Manase's successor if the king could be induced to dismiss so ardent a Free Churchman, and to appoint in his place the descendant of the chiefs whom he had dispossessed. Perhaps guessing my sentiments, Finau attached 133 himself to me throughout this visit. He offered to escort me to the Liku, and as I could best enjoy the scenery of this weird place alone, I was at some pains to give him the slip. But though I rode fast Finau rode faster, and

XII.

MISSIONARIES.

In our efforts to induce the people to pay their taxes, 794
our principal competitors were not the traders, but the 797
Churches. There was but one money-harvest in the year, 651
and the directors of the several bodies that preyed upon the Tongans—the Government, the two Wesleyan missions, and in a lesser degree the Roman Catholics—set themselves to reap the golden crop simultaneously as soon as the sun had dried the copra. I must admit that the Wesleyans, in their anxiety to prove their loyalty, did not hold their missionary collections until the majority of their people had paid their taxes. The other missions were less considerate, and took largely of the things that were Cæsar's. The *fakamisonali* is so characteristic an entertainment that I must attempt to describe one.

For some days previously six or seven chosen vessels 794
had been canvassing their friends on behalf of the plates for which they were to be responsible on the great day. There was a keen rivalry between them, and to the importunities of one of them I fell a victim, defending

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standing-room round the walls. At the pulpit end was 796
a semicircle of seats for the European aristocracy, includ- [563]
ing, of course, Mr M——, the contractor for the Government copra, who aspired to be thought the deliverer of oppressed Tongans, and could not therefore allow such an opportunity for advertisement to pass.

How shall I describe the scene that followed? How 796
shall I portray the unction of the presiding missionary, 794
as he poured forth his prayers for a full plate in a voice [797]
shaken with emotion, the roar of "*Malo!*" as each sentiment found expression, the rich smiles of the owners of the filling basins, and the mortified anxiety of the owners of the still empty ones? How tell of the magnificent, if somewhat ostentatious, liberality of the portly Mr M——, as his interpreter, the local butcher, announced, amid deafening cheers, that he was about to give £20 to the Lord out of his deep compassion for the suffering and oppressed? If the *bolotu* was a pious orgy, the *fakamisonali* was a religious debauch. In front of the pulpit stood a table on which lay a common wash-hand basin and an account-book, guarded each by a native teacher. The patrons of the basins sat in a stiff row behind.

After the preliminary religious exercises the missionary announced the name of the patron of the "plate" first to be filled. It might be the name of the person in charge of it, or that of some dead or absent one to whose memory it was dedicated. In one case a young blood of Vavau called his plate after a favourite dog, deceased some months before; but the presiding missionary had to draw the line somewhere, and he elected to draw it at dead dogs, because he feared that it might import a spirit of levity into the

arranged spectacles, was kept until the end. A band of 796
men and women would come up together and walk round 794
and round the basin, each throwing in a threepenny piece as he passed. After a few rounds a man whose stock of coins was exhausted would fall out, and the procession continued without him. Then only two were left to circle round each other in a sort of dance, amid deafening applause. At last one of the survivors gave out, and the victor was left alone to stand before the basin and chuck in his coins from a distance. He was the hero of the day.

Behind the pulpit were the tables of the money-changer, 796
who, so far from being driven out of this temple, was considered 794
necessary to its very existence, being, in fact, the 797
missionary himself. The mode of collection demanded a larger stock of small coins than was obtainable at the local stores, and as every contributor was encouraged to enlighten his right hand as to the doings of his left, the smaller coins are made to do double duty. When the congregation would no longer respond to the taunts or the entreaties of the basin-man, the contents of the basin were counted and dumped upon the money-changer's table, thus supplying him with change to satisfy the requirements of the contributors whose turns were yet to come.

In the palmy days of the Wesleyan mission, when Mr Baker was still the trusted shepherd of an undivided flock, the mission treasury was filled by a system for the ingenuity of which I believe he deserves the entire credit.
In the hysterical enthusiasm so cleverly fostered by the [452]
missionaries, the natives were quite ready to mortgage their crops for the brief glory of surpassing their neigh-

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796 hours; but it was thought that if the missionaries them-
794 selves advanced the money and afterwards sued their
797 debtors in the courts when the excitement of the collection
452 had had time to cool down, adverse criticism, and perhaps
even the resentment of the faithful, might be aroused. So Mr Baker entered into an unholy alliance with Messrs Ruge & Co., a German firm newly arrived in the group. The agents of the firm were to advance cash to any native who wanted it for the church collections on promissory notes, to be repaid in copra when the crop was ripe; and as the firm had not sufficient coin to satisfy all comers, the mission was to hand back the coin to the agents as fast as it was collected, taking bills on Sydney in exchange. Thus the firm secured a lien on all the future crop, to the exclusion of its rivals, the mission trebled its collections, and when the bills became due, it was the German firm who incurred the obloquy of haling the over-generous debtor before the court, and of selling up his live stock and furniture. The complacency of the courts might be counted on, for the chairman of the mission was also the unofficial adviser of the Government. Strange stories of the *fakamisonali* of those days were told to the Commission of Enquiry sent to investigate Mr Baker's proceedings—how, when the trading agent at the church door dared not advance any more cash, the disappointed native would rush back to the basin, stripping off his coat as he ran, and fling it in to win one more yell of applause from his excited fellow-worshippers.

796 These more picturesque incidents have now given place
794 to sober business. When the basins had drained the
congregation of all their cash, the contents were quickly

794 his interests the hearts of all the patrons and their
796 friends. After the benediction had been pronounced,
[563] the congregation walked thoughtfully home to cool down
and face the future.

It is easy to sneer at the missionaries in the South
797 Pacific as drones sucking the honey that others have
stored; as ministers of the collection-plate rather than
of the Gospel; as moral teachers whose grim code is re-
797 sponsible for the deterioration of native morality. The
177 books written about the Pacific Islands have been the
[114] work of either missionaries or passing travellers, and
hostile criticism by the latter has been in obedience to
the natural law of reaction after the sometimes nauseous
series of self-laudatory books given to the world by the
missionaries themselves. Casual travellers, who hoped to
see the natives in their primitive simplicity of manners,
are disappointed to find them clad and in their right
minds, and galled at the restrictions, apparently arbi-
trary and unreasonable, laid upon them by their spirit-
ual guides. They have read much of the hardships of the
missionary's life. They find him sleek and prosperous, the
autocrat of his flock, living in a good house, travelling
in a comfortable and well-found boat: they feel that an
attempt has been made to obtain their sympathies under
false pretences, and they write down mission enterprise
a fraud, and the system a mere institution for raising
[563] money from the gullible native. In this extreme view
[441] they are supported by the Europeans of the place,—for
traders do not love missionaries, regarding them as com-
petitors who, besides crippling trade, interfere with their
domestic arrangements.

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They are wrong, of course. It may be true that, with a few brilliant exceptions, the missionaries are men of but slight education and extreme narrowness of views, and that the time for hardship and danger has passed away; but one need only compare the past with the present to acknowledge how great is the work they have accomplished. The early missionaries went with their lives in their hands, having nothing to gain from their enterprise but the inward reward of self-sacrifice. As for the women who followed their husbands to suffer with them the privations they were less able to endure, forced to bear and rear children in unhealthy climates, shocked almost daily by scenes that disgust us even to read about, and relieved at last only to return to their fellows with shattered health,—no praise can be too great for them. If the first missionaries were ignorant and narrow-minded, so also, according to modern lights, have the apostles seemed, but no less in their case than in that of their great prototypes was their very narrowness of vision a means of success. Natives, like children, do not understand half-measures. If their gods were false gods, then was every custom connected with their worship, whether mutilations of the body, or ornaments, or dances, or ceremonies, fit only for the most rigid prohibition. To gain an ascendancy over them, something more was wanted than the mere ingrafting of a new belief upon their lives. Their own creeds were hedged about with *tabus*, each enforced by the fear of death, and a religion without such prohibitions could not long hold their respect. So, from no calculating wisdom, they took unconsciously the wisest course and made their new code as uncompromising as that they were displacing.

But now that the missionaries are only called upon to
797 carry on the work founded by their predecessors, and know nothing of the danger their predecessors had to encounter, it is not astonishing that, among men recruited from a lower stratum of society and education, there should be some whose behaviour has detracted from the credit of the Missionary Society, and that these have been taken by hostile critics as types of the body of which they are members. The two main charges brought against the missionaries of to-day are that they give a first place to the collection of money, and that they have introduced and kept alive among the natives the unedifying spectacle of warring Churches. To the first charge it may be answered that no Church ever was or ever will be carried on without funds, and it is surely to the credit of a mission that they should have induced the people whom they benefit to support their Church and schools instead of leaving them to make appeals to philanthropists for funds to carry on their work. For the missions are not concerned only with the spiritual needs of the natives—they also do the great practical work of maintaining day-schools in every village. The missionaries themselves

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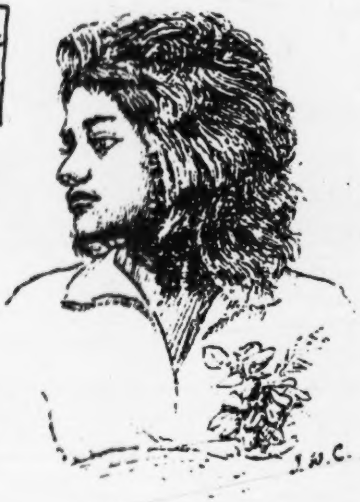

A Tongan schoolgirl.

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would not deny that there have been grave abuses in 797
the means adopted for obtaining subscriptions; but these 794
abuses have not been general, and they have been due to the fact that among the missionaries, as among every considerable body of men, there have been a few who were unworthy of the cause in which they were employed. The second charge is unfortunately true.

I shall not speak of the Church of England Mission 797
working in Melanesia, of the Presbyterian Mission of the New Hebrides, nor of the London Mission of Raratonga, Samoa, and New Guinea, for none of those Societies are concerned with Tonga; but I shall confine myself to a review of the Wesleyan Methodist Mission of Australasia and the Roman Catholic Mission of the Société de Marie.

The Wesleyans sent their first missionary to Tonga in June 1822, and after three years' interruption they began work in earnest in 1826. There were two years of doubt and difficulty, three of slow but certain advance, and then they found themselves successful beyond their wildest hopes. With the conversion of King Josiah Aleamotu and of Taufaahau their cause was assured. The people followed their hereditary chiefs, and the heathen party became an ever-dwindling minority. Haapai and Vavau were Christian to a man: two-thirds of Tongatabu had embraced the new religion. Yet in the year 1835 we find this minority so hostile to Christianity that they are prepared to fight rather than accept it. In 1837 they are actually embarked in the hopeless struggle against an overwhelming majority. In 1840 they have driven back their assailants, even when supported by an English ship-of-war, and the hated missionaries are in flight. Yet there

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797 was no advance on their side, no plundering nor laying waste after the manner of the cruel savages the missionaries represent them to be. With the discomfiture of their aggressors they seem to ask only for peace.

The story of these events, as told by the missionary historians, lacks cohesion. The finger of Providence, it is true, is pointed in every page. We are invited to shudder at the dark-mindedness of the heathen who reject the proffered salvation; to thrill at the virtue of the Christian troops fighting in a holy crusade; to feel a glow of triumph as we read of the fall of each heathen town; to pity the peace-loving missionaries forced into war's alarms, but enduring all things for compassion of their erring flock; and yet, when we have read it all, there is a sense of something kept back. Missionary records are unfortunately never remarkable for lucidity. They were not penned for the eye of an unsympathetic public, nor should we expect them to be impartial histories of public events. They were written with a purpose, by men who viewed all things by the light of their appointed task; who classed all events, all native customs and ceremonies, as helping or retarding "the work"; who revelled in iconoclasm, destroying recklessly with that narrowness of vision which is the characteristic of all human evangelists; who saw divine interposition in the most trivial occurrences of their lives. To advance their cause money was necessary, and to win money from a cold and indifferent public, compassion for their hardships and sympathy with their self-sacrifice had to be aroused. It is an ungrateful and even a dangerous task to read between the lines of these records; yet, since they are our only

published sources of information, I may be acquitted of 797
a wish to detract from a really great work if I submit them to the tests from which even sacred history is no longer exempt.

The principal facts, as related by the missionaries, are these. With the conversion of the higher chiefs Christianity spread with a rapidity that proved the direct interposition of Providence. Five years later there re- 797
mained but a minority inspired by the evil one to resist 798
the truth. Not content to remain heathen, they took up arms in the cause of Antichrist, and even made their religious differences an excuse to rebel against the civil authority of their king. Two reasons are assigned for their hostility: they "set themselves to the task of uprooting Christianity," and "they were an army of rebels, fighting against their earthly and their heavenly sovereign." A more grievous thing followed: they received into their midst the "emissaries of Rome," and their last state was worse than the first. The mission party fought, we are repeatedly assured, not as Christians against heathen, but as soldiers of the State against rebels; and the missionaries visited the besiegers morning and evening to give them the consolations of religion, while the French "Jack priests," as the Rev. Mr Yonge is pleased to call his fellow-workers, stayed within the walls of the fort, and encouraged the heathen in their seditious resistance to lawful authority.

Several questions occur to the reader of this narrative. If the war was really a mere civil disturbance, it is strange that the line of cleavage between loyalists and rebels should have been the same as that which separated the

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797 Christians from the heathen. If the heathen were the 798 aggressors, why do we always find them in the position of besieged rather than of besiegers? If, on the other hand, they were simply fighting for liberty to dissent from the majority, they can scarcely have been the aggressors; and indeed for persons fighting "for the express purpose of destroying their king, whom they hated on account of his religion, and of slaughtering all his Christian subjects," they showed a singular neglect of their own interests, for they allowed King Aleamotu to return to his friends after he had voluntarily placed himself within their power. With questions such as these to solve, the reader feels that if he accepts the statement that the civil war in Tonga was the work of the "great enemy of God and man," he must also admit that, with diabolical cunning, the devil chose the pious missionaries as his instruments for producing strife.

If the missionaries succeeded in blinding themselves regarding the origin of these wars, they did not deceive [115 the natives. In October 1893 it was my good fortune to find Akesa, the daughter of Lavaka, chief of Bea, still living in Fiji as a pensioner-servant of a mission family, —bright-eyed and intelligent for all her seventy years. From her relationship to the chief of the heathen party, she had been selected by King George to carry messages to and from the enemy, and had been present both at the death of Captain Croker and the fall of Bea. She began her narrative with the words, "You must know that there were three wars to make the heathen turn to Christianity."

Besides the missionaries there was but one writer who was an eye-witness of the disturbances of 1840. Com-

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modore Wilkes of the United States navy, after vainly 797
endeavouring to mediate between the two belligerent 798
parties, did not hesitate to lay some of the blame of the war at the door of the missionaries, thereby calling down upon himself a torrent of vituperation from their apologists. He hints that they had it within their power to avert the bloodshed by consenting to allow the heathen freedom of choice, but that they would listen to no terms but the enforced conversion of the enemy to Christianity. Whether they were or were not to blame, the war of 1840 did not leave them scatheless. When H.M.S. Favourite left the island after the disaster at Bea, we are told that the surviving officers "took with them the two missionaries, Messrs Tucker and Rabone, with their families." Commodore Wilkes is more explicit. He says that the Christian party, the aggressors, were put to flight, and that the missionaries hastened away from the storm they had provoked and were powerless to allay.

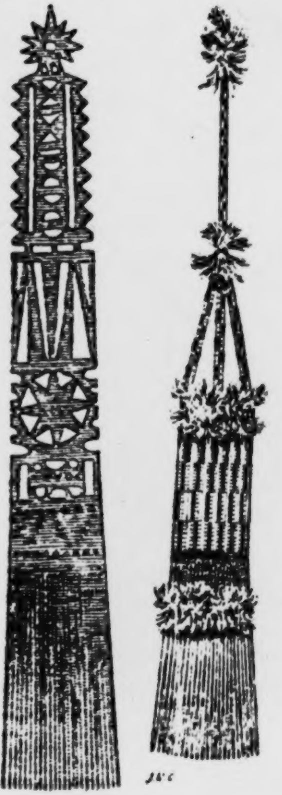
The missionaries have accused Wilkes of a bias against 797
them, and of "a strange prejudice in favour of man in his savage state": it is therefore fair to compare the statement of an observer who was confessedly an admirer of the great results they had accomplished. Commodore Erskine, who visited the group in 1853, writes:—

> I am indeed bound in justice to remark that in respect of their treatment of the people here [in Haapai] and in Vavau, the gentlemen of this mission do not compare favourably with those of the London Society in the Samoan islands. A more dictatorial spirit towards the chiefs and people seemed to show itself; and one of the missionaries in my presence sharply reproved Vuke, a man of high rank in his own country, for

797 presuming to speak to him in a standing posture,—a breach of discipline for which, if reprehensible, I was probable answerable, having encouraged the chief on all occasions to put himself on an equal footing with myself and the other officers. The missionaries seemed also to live much more apart from the natives than in Samoa, where free access is allowed to them at all times. Here, on the contrary, the gates of the enclosures were not merely kept closed, but sometimes locked,—a precaution against intrusion which, although perhaps warranted in some degree by the custom of fencing their grounds, and by the greater propensity on the part of these people to theft, I never saw adopted elsewhere, and which must operate unfavourably to that freedom of intercourse so necessary to the establishment of perfect confidence between the pastors and their flock.

If the missionaries were overbearing to the chiefs even
at that early date, a light is thrown upon the curious
persistence with which some of them clung to paganism.
777 The ancient beliefs of the Polynesians never formed a
system of religion, and, to compare small things with
great, as the way was already smoothed for Christianity
by the growing scepticism of the Roman empire, so were
the minds of the Tongan chiefs ripe to seize upon any
religious creed with a more logical foundation than the
793 worn-out mummeries of their own ancestor-worship. Per-
771 haps the ancient priestcraft, with its exactions of votive
offerings and its hysterical oracles, would have shared the
fate of its forgotten predecessor, phallus-worship, had the
793 priests been less politic and tactful. But they knew that
565 the existence of their order depended upon the union of
787 Church and State; and their oracular utterances, plastic
as those of Delphi, were directed always to upholding the
privileges of the chiefs. Between the two orders there

was a thorough understanding. The chief saw that the 793
regular offerings to the spirits were not stinted; the 565
priest, possessed by his god, retained sufficient self-command [787]
to gasp prophecies in remarkable accordance with the [531]
chief's interest. That they, like [302]
the Augurs, could meet without grinning, was doubtless due to the grim reality of the risk that often attached to the sacerdotal office; for was not the priest of Tubou Totai already doomed to be strangled for failing to restore Finau's daughter, when sudden death overtook his patron?
Even seventeen years before the [771]
arrival of the first missionaries, the chiefs did not care to conceal their scepticism; and perhaps, if the tragic death of Finau had not seemed so signal a revenge of the outraged gods, the missionaries would have found that the ancient faith had crumbled away of itself before their arrival.



Combs.

The influence of the priests 793
had been so slight that, even with the fear of seeing their occupation gone, they could oppose no obstacle to
the new creed. They are scarcely mentioned even by 797
missionaries. The opposition came from the chiefs them- 565

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

797 565 selves, inspired thereto, not as the good missionaries tell us, by the "great enemy of God and man," but by what has since proved to be a well-grounded alarm for the safety of their order. Some of them were shrewd enough to see in the new creed a political system that struck directly at their privileges. In Tonga, as in Galilee and in Rome, the first Christian convert was a [774] commoner. The chiefs, who held that their inferiors possessed no souls, learned with dismay that in the sight of the missionaries all men, not ministers of the Gospel, are equal; that one law was to bind the chief and his serf alike—that the proudest aristocracy in the world were to be abased to the level of the meanest plebeian. Their real stumbling-block was the socialism of Christianity; for the Tongan chiefs having, like Nicodemus, great possessions, were not masters of the higher Biblical criticism that has adapted the creed to the social inequalities that clash with its teachings. To them the new system seemed to strike directly at the privileges of their order. Their power rested upon superstition, hardened and cemented by long custom, and to admit mere foreigners to superior authority was to lower them in the eyes of their subjects. They did not resist the new teachers, they simply claimed the liberty to dissent from the majority,—a liberty which of all others men are least willing to grant to one another.

797 Missionaries are by the nature of their calling intolerant. Tolerance in an evangelist is a sign that he is unfit for his mission. If Messrs Rabone and Tucker had been the men to discourage their new converts from coercing the heathen, they would not have achieved their

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remarkable success. Expecting hardships, disappointments, and possibly martyrdom, they suddenly found themselves the most powerful persons in the country. Whatever measure of influence the chiefs possessed, that they were able to exert for the furtherance of their cause; and, as the unrealised possibilities of their position were borne in upon them, they gave God the praise, and began to make their power felt on their own account. The chiefs whose favour they had courted were now to discover that these foreigners, who had so meekly sought their protection, were, as the vicars on earth of a great and terrible *Otua*, to assume their rightful position of superiority. Henceforth the chiefs must pay to them the deference they had themselves received from their inferiors. Small wonder that, to those who still hesitated, this new portent of the secular power of the priesthood, never admitted under their heathen system, became so insurmountable a difficulty that they chose rather to cleave to their heathen gods and their independence.

It is easy to blame the missionaries after the event, to point to the lessons of history by which they might have been guided, and to forget that if they had been of that cool and calculating temper that is capable of founding a policy upon the teachings of history, they would never have come to Tonga. These men were not members of an Order trained to obey the direction of a central authority; they were homely men of slight attainments, burning with a zeal that drove out all considerations of policy and caution.

XIII.

ODIUM THEOLOGICUM.

It has been the fate of all Churches to be tempted with 000
the apple of temporal power; to lack the moderation to
thrust it aside; and to fall by tasting of it. The errors
that once ruined the Church of Rome—that may yet destroy
her successor in England—may be watched in miniature
in the South Pacific. There is something in the
education of ecclesiastics, no less than in that of soldiers,
that unfits them to wield the civil power. The messengers
of peace and of war are prone alike to strain the authority
committed to them, perhaps because they believe that the
world has the same instinct of obedience as a regiment
or a congregation. As in the fifteenth century the Popes, 797
the successors of Peter the fisherman, exacted the obeisance
of sovereigns, so (to strain a comparison) the followers
of Him who took the world for His parish claimed from
the chiefs of Tonga the same marks of respect as were
paid to them by their own vassals. They mistook the [781]
enthusiasm of a hysterical people for a permanent warmth
of devotion to the new faith, forgetting that the very suddenness
of their conversion marked them with the brand

of Athens,—a people ever running after some new thing. 797
While they were complacently receiving the homage of [781]
their flock, when they reproved the chief Vuke for presuming to stand in their presence; when they humbled the chiefs and exalted the commoners; when they taught their flocks the rudiments of a representative government; when they allowed the natives to see their thirst for money,—they were infecting their cause with the disease of which it is now dying: while they wrangled with the priests of the rival Church, and taught the natives that to worship their crucified God with a visible crucifix was a degree lower than the heathenism they had cast away, they drilled with their own hands the holes by which their ship has foundered. There are many who blame Mr Baker only for the deplorable state of things that has made the Wesleyan Church in Tonga a byword throughout the southern hemisphere. Baker was not alone to blame. He must share the responsibility with the founders of the mission who begat the traditions of temporalities exacted by the ministry, of intolerance of rival creeds, and of the *auri fames* which their successors have inherited.

It is difficult to say which mission is most to blame for 797
the unseemly antagonism which they displayed towards 798
each other. The Wesleyans have reproached the Roman Catholic priests with having joined and assisted the king's enemies in a rebellion against his authority, and so justify themselves for reviling them to the half-converted natives. The reproach seems to me to be in a great measure undeserved. The French priests found that the Protestant missionaries had failed to convert a large body of the natives,—that they had even sanctioned an attack upon

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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797 798 them by the forces of the Protestant chiefs. What more natural than that they should take their message to the heathen who had refused Protestantism than to natives who had already accepted it? What more natural than that they should retaliate with the same weapons for the slanders heaped upon them? Is there a sadder picture in mission history than this, of men charged with the message of peace and love, choosing this distant field to fight out their old quarrel, forcing their half-savage converts to take sides with them, proclaiming aloud their divine message of peace and goodwill, and whispering gross slanders of one another into the wondering ears of those whom they were sent to teach? Had they made the civilised world the umpire of their quarrel, we might have deplored the evil chance without blaming the combatants, but since they chose to submit their theological disputes to the judgment of half-tamed savages, no censure can be too severe for them. It is no compensation that they are punished for it, that in slandering one another they have damaged the cause of both for all time. Savages are logical; it is because they are too logical that we class their intelligence as inferior to our own. These men came to teach them peace, and bade them love one another, and with the same breath they declared that the other foreigners who were preaching the same doctrine were liars and worse. If these foreigners, they argued, thus disagreed among themselves about their religion, how was it more true than the teachings of their own priests? If, while commanding to love, they could thus hate one another, which of the commandments of God need be read literally? The seed of the *odium theologicum* never fell upon

a more rankly fertile soil than in Tonga. As soon as the 797
people had grasped the idea that their foreign leaders were 798
not themselves above criticism, they rushed into the field of sectarian strife with the same savage ardour that had fired them in battle a few years before. The Gospel was true, but its evangelists were fallible. They did well enough as leaders of the Church forces, but they were open to the free criticism of their own followers.

Of the means used by the missionaries to inflame the natives against their rivals I might quote many instances.
In the 'Apologia,' printed in France by the priests in the 000
most atrocious Fijian, Martin Luther is described as a "disgusting fellow," Wesley as a lying teacher, and the Reformation as brought about by Henry VIII. from even lower motives than those usually assigned to him by hostile historians. The Wesleyans replied to this by a pamphlet printed in red ink in Fijian, intituled 'A Catechism concerning the Catholic Church,' from which I take a few extracts:—

6. *Q.* Do they adduce evidence of their teachings from the Bible?

A. Certainly not. Nor has their religion at any time been general throughout the world.

7. *Q.* Is it right that they should be called disciples of Christ?

A. This is strangely like false teachings and evil deeds, and therefore we disbelieve them.

17. *Q.* Why do not the Papists injure people in England and other countries in these days?

A. Because it is forbidden in the law of the land, and because the people of the true faith are numerous in some countries, and it is therefore impossible.

000 the defendant's conduct reprobated by the Chief-Justice as it deserved. Nothing abashed, the Wesleyan body rallied to the support of their calumnious brother, and appealed to the public to subscribe the costs of his defence.

797 Gradually the fervour of the first converts gave place
798 to the mere heat of partisanship. The Churches flourished
795 simply from their rivalry with each other. The Wesleyans poured their offerings into the missionary-basins as a defiance to the taunts of the Roman Catholics. The Catholics flocked to the church festivals to prove the superior attractions of their form of worship. But after the fall of Bea, and the consequent conversion of the heathen to one Church or the other, the active quarrels between the two missions began to die down. The Wesleyans were the strongest, and the Catholics saw that they could gain nothing by over-zeal in proselytising. The king and most of the influential chiefs were on the other side, and the attractions of pictures, music, and processions in their services did not outweigh the pleasures of being allowed to pray and preach, which were permitted to
000 every Wesleyan who had a turn in that direction. As an intelligent Wesleyan in Fiji once put it in accounting for the popularity of his Church, "among the Catholics there is no *torotoro* (promotion). In our Church we may hold family prayers twice a-day, and one may be a local preacher without ever entering the ministry. If that is not enough, one may enter the ministry and at last be ordained like the white clergy, and may preach continually, waxing hot in the discourse. The Papists have none of these pleasures. They may only listen to the priests without ever being allowed to preach."

The Wesleyan missionaries had made two mistakes— 797
they had humbled the chiefs, and they had vilified their
rivals. They were now to make a third. Political power
was in their grasp, and with the fearlessness of deep
ignorance they rushed on their doom. Brought up in 797
Australia to believe that universal suffrage and representative 177
government is the nearest approach to Utopia 642
attainable by mortal man, they persuaded the king and
chiefs against their better judgment to exchange the
ancient communal system for a bran-new constitution on
the English plan. Those who have seen the machine at
work in the Australian colonies will know best how it
was to behave in Tonga. They had sealed the fate of
their own cause. The commoners, accustomed to let their
chief think for them, now found themselves free to think
and act as their inclinations led them, and the first result
was a weakening of the influence of the missionaries,
who began to find the smattering of education they had
given to their native helpers a source of danger. The 797
native ministers had a vote in their district meetings, and 793
began to exercise it independently. Awkward questions 465
were whispered about salaries. What was the difference
between the foreigner and the Tongan, that the one should
have £200 a-year and a wooden house, and the other £20
and a grass hut? When Mr Baker brought his acquisitive 797
genius to bear upon the system of mission collections, 795
the conference in Sydney had still the absolute disposal
of the funds, and the country was annually drained of
many thousands of dollars over and above the cost of local
expenditure. Demands were not unnaturally made for
a share in the disposal of this money, and, as I have

797 related elsewhere, the Conference unwisely resisted the 795 demand for home-rule until it was too late, and Mr Baker had gone over to the enemy and founded the Free Church. Then all the dormant fires of sectarian hatred burst out afresh. The majority of the native ministers, tempted by the promise of higher salaries, went over in a body to a Church in which they had greater liberty, 798 higher pay, and a satisfied feeling of patriotism. They 795 scarcely needed Baker's encouragement to persecute the minority that remained faithful, for they knew that upon the universality of the new Church depended their appointments. The old, regarding them as traitors, would never have taken them back except at a great disadvantage. So they persecuted, and thereby awoke in their opponents all the obstinacy of the Tongan character.

The old Church flourished under persecution as Churches always have flourished. Left contemptuously alone, it might possibly have died a natural death: under the shadow of a promise of martyrdom, some of the vigour of its lost youth returned to it. But the life-giving fire was party spirit, not religious feeling. From the establishment of the Free Church dates the real overthrow [181] of devotional earnestness among the Tongans. The change had been long impending, for the temperament of the people is incapable of a steady warmth. A fire of enthusiasm that had blazed so fiercely must needs soon smoulder away into ashes. Henceforward the form only survived—the spirit had burnt itself out. 795 With the Free Church a fourth party, who mockingly 771 called themselves the *Lotu jio* or "Looking-on Church," came into existence. They were the lukewarm, who

had now an excuse for declaring their indifference. For 795
the sake of peace they professed to belong to the Free 771
Church, but they attended none of the services, and in
reality they belonged to no Church at all. The Roman 795
Catholics, as neutrals, sucked no small advantage out
of the quarrel, for they opened their doors to all those
who feared to be Wesleyans and refused to be Free
Churchmen.

It is a compliment to the Rev. J. E. Moulton to say 797
that, in their hour of need, the Wesleyans were un- 798
fortunate in their champion. They wanted a rough-handed fighting man, cool, thick-skinned, and not over-scrupulous, who would meet such a man as Baker on his own ground, and fight him with his own weapons. They had instead a gentleman and a scholar, full of generous impulses and enthusiasm, a born teacher, whose field was the class-room, not the atmosphere of low political intrigue. Against each successive outrage his only resource was protest; and until it was too late and he had earned the king's enmity, he failed to see that calm good-humoured toleration of insult might have undermined Baker's influence where indignant remonstrance only served to strengthen his position. He left all the fighting to his coadjutor,—a gentleman with a natural turn for litigation, whose ill-directed efforts, while they embarrassed the native Government, inflamed the chiefs of the Free Church against the people he was endeavouring to serve.

These missionaries were unable to realise that the steadfastness of their followers was obstinancy under the lash of persecution rather than the fire of religious

797 conviction. The tenets of the new Church were the
798 same as those of the old, and therefore no conscientious
scruples could have weighed with the inflexible minority.
They were held really by the natural repugnance of
every man of independent character to being bullied into
doing a thing he has at first refused. But the mission-
aries expected that, as soon as the removal of Mr Baker
put an end to persecution, the people would flock back to
their old Church. They were bitterly disappointed when
they found that very few of their old adherents cared to
do so. The truth was that the old Church had become
unfashionable, now that its members could no longer have
771 the distinction of aspiring to martyrdom. Indifference
had permeated the new Church and the old alike.
People still went to church because the king did, and
because it was the sole opportunity for the display of
new clothes; but they dropped religion from their con-
versation, and spoke of their respective Churches only
795 as political organisations. The Wesleyan Conference had
[797] withdrawn Mr Moulton, and substituted for him one of
their ordinary ministers, ignorant of the Tongan language
and character, who found himself confronted with an un-
expected difficulty. The returned exiles from Fiji, of
whom the majority of their leading men were composed,
had been spoilt by the fuss that had been made over
[181] them. Their natural conceit as Tongans had been so
[563] fostered by their admiring friends, that they would no
longer submit to the control of any foreigner were he
563 a hundred times their minister. Perhaps the antagonism
797 to Europeans, which the early missionaries in their war
against the traders had so industriously cultivated, was

partly responsible for this. The missionary found himself 563
outvoted by the members of his own district meeting, 797
and the last vestige of the power of the missionaries was
gone.

One of the strangest features in this struggle of op- 837
posing forces was the unwitting modification in the Chris- 795
tian code as taught by the missionaries themselves. The 797
people were polygamists. Their climate, physique, and [684]
mode of life conduced to incontinence, which, however, was
kept in check by a severe social code of their own. This
the missionaries swept away. For the dread of immediate
physical punishment which the people felt, the mission-
aries tried to substitute the fear of retribution in another
world,—a contingency too remote to have much weight
with them. The standard of social morality, never very [183]
high, was at once lowered, and the astonished missionaries
tried in vain to stem the flowing tide with every penalty
they could invent and enforce. Gradually their own sense
of proportion became warped. The seventh command-
ment overshadowed all the others in their mental horizon.
The police, taking their cue from the Sunday sermon, [625]
let felons go their way, and spent all their energies in [674]
tracking down philanderers. Even the Legislature, copy- [646]
ing the early missionary codes, gave such a prominence [671]
to offences against the social laws, that, provided a man
kept the seventh commandment in its widest application,
he might commit almost any other crime in the calendar.

The change in the temper of the people has not taken 797
place without a corresponding change in the spirit of the
missionaries. Tonga and Fiji are no longer regarded as
the fields for men of special talents. The young men sent

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797 there by the Conference in Australia seem to be chosen at haphazard from among the ordinary recruits for the Wesleyan ministry. They themselves appear to regard their mission as a profession rather than as a call, and to attach greater importance to the details of church government than to the spirit of missionary enterprise. Few of them are sufficiently interested in the natives to care to learn more of their inner life than has a direct bearing upon [798] their church membership. I may even say without harshness that their chief efforts are devoted to securing adequate collections, and to defeating the work of their rivals, the Roman Catholics. From the 'Methodist Missionary Review' of November 1892 I take the following ingenuous passage from the pen of the most active among the present missionaries in Fiji: "Our average for the past three years has been £1000 a-year. Some of our mountain sections have greatly increased their subscriptions, so that I do not walk hundreds of miles across the awful paths of Colo for nothing." In another place the same writer jocosely alludes to a curious system of remuneration: "Now there arose a new Mission Board over the brethren in foreign fields, and they said—through the General Secretary—'Behold, the children of these missionaries are more and mightier every year; come, let us deal wisely with them, lest they multiply and cause a debit balance in the annual accounts.' So it has come to pass that the brethren in the foreign fields have been notified that *a reduction of five guineas per annum will be made on all children born after the 31st December next.*" One cannot forbear wondering whether this heartless order had the desired effect.

The experience of Hawaii, New Zealand, Tonga, and 797
Fiji, goes to teach us that the active life of Christian 171
missions in the South Seas is from fifty to seventy years. A mission was founded in New Zealand by Mr Marsden in 1814. The missionaries, being men of a lower class than those who laboured in Polynesia, used their opportunities for acquiring private property in land, a fact that, among a people so earth-hungry as the Polynesians, may have precipitated the crisis. Hauhauism, that strange compound of Christianity and paganism, broke out in 1865, and finally quenched the spark of life that remained to the mission after the war.

The mission in Tonga, founded in 1822 by Mr Lawry, and shattered by the dissensions of 1887, enjoyed an active life of sixty-five years. The Wesleyan mission in Fiji, founded in 1837, is already showing evident signs of decay. I do not allude to the practice of *Tuka* (Immortality), a pagan cult curiously like Hauhauism, which was put down by the Government in 1887, and has since reappeared at intervals, but to that general inanition that has proved fatal to the Church in Tonga. Nor is this surprising when one remembers upon how slender a base most of these conversions rest. A vast majority of Tongans and Fijians embraced Christianity because, for political reasons, it suited their chiefs to do so. One who was 000
present at the conversion of an entire tribe in Fiji once gave me an account of the ceremony. A great feast was made for the missionary, who took his seat by the side of the chief. The heathen priest, taking a kava root in his hand, thus addressed the ancestor-gods: "This is the paltry feast which we, your poverty-stricken children,

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000 have made for you. It is our farewell to you: do not be angry with us that we are going to leave you for a time. We are your children, but for a time we are going to worship the god of the foreigners: nevertheless, be not angry with us!" Then the gods consumed the spiritual essence of the meat, and the missionary and his suite ate 797 its grosser material fibre and enjoyed it very much. To the converted native the heathen gods are not always false gods; they continue to exist, but they have been deserted for a time in favour of the gods of the foreigners. This is why relapses into heathenism on the part of the most promising converts will always be so dangerously easy. The spirits of their ancestors are to them what Baal and Rimmon were to the people of Israel—existing beings, who may at any time become malignant and 798 demand propitiatory sacrifice. With so thin a curtain drawn between the old and the new faith, the fickleness of the natives, and the coolness that always follows hard upon the white heat of conversion, have doubtless each contributed their share to the decay of mission influence; but I venture to assert that the main cause has been the unseemly dissension between the Churches, and the enlistment of the natives in feuds utterly unworthy of the Christianity the missionaries profess to be teaching.

I do not forget that the Wesleyans were first in the field, and that all these evils might have been avoided if, as in British New Guinea, the Churches had agreed upon exclusive spheres of influence, with well-defined boundaries for each mission. But the time for that has gone by, and it remains for the missions to look to the condi-

797 tions of their very existence in a spirit of mutual conciliation and tolerance.

It is an ungrateful task to endeavour to pass a friendly criticism upon so privileged a body as the missionaries. No one has yet attempted it without being accused of blind prejudice or envy that wilfully ignores the good in order to drag into a false prominence the defects from which no great undertaking is free. If I seem to have erred in speaking strongly of imperfections that continue to suck the life-blood of the mission, it is because they might easily be removed if the missionaries could clear their eyes from the petty irritations of the moment, and see that their real interests lie in following the doctrine they are teaching—to have charity one toward another.
[795] Their predecessors achieved a great work. They found the natives almost irredeemable savages, and they so far influenced their outward lives that every man, woman, and child in the islands is a professing Christian; but they are going far towards casting away this precious result for want of a little patience and self-restraint. No one can admire more than I the admirable work that has been done: no one can more deplore the waste of so great an opportunity.

XIV.

AMATEUR LAW-GIVING.

671 [797] [645] THE dismissed Premier was not only a spiritual and temporal dignitary, he was also the lawgiver of Tonga; yet it was only in the most limited sense that he united the qualities of Moses and Melchisedec.

It has been the fate of Tonga to furnish the vile body on which the legislative experiments of amateurs have been tried. The first written code of law in Tongan history was promulgated in Vavau in 1839, and, crude though it was, it may be doubted whether it was not far better suited to the people than the elaborate but often incoherent effusions of the missionary lawyers of later days. It was King George's own composition, and it was intended for his own people only, to be administered by judges of his own race. There was a long preamble filled with Biblical quotations, after which follow a few plain straightforward clauses such as the following:—

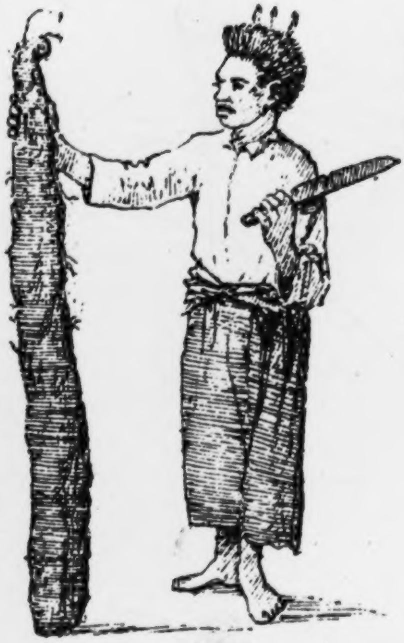
> It is my mind: That the land should be brought into culti-
> 671 vation and be planted. Hence, I inform you it is unlawful for
> 421 you to turn your hogs outside the sty. If a hog be found
> 231

eating the yams, or destroying the produce of the land, the 671
owner of the hog shall be at once informed that he may shut 421
the hog up, and he shall restore whatsoever be damaged. If 231
the owner neglect to take warning, either in confining his hog, or in recompensing the damage done, and the hog be again found eating the yams, it shall then be lawful to kill the hog, and the owner of the plantation shall have the carcase for his own.

[142]
[291]
[302]
[244]
[412]

By the end of 1855 the original code had been so tinkered by the missionaries that little of the original remained. Their hand is detected in the following excellent provision, designed to check the growing indolence of the people, and turn their labour into a channel of profit to the reverend legislators:—

671
797
177



A giant yam.

XXXVI. *The law relating to men.*—You shall work and persevere in labouring for the support of your family as well as yourself, and in order to contribute to the cause of God and the chief of the land, and each man shall find a piece of land to cultivate. Any man who is not willing to work, shall not be fed nor assisted, all such persons being useless to the land and its inhabitants, and unprofitable to their friends.

671 Hitherto the laws had merely expressed in writing the
681 prohibitions that already existed in the native mind, but
642 for which no fixed punishment had been stipulated. The
government by chiefs was defined and their powers described,
but it was the same form of government that had
been in force since the social organisation of the people was
642 crystallised out of the primitive family. King George—
797 to his credit be it said—long resisted the importunities of
177 the missionaries to grant his people a Constitution, and
ape the form of government evolved in Europe from
centuries of civilisation. The people were not ready for
it, he said. It might suit England very well. There the
people were perhaps accustomed to think for themselves,
but the Tongans were wont to let their chiefs think for
them.

The Tongans had reached a stage of development midway
642 between the patriarchal and feudal systems. Their
565 chiefs had the blood of the founder of the family in its
purest form, and were the earthly incarnation of their
deified ancestors. Each chief had hereditary retainers
who followed him to battle, and obeyed him in time of
peace; but the constant wars during the latter half of
the eighteenth century had created a lower class of servants
than these—the *tu'a*, children of prisoners of war.
These, together with the illegitimate children of the
chief's father or grandfather (his cousins, in fact, for a
chief bred servants for his descendants), were in the
nature of serfs, leading, however, an easier life than such
642 a designation would imply. The missionaries had perhaps
565 read of Peter the Great and Wilberforce, and they too
797 177 panted to win the grateful admiration of posterity. To

their heated fancy the people appeared as slaves, because 642
they yielded service without fixed wages, and nothing 565
would content them but a formal liberation. They did 797
not stop to reflect that these "serfs" were fed and clothed 177
by their chief, and that as members of his household they enjoyed privileges which men of their low rank could not hope for in other societies. If they were contented, they ought to be taught a noble discontent, and to pine for the Anglo-Saxon fetish, freedom. King George, as he hoped to be saved, must "liberate the serfs."

In 1862 he yielded, and signed a bran-new Constitution, 642
drawn up by the missionaries, after a model devised for 797
the King of Hawaii by a Mr St Julian. On the 4th of 177
June 1862 there was a solemn meeting of the newly constituted Parliament. In the intervals of feasting the code was passed, and at the end of two months the legislators dispersed, leaving the land as bare as if a swarm of locusts had passed over it. The missionary historian waxes emotional as he tells of how they contrived to eat 150,000 large yams and 9000 hogs, besides other provisions, and of how they feasted daily at a board spread in European fashion, clad in decent black broadcloth and white chokers, to the glory of God and the triumph of missionary statecraft.

This code was considerably altered,—I reject the word [671]
"amended" advisedly,—and in 1875 a complete penal code, far too elaborate for the Tongans, yet infinitely better than the pretentious laws that afterwards repealed
it, was passed by the native Parliament. From 1875 to 642
1888 Mr Baker tried his 'prentice hand at legislation. 797
He altered the Constitution four times, and he drafted 671

642 797 671 and passed laws and ordinances whenever the fit took him, until the body of law had become so confused and conflicting that not even a Blackstone could have cut a path through its thorny labyrinths. Some of these laws were not even read to the Parliament that passed them: more than a few were enacted in English, and never translated into Tongan. Of these, some were printed in the 'Gazette' in English; others had not even this courtesy extended to them. The fatal ease of legislation bred in the Premier's mind a kind of disease—*Legislatitis*—until every idea that flitted through his facile imagination was crystallised into an ordinance, and the cause of every passing annoyance was made penal by enactment. Some one remarked that the wild duck were becoming scarce: an ordinance was passed to preserve them. A ship-of-war was disappointed in not finding coal: a statute converted Nukualofa into a coaling-station for foreign ships. Some urchins shouted "Sail ho!" on the beach near the Premier's office: to cry "Sail ho!" became forthwith a penal offence. Many of these enactments were extremely unpopular; but the wily Premier knew how to let the fury of the mob beat upon other heads than his, and generally caused his laws to be promulgated the day after he sailed for one of his frequent holidays to New Zealand. By the time he returned the people had become accustomed to them.

671 693 [645] The confused state of the law had a remarkable effect upon the magistrates. The only written law within their reach had been so often altered and repealed that they had come to rely for their decisions not upon the written law, but upon the verbal directions of the Prime Minister.

693 798 made personally responsible. He, it is true, gave the bias to the courts, but, once started on their devastating way, the magistrates in their crass stupidity went to lengths he would have repudiated had he dared.

They were generally men of inferior calibre. Tongotea, the most notorious, was a handsome, bright-eyed man of about fifty, too young to be naturally tolerant, too old to be reformed. In the missionary reports on the Church troubles his name recurs as often as Mr Baker's in these pages. Execrated by the missionaries, he was not less hated by the traders for his habitual discourtesy and dislike to Europeans when on the bench. He was too hardened an offender to realise that the old order had changed, and we had at last to yield to the continued petitions for his dismissal.

671 645 797 At the beginning of 1888 the confusion in the laws had become such a scandal that Mr Baker determined to codify them. He lacked either the courage or the energy to submit his code to Parliament, and he therefore passed an Act empowering him to "revise" the code of laws and print them in Tongan and English—surely the widest power ever conferred upon an individual in the history of representative government. At the end of two years he had written the English version and about half the Tongan. I have it on the authority of the pundits—native and European—that the Tongan version was so full of errors as to be quite unintelligible; but it is possible that in his anxiety to retain his position as legal adviser to the magistrates, he intentionally made their path thorny and difficult.

The English version is entitled to rank high among the

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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curiosities of literature. If compositors turned loose with 671 all the known founts of capitals can alone make a code, 645 then the work was a monument to jurists; but, since the 797 lavishness of printer's art only brings into greater prominence confusion in arrangement, gross contradictions, and vital omissions, the Ministry were justified in not feeling proud of a production for the revision of which they had to pay a *bill of fifty guineas to a solicitor in Auckland.* But regarded merely as a literary "sport," it was well worth the money. In the "Act relative to Murder" we read:—

> Section 11.—Should any one poison any water with evil intent to cause the death of another or others and should the same die he shall be considered guilty of murder and punished accordingly but should the same be known before the death of any one it shall be considered manslaughter of the first degree. As to poisoning.

In honestly trying to understand this section, the mind reels backward as in an attempt to realise eternity. Did the reverend jurist mean that if the poisoned person dies he shall be considered guilty of murder, but that if he (the unfortunate victim) be known before the death of some one else, *it* (*i.e.*, the poison, the water, or the death) shall be considered manslaughter? And if not this, what did he mean?

In the "Act relative to Assault and Battery" there is the following remarkable passage:—

> Section 13.—Whoever shall strike or assault or throw anything at one's father or one's mother as stated in this Act such person's penalty for any such offence shall be doubled. As to assaulting etc one's parents.

671 A Tongan who wished to strike his enemy had first to
645 ascertain whether he had children. These are only two
797 out of the many claims put forth by the late Premier
in this wonderful book to a high place among the unconscious humourists of literature.

692 Following the general policy of complicating the administrative machinery of the tiny State, the law established a vast number of unnecessary law courts. There were (1) the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council; (2) the Supreme Court; (3) the three District Courts; (4) the Police Courts. There were thus three appeals against a decision of the police court, and each appeal
[696] brought in fees. Even in criminal cases the unfortunate defendant was mulcted in fees which had to be worked off in the form of additions to his term of imprisonment.

692 Besides these courts there were—the Probate Court,
695 the Divorce Court, the Admiralty Court, the Lands Court, and Courts-Martial, for none of which was any form of
428 procedure laid down. In the case of disputed wills I
695 found the practice to be for one claimant to seize the property, and for the other to prosecute him for larceny. In one case an unfortunate widow was convicted at the suit of her stepson of *stealing* her late husband's house in which she was living.

671 We condemned this code on its first hearing. No
645 amount of amendment could make it work. The Tongan
177 version was unintelligible; the English was ridiculous. Nothing less than a new code would meet the necessities of the case. I confess that at first I recoiled from the toil of drafting a code, translating it into Tongan, taking it through Parliament, and passing both volumes through

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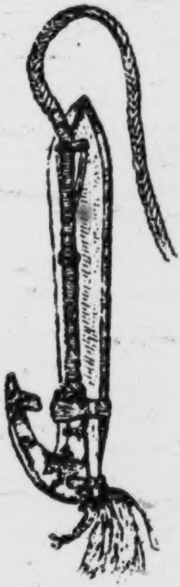
666 tors played a very secondary part. "We were called,"
said my informant, "to a *fono* on the grass behind the
666 Government offices. Mr Baker came out on the ver-
797 andah and said, 'You are summoned to-day to choose
645 a representative of the people. I propose So-and-so.
Those who are in favour of So-and-so will hold up
their hands!' Then several held up their hands, and
Mr Baker said that So-and-so was elected, and we all
went home."

666 It was not to be hoped that after such experiences the privilege of being an elector would succeed where the terrors of the law had failed. We heard afterwards, when it was too late, that had the hundreds of disqualified electors known the nature of the entertainment we provided for them, they would have sold their goods and given to the Government rather than miss it.

To invest the first free election with proper solemnities a deputation of his Majesty's Ministers presided. Below the verandah where we sat was a table furnished with writing materials and the ballot-box. The entire male adult population of Nukualofa sat in a semicircle on the grass-plot, hemmed in with police as at a *fono*. Tukuaho read the clauses of the Constitution relating to elections, and explained that every qualified elector might write the name of whomever he would upon the ballot-slip. Then he called upon those who still owed their taxes for the year 1889 to withdraw: about half the people rose and
[795] went away laughing. The dismissal of the defaulters for
1890 sent away fully one-half of the remainder; and when
"all persons under twenty-one years of age" had left us,

175 Haapai, could not as yet interfere in the affairs of Tonga-643 tabu. As soon as the office of Tui Kanokubolu became [634] vacant by the death of Mulikihaamea, Tukuaho successfully schemed for the election of his father Mumui to the title, that he himself might wield the power. His father was already so old that he could not long stand in his way. Meanwhile a bitter jealousy sprang [226] [283] up between Finau and Tukuaho, none the less bitter that it was concealed. It was unfortunate for their country that the two men should have existed in the same generation. Both ambitious, both unscrupulous, both of inflexible purpose, the tiny stage was not large enough for both to play their parts, and a struggle to the death was inevitable.



The Tui Tonga's fish-hook.

At this juncture the ship Duff, fitted 175 797 177 out by the London Missionary Society, landed nine artisan missionaries, who attached themselves to various chiefs, and were thus enabled to record the events of the most stirring times in Tongan [609] history. Unfortunately for themselves, they quarrelled with two runaway sailors who had landed some months before them, and were already in high favour with the chiefs, and these men lost no opportunity of damaging them with the natives, by representing their religious services as witchcraft designed to destroy them,—a statement to which a prevailing epidemic among the chiefs gave colour.

175 far as Mua, driving their enemy before them to Hihifo.
643 The eastern and central portions of the island were
669 thus ranged against the western. Tradition has left us
no clue to the motive of Mulikihaamea, but, to judge
from Finau's subsequent conduct, it seems probable that
the rebels were assured of his support before they ventured to strike the blow.[1]

For the events that followed we have the accounts of
127 the missionaries who accompanied the Royalist army; of
the apostate Vason, who actually fought on the side of
the rebels; and the descriptions given by the natives to
Mariner eight years later.

175 Tukuaho fell on the night of the 21st April 1799.
669 The missionaries were scattered throughout the different
[797] districts, each living under the protection of some leading
[622] chief, who, though willing to protect them during times
of peace, was quite unable to restrain his people after war
[579] had broken out. With the first news of the rebellion the
serfs broke down all restraint, and slaughtered pigs and
fowls wholesale to compensate them for their enforced
abstinence in times of peace. For the first fortnight
there was no general engagement, but there were slight
skirmishes which served to embitter the hostility between
[266] the two parties. One of the rebels was taken prisoner,
and was cut up alive and eaten,—a reversion to cannibal-
[177] ism, after the lapse of two centuries, that was owing,
175 doubtless, to the baleful example of Fiji. Ata, the hered-
669 itary chief of Hihifo, ordered the bones of Finau's father
769 to be exhumed, and hung upon a tree in Pangaimotu.
576 This was the grossest insult that could be offered to the

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[1] Vason's 'Four Years in Tongatábu.'

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175 enemy, making a sudden rush, surrounded the twenty
669 people who formed his guard and overturned the litter.
They gave no quarter to his companions, three of whom
were women; and while they hesitated to slay so great a
chief, a man ran up crying, "Kill him!" and upon the
175 sudden impulse he was clubbed where he lay. After the
669 death of their leader the rebels made no further stand,
797 and the Royalists pursued until they reached Haateiho,
609 where three of the missionaries, who had declined to accompany
either army, were still living. They had been
warned by the fleeing rebels to come with them, but,
trusting in their known neutrality, they preferred to
remain to protect their houses. Among the Royalists
was a man to whom they had refused an axe which
he coveted. Calling to his companions, this man set
upon them, clubbed them, and looted their house.

175 Tired of pursuit, the Royalists returned and found that
669 the rebel outpost had succeeded in driving off the few
men who had been left to keep them in check, and were
trying to succour their wounded. They now set off in full
flight for the coast, pursued by the victors. On their way
they met Finau's contingent, who had just disembarked.
175 By their direction they continued their flight, drawing the
669 enemy across the beach towards the canoes. Suddenly
565 they turned and fell upon their pursuers, who, taken by
727 surprise, dropped Ata's litter and took to flight. There
was now a debate as to what should be done with their
prisoner, who was related to one of the chiefs who had
captured him. This chief, unwilling to seem partial to
an enemy, wished them to kill him, but his attendants
insisted that, out of respect for himself, the prisoner's life

should be spared. They therefore retired and called to 175
his sons, who came forward and bore him off in his 669 565
litter. 727

The three surviving missionaries, who had accompanied 175
the victorious army, had left it very early in the day, 669
disgusted with the acts of ferocity they had seen. In 797
one place they had come upon an old man in the act of 266
cooking part of the body of an enemy, intending apparently to eat it; in another a man was celebrating his triumph over a fallen chief by cutting up his body,—and even some of the women dipped their hands in his blood and licked them. On their return to their house in Hihifo, they found that it had been looted by their own party and destroyed. In despair they took refuge among the caves on the deserted Liku.

The rebel army passed the night in their canoes. At 175
daybreak they saw that the enemy was preparing to 669
attack them in force as soon as they landed, hoping to 725
take them by surprise at the sacred enclosure of Pangai, the burying-place of the Tui Kanokubolu; but Finau, warned of their intention, landed his men and attacked them simultaneously from three points. After an obstinate resistance they fled to the enclosure within which stands the king's tomb, hoping that the sanctity of the place would protect them. The rebels, not daring themselves to desecrate the place, applied to Vason, who set it
on fire. No quarter was given, and the refugees, driven 175
out by the fire, were all slain, except a few women who 669
preferred slavery to death. These became the property of 727
their captors. The victors now dragged the dead bodies to [266]
the shore, exhausting their ingenuity in insulting them,

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175 and there had roasted, and begun to eat them, when the
669 enemy returned to the attack. There was a rush for the
[727] canoes. Overloaded and nearly sinking, they put off
[266] from the shore before the fugitives could all embark.
One canoe laden with men and women was aground, and
its occupants, together with those left behind, were all
massacred. The remnant of the rebel army succeeded
in reaching the island of Atatá, where they were confined
for three days by a severe gale: they spent the time in
murdering the defenceless inhabitants, who were supposed
to have Royalist sympathies. From Atatá they sailed to
Mua to take counsel for a renewal of the attack.

The missionaries, who had taken refuge on the Liku,
[797] now ventured to come out of their hiding-place and
accompany a number of the Royalists to Maofanga.
This is a sacred spot, situated a mile to the eastward
of Nukualofa, which, from the rigid *tabu* that attached
to it, had become a place of refuge never violated by war.
In a few days Finau's army made another descent upon
Hihifo by sea, and on May the 29th, after an obstinate
175 engagement, they utterly routed the enemy. On the 3d
669 of June he summoned the refugees before him at Maofanga,
727 and allowed all except ten of the leaders to go free.
Mafi, the bravest and most influential of the Royalist
warriors, and nine others were sentenced to various punishments.
Some, bound hand and foot, were taken out
to sea and put adrift in leaky old canoes, while Mafi
and the others were led to the canoes amid the loud
lamentations of their wives and children, and landed at
Lofanga, a small island of the Haapai group, where they
were bound naked to cocoa-nut-trees and left to starve to

death. There, exposed to the heat of the sun, to raging 175
thirst and hunger, they were tortured by the boys of the 669
place, who amused themselves by sticking spears into 727
their flesh, or by showing them food to tantalise them;
yet some of them lingered till the eighth day, and all
bore their sufferings without complaint. The people of [775]
Lofanga still say that at night they hear the groans of
the spirits that haunt the spot.

Having settled the affairs of Tongatabu, Finau Ulukalala 175
returned to Haapai. He found a body of Royalists 669
drawn up to meet him at Haano, who after a sharp
conflict surrendered to him. He disarmed the lower [727]
orders, and punished the chiefs with the same barbarity
he had practised on the chiefs of Hihifo. From Haapai
he sailed with Tubou Niua to Vavau, which submitted to
him after a desultory warfare lasting for several weeks.

For nine months there was peace. The Hihifans had
not in truth accepted the new order, but they had not
recovered sufficient strength to resist. On the 24th of [797]
January 1800 the privateer Betsy, with a Spanish prize
in tow, took away all the survivors of the ill-fated mission except the apostate Vason. A few days later, while a party of Finau's men were at Hihifo collecting provisions to relieve the scarcity at Haapai, the rebellion against Finau broke out. A party of Hihifans ravaged the central district, burning and laying waste, and at last hemmed in the Haapai men at the narrow promontory of Hihifo. Here they took an ample revenge for the wrongs they had suffered. When the slaughter was ended they made stacks of the bodies, laying them transversely one upon another.

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175 breath after their run, were at a great disadvantage. The
643 other two did not await his onset, but fled, leaving him
victorious.

[634] Such was his reputation as a warrior, that he was marked as the future leader of the Haapai people when he had scarcely attained manhood. He was twenty-three when his father died in 1820, and the unity of Tongatabu, bought by years of hard fighting, was again swept away by civil war. Taufaahau saw no advantage in following his father's example, who ever wearily pushed up the stone of conquest in Tongatabu only to see it roll back upon him weakened by his hopeless labour. The Government of Haapai, impoverished as it was by the years of war, would give him work enough.

[628] For six years there was no Tui Kanokubolu. The garrisons of Tongatabu still lived within their intrenchments, but they were tired of war, and for a time there was an armed peace. But a power was at hand which was destined to accomplish that which invading armies
175 had fought in vain. In June 1822 a Methodist mis-
797 sionary named Lawry, fired by the writings of the survivors of the artisan missionaries landed by the Duff,
[771] made a second attempt to teach Christianity. The growing disbelief in the ancient superstitions that had led Finau Ulukalala to attempt the abolition of the great *inaji*, and to curtail the privileges of the Tui Tonga,
[793] had spread to Tongatabu. The influence of the priests had been undermined by the licence of war, and Lawry had not to face the difficulties that beset the pioneers
[634] of the Duff. He found the chief power in Tongatabu to be in the hands of Maealiuaki, or Talau as he was

also called, the son of Mulikihaamea, who was temporal 175
sovereign before Mumui. He had married Kananga, a 797
granddaughter of Mumui, who had just borne him a son, 634
Tungi,[1] who was through his grandfather, Mulikihaamea,
the representative of the Tui Haatakalaua. Fortunately
for Lawry's influence, in November 1823 a young chief
named Futakava, who had been taken to New Zealand
and Sydney by a passing vessel, returned to Tonga.
They had treated Lawry's accounts of the wonders of [609]
foreign countries with scepticism, but they did not think [829]
of doubting the evidence of one of their own countrymen,
even when, after the manner of travellers, he indulged in
exaggeration. But before Lawry could expect to reap
the fruit of his labours he left the islands. His stay
of fourteen months served, however, to pave the way
for his successor.

In 1826 two Tahitian teachers landed at Nukualofa 175
and began to hold services; and two months later a 797
Mr Thomas, despatched by the Methodist Society in [634]
England, landed at Hihifo, and put himself under the
protection of the chief Ata. For some months he had
to contend against opposition, but in 1827 the spirit
of curiosity was so far awakened in the natives as to
make it safe for him to hold services in Nukualofa. At 175
the close of the previous year Tubou, a half-brother of 643
the murdered Tukuaho, was elected Tui Kanokubolu,
and formally installed. It has been said that he was
elected as a bribe to wean him from his leanings towards
the new faith; but a comparison of the dates of his
appointment and Mr Thomas's arrival makes it more

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[1] Speaker of the Assembly, and Tukuaho's father.

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175 probable that his election was the result of a prolonged
643 peace of six years, which gave the chiefs time to revert
to the ancient constitution of society. One year after
175 his election he publicly embraced Christianity, and a
643 797 party, having for its object active resistance to the new
669 faith, was immediately formed against him. Tubou was
[621] utterly wanting in force of character. His impulse to
please every one led him to temporise with the heathen
party, which was composed for the most part of chiefs
who saw in the new faith a menace to their own power
over their people. Had he been less vacillating he might
have crushed the growing resistance to his authority at
its birth, but his resolution failed him until it was too
late.

Against his irresolution the character of Taufaahau
175 stood out in strong relief. He had long been sceptical
634 797 about the gods of his ancestors, and his mind was ripe
to imbibe new ideas. He had heard of the new teachings,
and he longed to hear them for himself. He therefore
wrote to Mr Thomas asking that a missionary might be
sent to him. No white missionary was available at the
time, and he had therefore to be content with Peter Vi,[1]
the ablest of the new converts. Bitterly disappointed,
Taufaahau refused at first to receive him, but at last his
curiosity prevailed, and he allowed Peter to teach him
175 to write. As soon as he understood the teachings of the
634 new religion he signed the death-warrant of the old. To
797 silence the opposition of the native priests, he dragged
798 Peter with him into many escapades intended to discredit
the deities of his ancestors. They presented kava to

[1] The same who visited us on a hand-cart in Haapai.

the priestess of Haehaetahi, and beat the unfortunate woman, challenging her god to avenge the insult; they hanged five idols by the neck, and burned the spirit-houses, to convince the people by ocular demonstration that infringement of the *tabu* had no penalties. 175 634 797 798

In 1827 Captain d'Urville in the Astrolabe anchored at Pangaimotu,[1] and was attacked by a party of natives, who carried off with them one of his marines. Not being disposed to land, or apply to the local authorities, and knowing the evil character the people had earned in their attempts to take ships, he bombarded the island for two days without doing serious damage. Later in the year Peter Dillon, on his way to find the remains of de la Perouse's ill-fated expedition at Vanikoro, put in for a few days to secure interpreters. 175 177 609

Finau Ulukalala III. (Tuabaji, *alias* Finau Fiji[2]), who now held independent sway over Vavau, following Taufaahau's example, had also written for a missionary; but his motive proved to be that of mere curiosity, and he soon cast off his new professions. In April 1831 Taufaahau visited Vavau with twenty-four sail of canoes, on political business, and took that opportunity for attempting the conversion of his eccentric neighbour. It was a hard task, and he found it necessary to sail back to Haapai unattended to ascertain from the missionary whether it would be safe to promise Finau a missionary if he would consent to renounce his gods. Satisfied upon this point, he returned to the attack. Being before all things practical, Finau determined to give his fathers' gods one last chance before finally 175 634 797 [628]

175 634 797 776 778

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[1] Near Nukualofa.

[2] Described by Mariner.

175 breaking with them. He had seven of the principal
634 idols placed in a row, and addressed them as follows:
797 "I have brought you here to prove you, and I will tell
776 778 you beforehand what I am going to do, so that you may
have no excuse. I am going to burn you. If you be gods, escape!" But as the idols made no attempt to escape, he gave orders that the spirit-houses should be set on fire. Eighteen were thus destroyed; but the weather being damp, they took four days to consume, and the people sat by terrified, waiting for the retribution that must follow such iniquity.

175 Meanwhile Finau's brother prepared to oppose the new
634 faith by force of arms. After plundering the outlying
797 villages of Vavau, he intrenched himself on an uninhabited
578 island. Finau called upon Taufaahau to help him out of the difficulty brought about by following his advice. At the head of a strong party of Haapai warriors he landed on the island, and tried his powers of persuasion upon the hostile force. Besides his physical prowess Taufaahau possessed another gift that appeals most powerfully to primitive man — eloquence. Often when his men were jaded, hungry, and dispirited, a few words from him would turn their thoughts from their own sufferings to the glory to be won by fiery courage and the shame of failure. "When Tubou spoke like that," said one of his chiefs, "the warriors would not wait to hear the end, but rushed upon the enemy and bore them down."

While the enemy still hesitated he prepared for the attack, but they did not await his onset. They threw open the rude gateway and sued for peace. No blood was shed, but the leader was banished to Fiji, and a number of his

followers were taken to Haapai as prisoners of war. This 175
moderation on the part of conquerors was the first-fruits 634
of the new faith, for by ancient usage the lives of the 797 578
chief rebels would have been forfeited.

In 1833 Finau Ulukalala died, and on his deathbed 175
committed the government of Vavau to Taufaahau until 634
his heir should be grown up. Upon this the Roman 693
Catholic missionaries have founded a charge of usurpation
against King George which may be easily answered. The
heir died, and before his successor had attained manhood
Tonga had become a united kingdom with a Constitution,
and to give Vavau an independent government would
have brought the whole fabric to the ground. But Tubou
showed me on more than one occasion that he was uneasy
about Finau's dying charge.

Taufaahau was now in reality an independent sovereign
of the joint kingdoms of Haapai and Vavau, and was free
to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Tui Kanokubolu or
not as he pleased. Under his influence the new religion 175
had been embraced by the people of Haapai and Vavau 797
with all the emotional zeal of new converts. In their 184
restless energy, and the ease with which enthusiasm or
suspicion may be excited in their minds, the Vavauans
are a race distinct from their neighbours of the southern
groups,—as distinct as the contrast between their mountainous
romantic island and the flat shores of Haapai and
Tongatabu. They may be violent partisans or bitter
enemies—they cannot be neutral. They are, in short,
the Irish of Tonga. It was not long before the missionaries, 175
by awakening this curious quality of hysterical 797
enthusiasm, had established over them a clerical despot-

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175 ism that made them independent of political changes.
797 But against the silent forces of inherited enmities in
175 Tongatabu, the legacy of years of civil war, Christian-
797 ity could make no headway. It was enough that Tubou
798 the king had accepted the white man's religion for
the chiefs averse to his rule to remain heathen. That
Tui Vakano had been converted was reason enough
for Lavaka, lord of Bea, to continue unregenerate. In
1835 the chief holding the title of Tui Vakano joined
the missionaries, and his people formally deprived him
175 of his title, and expelled him from their midst. Furious
797 at the treatment he had received, he reported that
798 the heathen party were determined to depose King
669 Tubou by force of arms. The Christians immediately
threw up intrenchments at Nukualofa, and thus precipitated the outbreak of hostilities. But a severe hurricane, that destroyed the food supplies, compelled both parties to remain inactive throughout 1836. At this juncture it is probable that the king might have averted war had he shown the least firmness or energy; but as he made no effort to win over the hostile party by diplomatic means, and the missionaries were powerless to quell the strife they had raised, civil war became inevitable.

In January 1837 the Christian party took up arms with the avowed object of suppressing a rebellion, and met a body of the heathen near Bea, defeating them. "The heathen party could put more fighting men into the field, and Tubou therefore sent to Taufaahau for reinforcements from Haapai. It was a missionary war—a crusade in which the club and the Bible were linked against the powers of darkness; and no knight-errant ever went

against the Crescent with greater zest than the new converts 175
showed in their quarrel with their heathen countrymen. 797
By the middle of March the struggle was at an 798
end and peace was declared, but still neither party felt 669
safe outside of their intrenchments. The principal conditions imposed upon the heathen were that no person should be persecuted for his religion.

They did not long keep their undertaking. Both at 175
Hihifo and Bea the new converts were subjected to petty 797
annoyances that more than once drove them to arms 798
again, and goaded several to return to the gods of their forefathers. But the threatened renewal of civil war did not prevent the hostile parties from meeting on the
occasion of a great national festival. On the 14th of May [634]
1837, Tui Belehake, a chief of the family of the Tui Tonga,
married Charlotte, Taufaahau's daughter. At this marriage [622]
all the heathen chiefs attended and mixed with the Christian chiefs on friendly terms.[1]

One can sympathise with the feelings of the heathen 175
chiefs. The new religion, they saw, would soon destroy 797
the little power that remained to them. It was introduced 622 628
by foreigners, and was being forced on them by their hereditary 578
enemies of Haapai and Vavau, who made it an excuse for plundering their homes, just as they had done in their annual raids before the Christian religion had been

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[1] This event enables us to fix the king's age with some degree of probability. [643]
Taking King George to have been twenty-five years old at the time of Charlotte's birth (for he had a son older than Charlotte), and her age at marriage to have been at least seventeen, King George must have
been born in 1797. Charlotte's grandson, Taufaahau, succeeded King [644]
George in March 1893. She died at Nukualofa in August 1891, after her return from exile for adherence to the Wesleyan Church.

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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175 even heard of among them. It was a foreign religion, and
797 it aimed at destroying their influence over their people
622 628 and substituting that of a foreigner; therefore they, as
578 Tongans, would resist it to the death.

175 In 1839 it was reported that a plot to assassinate the king
798 had been discovered. The storm-clouds were gathering
669 thick, but still they did not break. In January 1840 King Josiah Tubou paid a friendly visit to Ata in Hihifo, and some of Ata's followers took that opportunity for attacking and killing a party of Christians in their plantations. This outrage being a declaration of war, a strong party was at once despatched from Nukualofa to bring the king to a place of safety. The heathen party invested Fou'i, and Tubou, knowing that the fall of Fou'i would be the signal for an attack upon Nukualofa, sent a fast-sailing canoe to Haapai to implore Taufaahau's help. When he arrived it was arranged that he should meet the enemy and submit terms of peace to them. A deserter from the enemy met him on the way to the meeting, and warned him that a plot had been formed to shoot him from an ambush as soon as he reached the appointed place. He at once returned to Nukualofa, and advanced upon Hihifo with all his forces. After investing the place for nearly a fortnight he had recourse to a curious stratagem. When civil war breaks out in Tonga, it is the custom for each man to fight on the side of the people with whom he happened to be staying on the outbreak of hostilities. Thus brothers often find themselves ranged against one another. He now ordered such of his men as had relations or friends among the enemy to advance to the ditch and call upon his friend to desert, assuring him of safety. When this was done numbers of the

[1840]

besieged jumped over the wall and joined the besiegers, 175
leaving the garrison too weak to resist. Hihifo thus yielded 798
without the loss of a single life, and Taufaahau, true to 669
his promise, spared the lives of the 500 prisoners who fell
into his hands.

He now consented to take up his permanent quarters in [701]
Nukualofa with his army of 900 men and their families.
On April 20, 1840, an attack was made upon some stragglers
near Nukualofa. The Christians were upon the point [177]
of making reprisals when Commodore Wilkes of the United
States exploring expedition arrived, and offered his services
as mediator between the hostile parties. But his
efforts were frustrated by a fresh attack by the heathen,
and he left the island without effecting his object. Rightly 175
or wrongly, he formed the opinion that the missionaries 798
by their indiscriminating zeal had brought about the war, 669 797
and that King George Taufaahau was using the opportunity 643
to so increase his prestige as to secure his succession
to the office of the reigning king. Although the result of
the war was the advancement of the interests both of King
George and the missionaries, I see no reason to believe that
either were disinclined for peace. The worst that can be
said is that it was a missionary war, brought about by zeal
untempered with discretion, and that in this respect only
can the bloodshed be laid at the missionaries' door.

On the 21st May 1840 Captain Croker anchored at 175
Nukualofa in H.M.S. Favourite, and was appealed to by 177
the missionaries to help them out of their difficulties. He 798
landed half his ship's company, and advanced upon the 669
fortress of Bea with three field-pieces. The guns were
brought into position within range of the enemy's muskets,

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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[1840-1845]

rel that did not concern him he may be excused—for, in the 175
excitement of the time, it is more than probable that the 177
missionaries greatly exaggerated their own danger, and 798
thus placed him in the position of a protector of British 669
interests; but for the gross incompetence and indiscretion
shown in leading the attack he must bear the sole responsibility.

The heathen party, having beaten off their assailants, 175
began to grow tired of the confinement of life within their 798
intrenchments, and readily accepted peace without the 669
imposition of terms on either side. The new converts, 175
with the doctrine of universal love ringing in their ears, 797
were now to learn something of Christian hate, and, to do 798
them justice, they made very apt pupils. In 1842 some
Roman Catholic priests landed and joined the heathen at
Bea, among whom they had as much right to be as the
Methodist missionaries who had failed to convert them.
The mutual recriminations of the rival teachers could not
leave their followers unaffected. Religious differences
among natives, fostered as they always are by their
spiritual guides, invariably lead to political troubles.
The heathen chiefs now asserted that they had a right [669]
to be independent, and that they would give asylum to [643]
any fugitive from the laws promulgated by the king.
The priests had set their followers in the road that
leads to civil war, and for the misfortunes that overtook
them they had only themselves to thank.

On November 14, 1845, King Josiah Tubou died. On 175
his deathbed he summoned Tungi, the representative of 643
the Tui Haatakalaua and the principal heathen chief, and 634
charged him to regard George Taufaahau as his succes-

[1847-1852]

of the chiefs of Tongatabu who had failed in their re- 175
spect towards him. He left Tongatabu under the govern- 643
ment of the two Hahavea chiefs,—Maafu and Lavaka of 669
Bea,—making them responsible for the maintenance of 798
peace. They, in common with the other chiefs, had 622
taken a pledge not to repair the fortifications of any of the fortresses, and to punish the first chief who should dare to disturb the peace. But as soon as he had left the island they lost no time in repairing the earthworks of Bea. When the news reached the king, he returned to Tonga in a fleet of war-canoes, and summoned the accused chiefs to his presence. They strenuously denied the charge of sedition, and renewed their assurances of loyalty. But the king had scarcely returned to Haapai when they began again to annoy their more loyal neighbours, hoping to goad them into open resistance. The chiefs now petitioned the king to return to Nukualofa, and in July 1851 he acceded to their request. The rebel chiefs now showed their intentions more clearly. They refused to meet the king, and declared their intention of separ-
ating themselves from his Government. They had with [797]
them some French priests, who have been accused of encouraging them in their resistance. In February 1852 the works of Bea were hurriedly restored, and a collision became inevitable. The quarrel was again a question of the new religion. The heathen had for a time been allowed to follow their own inclinations; but in 1850 Tungi, the son of Maçaliuaki, the most influential of their party, joined the Christians, and they saw that they must either follow his example and surrender their influence, or take up arms in the defence of their in-

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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[1852]

175 dependence. They were the more ready to adopt the
643 latter alternative since the priests pointed out to them
798 669 that they would be surrendering not to King George—
622 that they had already done—but to the English missionaries, who had become his Ministers of State as well as of the Gospel.

175 Before finally taking the field, the king made an effort
643 to induce the priests to leave the rebels—for his foresight
797 told him that any injury they might sustain would afford
669 a pretext for the demands of a foreign Power for indemnity. They refused, however, to leave the fort, probably feeling that the desertion of their friends on the approach of danger would destroy their prestige beyond repair. The courage they showed in braving the dangers of a siege by a stronger party, with the prospect of the horrors of savage victory at the close, compares favourably with the conduct of their rivals who fled the island in 1840, and deserves something better than the sneers that have been heaped upon them by the Wesleyan missionaries.

175 On March 1st the king distributed muskets among his
643 chiefs, and formally declared war. After two slight skir-
669 mishes, a pitched battle was fought near Bea, with con-
[713] siderable loss on both sides, but without decisive result.
[725] On the 14th the Roman Catholic Bishop of Samoa arrived
[177] in a French ship-of-war to inquire into the cause of the
[797] war, and left again with the avowed intention of bringing
[701] help for the beleaguered priests from Tahiti. On the 12th of April the king closely invested Bea, by throwing up four earthworks at different points of the fortification, garrisoning them with a total force of 10,000 men. He

[1852]

175 king's efforts they were removed to a place of safety, and
643 their property was dragged out of their burning houses.
669 Lavaka, Maafu, and Tubouleva were pardoned, and they
[727] forthwith renounced both heathenism and the Christianity
[797] of the Roman Church, which the Protestant chronicler
[798] naïvely classes together. Thus ended the second Wesleyan
[797] crusade, and Protestantism, sustained by the musket
and the club, was again triumphant.

175 In the following November the long-expected help from
177 Tahiti arrived in the person of Captain Belland of the
643 Imperial frigate Moselle. A formal inquiry was held to investigate the charges brought by the priests and the captain of a French whaler; and the French commander, while acquitting the king of responsibility for any injury sustained by the priests, warned him against allowing his zeal to blind him to the right of his subjects to entire freedom of conscience. In closing the inquiry he said to the interpreter, "Tell him that I have known many chiefs in the South Seas, but I have never met his equal."

175 Relieved of his anxieties at home, King George had
643 now the leisure to consider his long-cherished scheme of travelling abroad. More than once in his youth he had almost yielded to a temptation to ship before the mast in one of the passing whalers that made Tonga their annual port of call. Had he done so, the history of his country would have been different, but he was reserved for higher
175 things. His mind naturally turned to Fiji, where a new
643 kingdom had been unexpectedly won for him. The number
648 of Tongans settled in Fiji had grown into a standing
669 menace to the peace of Tonga. Any disaffected chief
167 might recruit an army of free-lances there, well trained in

[1853]

175 of Fiji to England reduced him from the position of an
648 independent viceroy to that of a pensioner of the British
721 Government. Deprived of all stimulus to activity, he
became demoralised, took to drink,* and died in 1880.

175 Affairs stood thus when, in 1853, King George em-
643 barked for Sydney in the mission brig John Wesley.
484 The ship dropped anchor at Bau, and King George met
177 Thakombau and formed the alliance that ultimately
648 brought about the annexation of the group by England.
The Fijian chief promised him the canoe Ra Marama, the largest craft afloat, if the king would visit him to bring her away. His power was already waning, and he hoped that his alliance with the Tongan king, whose name was become a terror throughout the group, would cow his enemy Ratu Mara.

175 Sydney made a deep impression upon George's mind.
643 His questions were unending. Nothing escaped him,
484 from the form of legislature to the uniforms of the police-
177 men. One fact, indeed, he lost no time in applying to his
423 own country, and to it is due the present independence of
609 the kingdom of foreign interference. European settlers
had already been pressing him to sell land to them, and he had resisted hitherto, feeling that it would give them a status in the country that would sooner or later affect his own independence. He now found that in Sydney land could be granted to a stranger without passing out of the hand of its real owner. He resolved that not a rood of Tongan land should be alienated except upon lease, and he kept his resolution.

175 On his return to Tonga he wrote to Thakombau the
643 letter that induced him to accept the missionaries' teach-
648
797

[1853]

ings which he had so long rejected, and he then made 175
his preparations for the visit he had promised. His fleet 643
consisted of thirty sail of double canoes, manned by many 648
hundreds of warriors. He had no intention of joining in [797]
any of the local wars, but he knew the necessity of being [701]
independent of the protection of his host, whose power, [501]
he knew, was not undisputed. From Moturiki he despatched a canoe to Ovalau, commanded by Tavake, one of his own relations. Before the canoe could reach the shore it was fired upon by the natives, who were at the time in alliance with Ratu Mara, Thakombau's revolted brother. Tavake was killed, and the canoe hastened back to the king with the news. The murderer could not be captured without a general attack upon Ovalau and a war with the whites, who sided with Mara, and would not surrender the murderer to any ally of Thakombau.
King George therefore resolved to join Thakombau in an 175
attack upon the fortress of Kamba on the mainland, where 643
the enemy were massed in force. Thakombau's fortunes 648
were now at the lowest ebb. If he failed in reducing 721
Kamba, his fate was sealed. His enemies had hemmed him in; his vassals had revolted; even his own town, filled with his own relations, was against him, and in open communication with the enemy. His conversion to Christianity had alienated many of those who still clung to him, and his only hope lay in his Tongan allies.

On the 7th of April 1853 the allied armies landed on the peninsula. A party of Tongans was despatched to reconnoitre the fort, and they had scarcely left the main body when news came that they were engaged with the enemy. The rest of the Tongans advanced to the attack,

[1853]

175 dashed against the stockade, and after a few minutes'
643 hand-to-hand fighting the enemy were in full flight, and
648 Kamba, invincible to Fijian methods of warfare, was in
721 flames. None of their Fijian allies appeared until the
looting had begun. With the fall of Kamba the heart of
Mara's rebellion was crushed, and Thakombau recovered
his prestige. Had King George failed him, Bau would
have fallen, and the cession of the country to England,
which Thakombau brought about, might never have taken
175 place. Before leaving the group, King George made a tour
643 through some of the heathen islands to urge upon the
648 chiefs the adoption of Christianity. Traces of this ex-
[797] pedition may still be seen in the wavy seal-like hair of
some of the natives of Kandavu and Vatulele, who were
born shortly after the departure of the Tongans.

After settling the policy to be adopted by Maafu in
175 Lau, the king set sail for Tonga. He found the Governor
643 648 of Tahiti, M. du Bouzet, awaiting his return with a treaty
797 ready for his signature, which was so worded as to give
the French priests the fullest liberty of action. It was
then the policy of the Empire, as it is now of the Re-
public, to lend the Church the powers of the State abroad
while ignoring her claims at home.

To this point, in spite of the bloodshed the introduction
175 797 of Christianity had cost, the missionaries' influence had
642 been for good; but from the king's return from Fiji they
177 felt their position to be secure, and they began to abuse
178 their power by meddling in the affairs of the State. They
were burning with a desire for radical reform: they panted
to see their flock enjoying the sweets of constitutional
government. Mr St Julian, the King of Hawaii's Mayor

[1853-1862]

of the Palace, having persuaded his own patron to bow 175 down before the freedom-god, wrote a flattering letter to 797 the Tongan missionaries to enlist them in the same holy 642 177 cause. The king, to his credit be it said, long resisted, objecting 178 that his people were not ready for such reforms; [643] that, though in Sydney it might be well to curtail the power of the chiefs, the Tongans would use their new liberty for the indulgence of their natural idleness. But in 1862 he was over persuaded, and a Constitution was granted which swept away the form of government which had taken centuries to elaborate, and substituted executive machinery on the English plan. A system evolved from centuries of experiment to suit the needs of Anglo-Saxons was forced in a single day upon a handful of ignorant Orientals, with whose inborn convictions it was in complete antagonism. The *Konisitutone* became thenceforth the fetish of the Tongan people. Most of them did not know what it was, but it had been introduced by the missionaries, and was intimately connected, they believed, with its outlandish fellow *Konisienisi* (Conscience), and in some mysterious way it elevated their country to the level of one of the Great Powers. It was not until after [622] the feasting and the speech-making and the ecstatic sermons [565] of the black-coated missionaries that the chiefs had time to realise that they had sold their birthright for a sheet of vellum, and that their power was gone. It was a heavy price to pay for being *sivilaisi*.

The power of the missionaries was now at its height. 175 The king had no other advisers, and it was natural that he 797 should rely upon them. The early indifference to their [643] teachings had given place to an almost hysterical en- [645]

175 thusiasm. They had scarcely to ask for contributions—
797 the emulation among their congregations filled the mission
oil-tanks—and they, too, began to be astonished at their
[645] own moderation. As the king's advisers they now began
[177 to dabble in politics. They designed a Royal Standard
178 with doves and crossed swords, and other un-Polynesian
291 devices; they ordered a Crown and a Great Seal; they
714] taught the officers of State to pace the beach in English military uniforms; they encouraged the women to disfigure themselves with bonnets and European dress. They had laboured hard, and if they now complacently accepted the blind adoration of their flock, it was but human nature.

But there was one among the new converts who was less blind than his teachers. One of the missionaries was leaving the group, and the villages for miles round assembled to take leave of him. A vast pile of mats, cloth, and other native property was heaped up before the smiling clergyman: the excitement was hysterical. Tungi, the latest convert, was curiously watching the scene with a companion by his side. "Uiliame," he said, "do you remember how they treated Mr—— when he came, how they stole his things and insulted him, and do you see them now? They are dying of love for him, Uiliame; yet I think that you and I will live to see the time when their love will be turned into hate. This will not last for long, Uiliame; their minds are too hot." Uiliame remembered these words twenty years later, when he saw an angry crowd assembled outside the mission-house demanding the bodies of the native Wesleyans who had taken refuge there, and he told the story as a proof of

Tungi's wisdom. But the missionaries had no misgivings. They had learned the fickleness of their people by bitter experience, but in the days of their apotheosis they forgot the law of reaction. 175 797

The first cloud was no bigger than a man's hand. For some years the contributions exceeded the needs of the Church in Tonga, and the people asked that the surplus might be spent among them, instead of being swallowed up by impecunious missions in other lands. The hesitation of the Wesleyan Conference in Australia in granting this very reasonable request gave birth to a desire for ecclesiastical self-government. The ignorant but self-effacing missionaries of the early days had made way for a very different stamp of man, not less ignorant, perhaps, but far better versed in the affairs of the world. The modern missionary was not called to the post owing to any inward conviction: he took up the work as he would any other profession, and he aimed at the aggrandisement of the Church of which he was a member, rather than the ultimate good of the people committed to his care. He saw that the moving spirit of the Tongan mind was display and emulation, and he skilfully adapted it to the needs of the collection-plate. 181 156 The chairman was now Mr Baker, a plausible and not over-scrupulous man, half-educated, but possessed of considerable knowledge of the world. Little by little he brought the king to look to him for advice in secular matters. The secret of his influence was the king's fear of losing his independence. 175 797 643 Mr Baker worked upon this fear, representing England as only waiting for an opportunity to seize the country as she had done in Fiji. It was only by following his advice

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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[1876]

175 that these nefarious designs could be frustrated. He now
797 began to play into the hands of Germany, thinking that
643 he would flatter the king by negotiating a treaty with one
175 of the Great Powers. He approached the German Consul-
797 General in Samoa, and found him ready to treat with him
648 for a fair price—namely, the cession of a coaling-station
in the unequalled harbour of Vavau. On the 1st of November 1876 the native plenipotentiaries, with their reverend interpreter, proceeded to a German ship-of-war to sign the treaty that had been prepared for them. It was read, and when the passage about the coaling-station was reached Tungi objected that he would like to consult the king before signing such a clause, but the German commander sternly told him that it was all settled, and that it was too late to withdraw. So the treaty was signed, and the coaling-station ceded "without prejudice to the rights of sovereignty of the King of Tonga," and the "interpreter" received a decoration from the Emperor of Germany for the trouble he had taken in the matter.

I have now brought this sketch to the point of the
128 establishment of the Free Church, whence I have traced it in the opening chapters of this volume. For those who have heard of King George only as a persecutor, or as a sovereign ruled by his own Minister, owe it to themselves and to his memory to give at least an equal prominence in their minds to the story of his early career.

present population of Tongatabu. Since that time the 161
population has been either stationary or decreasing—
slightly under normal circumstances, rapidly in time of
epidemic. In 1893 the measles and the diseases con- [164]
sequent upon it carried off one-twentieth of the people. [165]
In the absence of such severe visitations whooping-cough [164]
is the most destructive of the introduced diseases. The [757]
mothers lack the knowledge and the self-devotion re-
quired to successfully nurse their children through such ill-
nesses, and content themselves with calling in one native
quack after another to dose the unfortunate child with a
succession of nostrums until death puts an end to its
sufferings.

For the low birth-rate there are several reasons. In 163
ancient times the women were required to do no work 462
beyond the light occupations of fishing and cloth-beating.
The men planted the food, carried in the wood and
water, and did the cooking. The missionaries have so [797]
industriously cultivated the idea of family life that in [593]
most Tongan households the women, after marriage, do the [178]
same work as the wives of the peasantry in Europe. In
other respects they have greater liberty than under the
heathen system. Formerly a girl's hair was cropped short 885
at about twenty, and she was thenceforward classed as 302
an old woman (*fefine motua*). No woman of mature age 582
could then masquerade in the guise of a young girl, and
there was no inducement to defer marriage and the cares
of maternity; for the woman who aspired to be younger
than her years had no peace from the sneers of her con-
temporaries. This is all changed. Under the grim social 178
code of the missionaries, by a mockery of fate, a laxer 582

644 father, chuckled at the thought of being a grandfather, and touched lightly on the still burning question of the king's marriage, which had not disturbed him, for all it had threatened 797 revolution. And "Misa Beika" was back again. He laughed long and loud at this admission and the reminiscences that it evoked.

128 I must here digress to explain what had taken place since my term of office ten years before. 643 In 1893 King George had died, at the age of [764] ninety-seven, of a chill supposed to have been brought on by his obstinate habit of bathing at daybreak in the sea, and had been buried in a huge mound thrown up in the public square of Nukualofa, known as the Malaekula, or Red Square. Contrary to expectation, his great great-grandson, Taufa'ahau, had succeeded him without disturbance, under the title of George 645 Tubou II. Not long after his accession he had dismissed Tukuaho, appointing him governor of Vavau, and had made Sateki, my auditor-[647] general, premier in his stead. For a time the [186] premier had had an European clerk, but the native government had gradually come to dispense with all Europeans except the Customs staff. 652 This meant, of course, that it had sought unofficial and irresponsible advice from traders,

meeting grumbling, and departed, each to his 643
own home. The king, boycotted by all but his 644
immediate adherents and the relations of his 581 [585]
bride, kept close within the palace compound; [578]
the marriage feast was but sparsely attended,
and the dissatisfaction of the people vented itself
in attempts to burn public buildings and the
houses of unpopular members of the royal party.
The last of these incendiary attempts had occurred
shortly before my visit.

Meanwhile, my old acquaintance Mr. Shirley 797
Waldemar Baker, a person so remarkable in the Pacific that it will some day be a public duty to write his biography, had turned up again. Having spent several years in Auckland after his deportation by the High Commissioner, he had made overtures to the Free Church of Tonga to accept him as their president. The Conference considered his application with the utmost gravity, and replied that, while they would be glad to welcome him as a minister, the office of president happened to be filled. That the Church of his own creation should treat him so was more than he could bear, and his next letter was a grim intimation that they would hear of him again. Those who knew him best may have felt an uncomfortable shiver at the threat, but none in

797 his wildest dreams can have guessed how he
would carry it out. For when Mr. Baker came
797 back to Tonga it was as an emissary of the
794 [795] Church of England, speciously introduced to
the Tongans as the *Jiaji a Vika* (the Church
of Queen Victoria). Rebuffed by the Bishop
of Honolulu, to whom the Bishop of London
has delegated his authority over this part of
the globe, he had persuaded the Bishop of
Dunedin to give him a licence as lay reader.
It is no part of my business to criticise this
bishop's action, or to relate how the bishops
of New Zealand intervened to dissuade him
from going himself to Tonga to support his
protégé, but I may be pardoned for asking under
what authority of custom or ecclesiastical law
one bishop can issue a licence for what is virtually
the diocese of another.

794 The new Church was just the political weapon
578 that the party of the rejected princess wanted.
It offered a proof of discontent, it was a new
experiment in Churches, and, above all, it
[642] annoyed the king. It was safer than burning
houses, because, at the first whisper of reprisal,
you could stand boldly forth and quote the
Constitution about liberty of conscience. At
the time of our visit Ofa had joined the new

Church with most of her relations; and poor blind 794
Tungi, her kinsman, had so far conquered his 578
aversion to Mr. Baker as to permit services to
be held in his premises. Mr. Baker had been 794
careful not to define his exact position to the 777
Tongans. All that a stole and surplus could do
towards making him an ordained clergyman had
been done. He did not bother the Tongans
with any nonsense about Church government,
the one thing he did understand was making
a collection, and he held his first while I was
at Nukualofa. Something under three hundred
adherents subscribed nearly £200. I asked Ofa
who kept the money. Had they churchwardens?

"Churchwardens," she said, "what are they?"

I explained. No, they had no churchwardens.

"Then who keeps the money?"

"Misa Beika."

It was melancholy to see how cruelly Fortune 622
had used Tungi, whom I had left the most influential
chief in Tonga. While his son Tukuaho [164]
was still alive his sight had begun to fail, and he
had made the voyage to Samoa to consult a
German oculist, who pronounced his case to be
beyond hope. Hardly had night closed in upon [165]
him when Tukuaho, his only son and the most
popular chief in Tonga, died suddenly of heart

648 band played our national anthem very creditably
701 as we approached. While the rank and file
[714] numbered about thirty, as in my time, I noticed
that the roll of officers had increased until they
formed a third line nearly as close as that of
the men: their uniforms were so spotless and
correct that some of my companions mistook
644 them for Europeans. We were ushered into
344 the throne-room, where two rows of chairs were
[352] drawn up facing one another, each with a be-
crowned armchair in the centre. On these, after
the first greetings, we took our seats. I knew
the room well, and it called up many memories,
for here old King George had often received
me informally, and all the state functions and
receptions of foreign officials, which the old
king disliked so heartily and underwent so
[797] cheerfully, had taken place. At an earlier date,
when Mr. Baker had sought protection in the
[353] palace with his family, it had been Mrs. Baker's
parlour, and from that epoch dated the fairy
lights, wax flowers, and other incongruities.
644 The faces of the king's suite were all familiar,
645 for they had been my own colleagues when
I was a Tongan like themselves. There was
Fatafehi in his sober suit of black; Kubu, now
swelled to the dignity of a sovereign's father-in-

new visitor seemed familiar, but the suspicion 563
that crossed my mind while he was talking affably of the weather and the earthquake and other general topics died away, as I noticed how decrepit and broken he seemed. Suddenly through the open window I saw a party of new arrivals stop short, hesitate for a moment, and then turn tail, and knowing that there was but one man in all Tonga who could produce this effect, I recognised my visitor. It was Mr. 563
Shirley Waldemar Baker himself. He was 797
greatly changed from the masterful and prosperous minister of King George, whose name had been a byword throughout the Pacific and Australasia. His gains were all gone; years of hard living had played havoc with his health and prematurely aged him; he seemed to have lost even the self-confidence behind which he had concealed his lack of education. And yet even in this broken state he was able to make himself feared. Why he came and what he wanted I do not know; his motive can scarcely have been friendly after the criticism of his proceedings that I had been obliged to publish ten years before. Probably he wished to prove to the adherents of his new Church that he was on terms with the authorities.

16: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1921 OU9 Tonga OU9

753 Sickness was regarded as a sign of divine disfavour, as it frequently
is to-day. Christianisation has to a certain extent meant the shifting
784 of old conceptions to a new set of supernatural beings. Some illnesses
[797 are regarded as possession by a maleficent sprite, who can be massaged
and pummelled out of the system by a skilled practitioner.] Of the old
[755 gods some had their specialities, much as mortals have, though the]
[776 range of functions was generally very wide.]

Often, especially in prayers for the healing of sickness, bodily
mutilation was resorted to as a sacrifice, and in extreme instances a
782 victim was slain. Mariner describes the sacrifice of a little girl in
755 the hope that the god would be pleased to restore the great Vavau
chief Finau to health. There is still living a man whose mother saw,
and described to him, the strangling of a man as an offering to the
important god Bulotu Katoa to ensure the recovery of a great Tui
Haatakalaua chief. The victim, with his two executioners, got under a
large piece of native cloth, which was held down by people standing
on the edges. The unfortunate man was strangled and then taken to
Bulotu Katoa's shrine, and two days later the chief on whose behalf
all this trouble was taken breathed his last. There was a similarly
unsatisfactory ending to Mariner's story of human sacrifice. One
informant tells me, in reference to such sacrifice to the god Toko-i-
Moana, that the persons expected to mutilate their little fingers were
[601 the family of the brothers of the sick person's mother.] (Such terms
as brother and mother are misleading if understood in the English
sense. For instance, mother and mother's sister, including certain
female cousins, are all called by the same term, and the system is
followed through to its furthest discoverable limits). I have no doubt
that these were the persons generally expected to undergo this
altruistic operation, as they represent the branch of the family over
which one enjoys superiority. I am told that amongst an earlier
782 generation of Tongans it was comparatively rare to find anyone who
755 lived a long life with both little fingers intact. There is still living an
178 old gentleman who has lost in this way the top joint of his right-hand
little finger. But he is now a curiosity, so much so that one can
hardly begin talking to a native to-day on those topics without
presently seeing him lift up his right hand and start truculently
feeling his little finger with his left hand. All the while you see in
his face the eager expression of a man who has something he wishes
to ease his mind of, and at the first opening comes the inevitable
query, "Do you know so-and-so?" As I happen to know the old
gentleman fairly well, and have shaken the mutilated hand, the
sacrificial digit has lost something of its novelty. However, the
owner of the finger is far advanced in life, and in the ordinary course
of nature it cannot be very many years before this, one of the few
remaining links with the old order, will be beyond the possibility of
observation.

This was not the only god to whom offerings were made to ensure 776
immunity from hurricane, but he seems to have had some especially
close connection with the winds, as it is said that he has on occasion 821
brought the people to cannibalism with his destructive hurricanes. A [266]
story is told of the heroic chief Takai, who was a match for his gusty
majesty. Takai challenged Bulotu Katoa to a trial of strength, 773
defying him to destroy a house which he should build. So the house
was built strong and taut and the god invited to do his worst.
Bulotu Katoa blew with all his might from the north. The house
stood. The god veered round to the south. This was too much for
Takai's workmanship, and the structure was demolished. Nothing
daunted, Takai collected from all parts of the country beams of the
hard wood called *ngeji*, and tried again. The god was invited to try
his strength on this second building, but though he employed his
greatest hurricanes it was in vain, for Takai's house withstood his
every attempt.

It was to Bulotu Katoa that the man strangled under the piece of 776
native cloth mentioned above was offered. This god is also brought [782]
into interesting connection with the murder of Tubou Niua by Tubou
Toa, of which an eye-witness' account is preserved by Mariner. The [661]
two sons of Tubou Niua, Lasiki and Tubou Toutai, fled to Lakepa.
In course of time Taufaahau (afterwards King George Tubou I.), the [727]
son of Tubou Toa, paid a friendly visit to the sons of the man whom 776
his father had slain. Lasiki and Tubou Toutai besought Bulotu
Katoa to slay Taufaahau, but the god replied that he was unable to [627]
do so, as the white man's God, whom Taufaahau then worshipped,
was too mighty for him. On this confession of impotence Lasiki and [797]
Tubou Toutai slew the priest of Bulotu Katoa, and became Christians.

(To be continued.)

[pp. 164-226 not processed]

This list differs from Dr. Moulton's in regarding as 173
indicating separate individuals several names which he regards 175
as alternative designations of the one king. It is 643
the list favoured by the Roman Catholic missionaries, who, 127
having secured the last Tui Tonga as a convert, were probably
in a better position to obtain information about this [797]
ancient line than were their Methodist contemporaries.

It agrees in the number of generations, though not in all details, with a list published by the late King of Tonga, George Tubou II.[1] It is also, I believe, the list favoured by Mr. E. W. Gifford, who visited Tonga in connection with the Bayard Dominick expeditions of the Bishop Museum, and to whom I take this opportunity of gratefully acknowledging my obligations in this and in other matters. It agrees sufficiently closely, moreover, with what seems to be the most generally accepted number of generations in the Malietoa line in Samoa, which provides one of the most important external points of contact.

CHRONOLOGY.

Several dates are known with precision. Laufilitonga 175
closed the series in 1865. In 1777 Captain Cook met Pau,
whom he estimated to be about 40 years old. Pau is the 643
thirty-fifth, Laufilitonga the thirty-eighth, and consequently 173
the reigns of four kings covered something over 88 years, and the average reign cannot be less than 22 years. Captain Cook enables us also to fix with a fair degree of probability the date of an earlier king. He found that the remembrance of Tasman's visit in 1643 was still preserved, and was informed that Pau, or Paulaho, was the fifth king since Tasman's arrival. Cook calls the kings the Futtafaihe (now spelt Fatafehi), and says: "The Futtafaihes (Poulaho being only an addition to distinguish the king from the rest of his family) have reigned in a direct line for at least one hundred and thirty-five years. Upon inquiring whether any account had been preserved amongst them of the arrival of Tasman's ships. . . by way of informing us how long ago this had happened, they told us the name of the Futtafaihe who was then king, and of those who had succeeded down to

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[1] In the March, 1916, number of "Koe Fanogonogo," a little paper published by the Methodist Mission, which survived only a few issues. [113]

Examination of genealogies shows that Fotofili, the Tui 643
Haa-Takalaua and half-brother of Ngata, married a
daughter of the Tui Tonga, Fatafehi, who was probably an 173
old man at the time of Tasman's visit in 1643, and that Fatafehi also married Fotofili's sister. About the middle of the seventeenth century, or a little earlier, would, therefore, seem to be the date of the commencement of the Tui Kanokupolu chieftainship.

TUI TONGA MARRIAGES.

It has been already remarked that a daughter of the Tui 581
Haa-Takalaua used to be chosen to bear a successor to the 643
Tui Tonga. A few generations after the inauguration of
the Tui Kanokupolu a very significant change occurs. The 175
third Tui Kano-kupolu, Mataele Tua-piko, Mataele Crook- [644]
back, contracted a marriage with the Tamaha, Tuimala, the highest lady in the land. This marriage was probably both an effect as well as a cause of greatness. It may be dated about 1700, and henceforth the decline of the Tui Haa-Takalaua is manifest, and the mothers of the Tui Tongas are the daughters of the Tui Kano-kupolu. Gradually the decline of the Tui Tonga himself becomes more apparent. Cook was a witness of the great real power exercised by other chiefs, but he saw, too, the homage paid to the Tui Tonga.

DECLINE OF TUI TONGA.

William Mariner, who was in Tonga from 1806 to 1810, 643
relates an instance, not only of disregard of the Tui Tonga's temporal dignity, but of his sacred prestige also.[21]

It is evident that by the close of the eighteenth century there was working the leaven of a rationalism, which recognised, however sporadically, the weakness of a king who did not govern, and of a god who did not influence the harvest.
The final catastrophe was hastened and determined by the [177]
coming of the European and Christianity, but it is interest- [297]
ing to note that purely native forces were at work, which would probably have led, sooner or later, to revolution.

Finau, whom Cook met, and with whom Mariner lived, 634
belongs to the junior branch of the Ngata tribe. He made good his claim to the sovereignty of Vavau, and bade fair

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[21] An Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands, by John Martin, Edinburgh, 1827, Vol. II., chapter II.

634 to become the paramount influence in Tongan politics. Ruthless, energetic and ambitious, a notable warrior and leader of men, he failed to established himself in Tongatabu, in spite of successful raids and campaigns.

669 With the close of the eighteenth century we reach a period whose history has found European chroniclers, and of which the main events and tendencies are well known.

643 Before going further it will be well to insert a list of the Tui Kano-kupolu:—

173 1. Ngata c. 1650.
2. Ata-mata-ila.
3. Mataele Tua-piko.
4. Mataele Haamea.
5. Vuna.
6. Maafu-o-tuitonga.
7. Tupou-lahi.
8. Maea-liuaki (1777).
9. Tui-hala-fatai.
10. Tupou-lahi-iii.
11. Mumui (d. 1797).
12. Tukuaho (1797-1800).
13. Muli-ki-haamea (killed in battle 1800).
14. Tupou Moheofo (woman).
15. Maafu-o-limu-loa (not properly of the line, but held the office temporarily).
16. Tupou-malohi.
17. Tupou-toa.
18. Alea-motua (d. 1845).
19. Taufa-ahau (1845-1893). Unga. Fuji-pala (female).
20. George Taufa-ahau II. (1893-1918).
21. Salote Vei-ongo (1918).
[illegible]

It is plain that the descent is not strictly from father to son. The succession was kept within the one family, but the heads of the clan had the power to prevent the title
669 falling into the hands of the young or incapable. At the end of the eighteenth century began a long period of unrest, which effectually prevented dignity remaining with the weak. During this period the tenure of life and office was
643 precarious, and frequently brief. Intermarriages of this line with the Tui Tonga line are common, so that although
581 the title of Tui Tonga is no longer bestowed, yet the blood of the ancient kings flows in full stream in the veins of those who have succeeded them in rule.

It is not my purpose to attempt here any detailed account
121 of the last hundred years. Material dealing with the nineteenth century is fairly abundant and easily accessible. It remains but to indicate briefly the final passing of the kingship to the Tui Kano-kupolu. The consummation of this
669 revolution, of which the germs have been already noted, is
[177] intimately connected with the coming of the European and Christianity, and with the life work of a very remarkable
[797] man, Taufaahau, baptized George. The nineteenth century

dawned in turmoil and unrest. Christianity was successfully 669 established in Tongatabu in 1826, and spread rapidly [797] throughout the group; but war did not cease. The later wars took on more or less the character of dying struggles of the Tui Tonga, and of the religious system on which 643 depended his peculiar sanctity, against the waxing power [669] of the Tui Kano-kupolu and the new religion. Taufaahau was born towards the end of the eighteenth century in Haapai, and by about the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century was the recognised king of that group. But he was closely connected with the Tui Kanokupolu, his father, in fact, held the title; whilst his connection with Haapai was through his mother. Taufaahau was of herculean stature and strength, excelling in athletic exercises, and in the sterner business of war. Not only was he a redoubtable fighter, but he was also a sagacious general, and a shrewd and clear-sighted statesman. His powerful mind grasped the significance of the religious change, and of the new contact with outside peoples, and he had the constructive genius that enabled him to meet the novel conditions.

The death of Finau of Vavau left Taufaahau king of both Haapai and Vavau in 1833. Alea-motua, the Tui Kano-kupolu, who, like Taufaahau, had embraced Christianity, [797] was too weak a man to grapple successfully with the troubles that beset his throne, and found his safety in alliance with Taufaahau. On the death of Alea-motua, in 1845, Taufaahau became Tui Kano-kupolu, and, although there was still a Tui Tonga, in effect the king of the group. This effective kingship received formal sanction in 1865, when Lau-fili-tonga, the Tui Tonga, died, and the insignia of that ancient title were conferred on Taufaahau. Since then no Tui Tonga has been appointed. The Tui Tonga family has ceased to have any but social significance; kingship has passed definitely to the Tui Kano-kupolu. Fortunately for his house and for his country the life of Taufaahau was unusually long, and at his death in 1893, his kingship was so firmly established that it passed without demur to his great-grandson, who has in turn been succeeded by a daughter.

It would be beyond the scope of this paper to attempt [797] any evaluation of the part played by Christianity in the changes of the nineteenth century, but it seems probable

19: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

643 that in any case the decay of the Tui Tonga kingship would
have proceeded till a forceful personality established a new
797 dynasty. Had there not been the controlling contact with the great outside nations, and had the life of the man, to whom it fell to make the change, not been sufficiently long to consolidate firmly his power, the struggle would doubtless have been longer and bloodier. Had Christianity not put into Taufaahau's hands a powerful new weapon, he would still, perhaps, have tried to seize for himself some sovereignty independent of the Tui Tonga. A significant incident is related of him. Before his conversion to Christianity he carried off for himself the chief bride of the Tui Tonga, her, who should be the mother of the next Tui Tonga. This seems an emphatic declaration that he, Taufaahau, was to be the father of kings and source of sovereignty.

In the event the consolidation of the kingdom under
642 Taufaahau has been of inestimable service to Tonga. In
177 the momentous period when the island folk were falling to
the lot of this or the other great nation, Tonga, saved from
178 the internecine strife of chiefs of equal power and claims, has moulded a constitution able to withstand the disintegrating shock of the outside world, and, alone of the Pacific groups, lives to-day happy and contended with its native kingship, in a partnership with Great Britain, which is equally honourable to the adaptability and sagacity of the little island kingdom, as to the good faith of the great protector.

Although I have left many obligations unrecorded, I
128 wish to express my indebtedness to Her Majesty the Queen of Tonga, and Mr. E. W. Gifford, to whose joint kindness I owe a copy of the Royal Genealogy.

as are the ordinances against allowing domestic animals to 671
stray into public thoroughfares. Blue laws prohibiting work [688]
and play on the Sabbath are observed scrupulously by the
Tongans and diligently enforced among Europeans by the
Tongan police.

So thoroughly saturated is the Tongan with what might 798
be called "tabuism" that his attitude at times becomes
intolerant and even persecuting. A well-educated Tongan [186]
one day remarked to me concerning Sunday picnics of Euro-
pean residents, "Well. what can you expect from ignorant
foreigners ?" On another occasion I observed a helmsman
on a church-owned passenger vessel severely rebuked for
not joining in a hymn. When the schism occurred in the
Methodist ranks in Tonga and resulted in the establishment
of the Free Church, there was much downright physical
suffering administered to Tongans who preferred the old
faith. A number of these displayed the true martyr spirit.
Others became Roman Catholics rather than join the new
church and still others yielded reluctantly to the call of the
new church.

It should be noted that many Tongans have entered 797
the ranks of missionary workers and taken an important
part in Christianizing Melanesia and New Guinea.

Some Catholic churches in Tonga still use the booming 794
of the huge wooden native drums (lali) to summon their 795
congregations. The Protestant churches seem largely to
have adopted the less inspiring bell. I have noted, too, [202]
Catholic congregations seated cross-legged on the floor.
Protestant congregations seem more generally to use
benches.

A feast for the minister after his Sunday sermon seems 795
to be the established Methodist practice in Tonga. Appar- 796
ently we have here a good old Methodist custom which fits
"hand-in-glove" with the feasting of the priest at the time
of inspiration in pagan days.

Christianity has been a powerful democratizing factor 771
in Tonga. Through it the arbitrary powers of the chiefs 177
have been curbed and conversely the status of the commoner 565
has been bettered. Anciently commoners were supposed to [774]
have perishable souls. To-day their souls are imperishable
like a chief's. In addition to bringing about more of a 177
balance between these two extremes of Tongan society, the 793
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565

132 temperatures 5° to 10° lower, and rainfalls 25 per cent to 50 per cent
smaller. Except in the Niuas, hurricanes are rare.

EARLIER SOCIAL CONDITIONS

175 Accounts of the social condition of Tonga as they found it have
been given by various European explorers, and particularly by Cook.
He describes a rather idyllic land, fertile, well-cultivated and well-
roaded, inhabited by an intelligent and friendly people, skilled in
husbandry, boatbuilding, and in the manufacture of tapa cloth. The
175 social organisation of the country was a simplified feudalism mixed
421 with elements of an earlier patriarchalism. A central government
631 exercised authority over the chiefs, who held land from the Tui Tonga
642 on feudal terms. In turn they allotted holdings to their people, exacting
from them fealty, labour, produce, and war service when required.
These allotments were not grouped around villages, but were more or
less uniformly distributed over the chiefs' plantations as fenced farms.
There were no limits to the demands a chief might make, but respect
for public opinion, and the complex blood relations between him and
175 his people prevented any serious and systematic exploitation. Cook, at
least, was impressed by the peaceful, prosperous and happy condition
of the Tongan people.

669 But this state of affairs was not to last. Tongan chiefs became
178 involved as mercenaries in the Fijian wars, and fired by their neighbours'
example, they plunged their country into half a century of civil strife.
[165] Chiefs warred for independence or mastery. Prosperity dissolved
with peace, and a quarter of the people died through violence or famine.
In the general social chaos old institutions collapsed and new ones arose.
The old plantation economy gave way to villages as the people were
driven by the need for protection to group themselves around forti-
669 fications. Christian missions became established and the old Tongan
178 religion crumpled before their wholesome conversions. At first they
797 were a new factor of division in the heated contentions of the chiefs,
but in the end they helped to close the long agony of civil war, and
to build modern Tonga.

669 The outstanding personality in the last stages of the civil wars was
643 Taufahau, honoured by his people as the greatest Tongan. He pacified
178 Ha'apai and Vavau in the late thirties, revived their agriculture and
secured their conversion to Christianity. Appealed to for protection by
the Christians of Tonga Tapu, he invaded it. This led to the pacifica-

22: West

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[For information on attempts to Christianize Uvea (Wallis's Island) by missionaries from Tonga, see Category 116, pp. 223-230 and 237-245.]

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

000 civilisation issuing in the results specified, is the object of the following pages. A change so stupendous, and rapid, as the one here indicated, may well claim the candid consideration of thoughtful minds, and is worthy of an abler pen than that which here attempts its delineation. The history is by no means exhausted in these pages; nor has the writer been able to dwell, at any length, upon those lessons that may be learnt, from the various aspects of religious and social progress, among the Tonguese. Of one thing, however, every careful reader will be fully convinced, in regard to the best mode of conducting Missions among the Heathen. The immediate and large employment of a well-trained native agency, in the Friendly and other Islands of Polynesia, has received the signal sanction and blessing of God. The experiences of the Protestant Churches throughout the insular system of the Pacific Ocean, from New Zealand to the Sandwich Islands, concur in declaring that the development and culture of this instrumentality ought, more than ever, to command the attention of Missionary Societies, in all the great centres of foreign operations.

128 The material for this work was in hand, and was intended for publication, several years ago; but other pressing duties necessitated its being laid aside until now. After the return of the author to

797 England, three years were spent, in the compilation and translation of various works, published for the benefit of the Tonguese, by the Wesleyan Mis-

797 sionary Society; while three years more were devoted, under the direction of the British and Foreign Bible Society, to the completion of a translation of the entire Bible into the native tongue, in the original preparation of which several honoured Missionaries had largely shared.

128 These engagements must be the writer's apology for offering to the public the "Reminiscences" of a Missionary career completed several years ago.

121 As nothing has been here written from any other motive than that of conveying useful information, and with the sincere desire to promote a warmer and more self-sacrificing Missionary spirit among Christian people, the volume is commended to the kindly consideration of the reader, and, above all, to the blessing of the Most High, the effects of whose saving power it narrates, and whose glory the author humbly seeks to magnify.

Keighley, Yorkshire,
July, 1865.

[p. x is blank]

609 round his neck, from which he proceeded very care-
502 fully to unfold a well-worn paper, purporting to be
a certificate from a commander in the French im-
perial navy, declaring that Jekobi Moana was a fit
and trustworthy pilot for any vessel requiring his
services. A rosary and cross suspended on his
[797] breast showed him to be one of the few Romish
converts residing on the eastern end of the island.
Meanwhile, his tiny canoe being in imminent
danger of swamping in the surge of the vessel's
wake, it was hoisted up alongside, and friend Jacob,
having been duly attired, much to his gratification,
in a pair of sailors' trousers, mounted aloft to the
fore-top-sail yard, to assume the duties of pilot.
These were performed to the utmost satisfaction of
all on board, considering both the real difficulties
of the navigation, and the fact that Jacob knew not
a word of English, and the chief mate, who was with
him aloft, knew about as little of Tonguese. The
whole affair was managed by telegraphic signs be-
tween the two; and it happened, more than once,
that we were running full speed toward danger,
and close upon it, before the result of the dumb
show aloft could be shouted in nautical phrase to
those on deck.

137 Approaching nearer to the main land, we gazed
upon groves of innumerable cocoa nut palm trees;
whose long and ponderous leaves glanced brightly
in the sunlight, and waved gracefully to and fro
with every undulation of the breeze. The land was
clad in all directions with the richest vegetation,
from the highest eminences down to within a few
feet of the sea; while in some spots even the sea
itself was encroached upon by clusters of mangrove
177 bushes. Here and there native villages, among the

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

133 ner in his book on the Tonga Islands. The summit
[712) of this mound is now crowned by a good chapel of
[368) native construction, which affords an excellent
land-mark to navigators making for the anchorage; and it also stands as a very prominent emblem of the Gospel triumphs that have been achieved over the former habits of the people.

Looking eastward, Bagaimotu and a cluster of other islands, stretching away to the north-east, shut out the "*Hahake*," or eastern end of Tonga, from sight, whilst *Hihifo* and the island of Atata bound the prospect on the extreme west.

632 The town of Nukualofa may be regarded not only as the capital of Tongatabu, but as the metropolis of the little ocean empire of King George Tubou. It has risen from the obscurity of a small village, and has become the centre of religious influence and the chief seat of political authority, while several of the ancient royal residences have been almost entirely deserted. It is partly indebted for
[361] its importance to its admirable situation on the sea-
[797) board, but most of all to the fact, that Christian
converts from various heathen towns were drawn thither, during successive years, that they might reap the full benefit of Missionary instruction, and be freed also from the persecutions to which they were subjected by their heathen friends. A short description of this town will serve to indicate the general appearance and arrangements of all others.

361 Nukualofa is intersected by tolerably wide paths,
[363) kept scrupulously free from all rank vegetation and
dirt. These paths are bounded by the neat reed
[351) fences which enclose the *abis* or residential sections
[245) of the various chiefs and their retainers. These

from whence they peep out upon the passer-by. 342
But, no doubt, the close proximity of so many trees [351]
and shrubs is exceedingly deleterious to health during the rainy seasons; and great risk is also incurred by the practice, when a hurricane comes sweeping all before it, and crushing the dwellings of the people beneath the falling trees. A some- 797
what unfortunate attempt was made, a good many 351
years since, at sanitary improvement, under the 751
direction of one of the Missionaries, on whose behalf, however, it is but fair to state, that his intention and instructions were far exceeded by the action of the natives. Having stated to some of the chiefs in the town of Lifuka, Haabai, that a disease, then raging as an epidemic, might possibly be lessened by a clearance of the bush, they immediately issued instructions to cut down and destroy every tree and bush in the town, and to throw open a wide space from thence clear away to the sea. Amidst the shouts and merriment of a thousand voices, axes and fire soon did the work; but it was very shortly found more intolerable to bear day by day the full blaze of the vertical sun, than to endure the more rare evils of a hurricane, or even the miasma arising from rank vegetation. Since 342
that time it has been difficult to prevail upon 178
the people to undertake any really beneficial 361
changes in the structure and location of their houses.

Upon landing at Nukualofa, we were kindly re- 797
ceived by the veteran Missionary, the Rev. John Thomas, and his good lady, both of whom had spent many years of varied and useful labour among the people. Their house differed but little from those of the natives, excepting in size; also

797 in having glazed windows and doors; and in being divided, by reed partitions, into the various apartments necessary for an English family. Mr. Thomas [643] informed us of the recent death of the Rev. Francis Wilson at Vavau, and also of the death of Tubou, the King of Tonga, to whom a successor had been appointed in the person of George Taufaahao, King of Haabai and Vavau.

501 643 541 On the 20th of June, 1846, the day succeeding our landing, we witnessed the arrival of the royal fleet from the northern islands, to which King George had gone, on a state visit, immediately after his grand inauguration to office in Tonga.

[202] About noon the lively beating of wooden drums, and the ceaseless shouts of the excited people, announced the appearance of the fleet, as we hastened to the beach. Fourteen large canoes were shortly in sight; but the breeze being very light, three hours elapsed before the foremost one reached the offing. We had thus plenty of time to watch all the movements of the strange vessels before us. The peculiar shape of their sails gave one the idea of so many balloons skimming along the surface of the sea. It seemed that several of the vessels had outsailed that of the king; because, when about two miles from the shore, they severally tacked about, forming two lines between which the royal canoe advanced first to the shore. According to [576] Tonguese etiquette it would have been an unpardonable offence for any vessel of the fleet to have preceded that of the king to the shore.

501 Each of the canoes in sight would carry about one hundred or one hundred and fifty persons, and it may be well, before proceeding further, to describe one of them once for all.

501 shoulders of some of the crew. In this way there
[565] are few scenes, in Tonguese life, so full of bustle and
[482] interest as the departure or arrival of a kalia from
a *folau*, or voyage, of any considerable length. Every tongue on board is busy, while on shore numbers of excited relatives and friends are waiting to welcome the visitors, with the warmest expressions of love, and with marks of the most profuse hospitality.

501 Bearing all the foregoing particulars in remembrance,
643 the reader will be able to realize somewhat
541 of the amazing noise, and excitement, attending the
arrival and debarcation of the royal fleet of fourteen canoes, all of which were covered from stem to stern with human beings. Instead, however, of
501 the rude *tauaalo*, the people, on the different canoes,
643 were chanting the spiritual songs of Sion and the
541 high praises of Jehovah. The truth was, that the
533 islands of Vavau, from whence the fleet had come,
797 had recently been visited by a remarkable revival
of religion, and numbers on board, including the king himself, had caught some of the sacred fire. The effect upon our minds was indescribable, and it was very evident that a deep impression was also made upon the crowds assembled on the beach. As the sail of each vessel was lowered, a stanza of some well-known hymn or chant was sung; and amidst this unwonted burst of religious feeling, the good king of the Friendly Islands stepped upon the shore. To our thought it was a far more noble reception than it would have been if accompanied by the loud salutes of cannon or the din of martial music. It also spoke volumes for the success of Missionary enterprise in the country.

643 As soon as possible we proceeded to have our

continually made war upon him. In 1812, probably, 643
he was succeeded by his younger brother, [669]
Tuboutoa, who reigned only eight years. From
1820 to 1826 there was no king; but each chief
ruled in his own district or fort.

King Josiah Tubou of Tonga, whom King George 643
succeeded, was his father's uncle. He became a 177
Christian professor in the year 1826, under the 797
instructions of one of his own men, named Lagi,
who, about that time, returned from Tahiti with
two Teachers from the London Society's Mission
there, appointed to go as Christian pioneers to
Fiji. After a somewhat dubious course of religious
profession and experience, Tubou became truly
awakened to a concern for his soul in the year 1828,
and was then exposed to a severe persecution from
his heathen friends. In a variety of ways they
harassed and perplexed him in his government,
until at length affairs assumed a very serious
aspect. The king apprehended a rebellion, and [669]
was actually prepared to secure his own life, and the
lives of the Missionary families, by a flight to some
other part of his dominions. It was not, however,
until the year 1830, that the king was received into
the Church of Christ by baptism. As a governor, [157]
he was mild and unassuming in his manner. Indeed,
his extreme anxiety, to please all parties, led
him to adopt a supine and uncertain policy, which
laid him open to the severe criticism of friend and
foe. The Missionaries, however, had no just ground 643
for regretting that he never adopted strong and 797
coercive measures toward his heathen relatives and
countrymen. He acted upon the principle of toleration,
and left the adoption or rejection of the
Christian faith, to the free and voluntary choice

643 797 of his subjects. That being the case throughout the entire progress of religion in these islands, its perpetuation and purity may be more confidently looked for than if it had won its way under the auspices of political power and terrorism.

643 The king died November 18th, 1845. Upon his death-bed he signified his desire that George Tubou, already King of Haabai and Vavau, should also assume the government of Tonga, as the lawful heir of Tuboutoa. There was another chief, called Shadrach Mumui, whose relationship to the king gave him a rightful claim also. King George expressed a wish that the preference should be given to Mumui; but the choice of all the people, and the unanimous voice of the chiefs, fell upon himself. The assertions, therefore, of Romish priests, of the noted Commodore Wilkes, of the United States navy, and of some of the commanders of our own English navy, as well as that of France, that the present king is a usurper, and that he has ascended the throne of Tonga by fraud and sheer force of arms, and simply from motives of selfish ambition, have no foundation whatever in truth.

[797] Some of the Missionaries were present at the inaugural ceremony, which took place, according to the usual custom, at Bagai, in Hihifo, a small village, but a place of much note in the days of heathenism. The day appointed was the 4th of December, 1845; and, accordingly, the chiefs from various parts of Tonga, Haabai, and Vavau, assembled in state. A few of the Tonga chiefs were still Heathens. Among these were Nuku, Maafu, Tubou-leva, Tugi, and several others; but all parties appeared to approve heartily of the measure. The company was select. None were allowed

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royal line had to be retrieved; and the permanent 643
peace of the country could only be secured by the 669
bold suppression of upstart claimants to power. To accomplish these purposes, the youthful chief addressed himself with impetuous valour and daring. Possessed of great prudence and undaunted courage, accompanied by a physical strength before which all his antagonists quailed, he speedily multiplied his partisans, and gained immense influence. His name, or presence, was a host in itself in every battle, and none of his opponents could long withstand him. There are but few of the old chiefs, now living, who have not measured their strength with his in war, and been made to bite the dust; but all his conquests were accompanied by a liberal and magnanimous policy toward his enemies; so that he laid the foundation of his government not only in the fear but in the affection of his Chiefs and people.

Such were some of the antecedents of the Chris- 643
tian king, whose return in state from Vavau we had the pleasure of witnessing, as already described, and whose personal congratulations and good wishes, upon our safe and timely arrival, went far to knit our hearts, more firmly, to the sacred Missionary work, for which we had come to these "uttermost parts" of the earth.

The day after our interview was the holy Sab- 643
bath. Never before had we spent such a blessed 797
Sabbath. Nukualofa chapel was densely crowded. 794
The king and queen, and a large number of the principal chiefs of the land, were there. We felt considerable disappointment, in one respect, at
the sight before us. With the exception of their [177]
majesties and about ten other persons, no articles [291]

643 of European clothing were worn by any of the
797 people. It was evident that very little advance
794 had been made, in these matters, upon the former
[177] habits of the country. We were almost overpowered,
[291] also, by the sickly odours of scented oils,
with which most of the worshippers were plentifully
[302] anointed. It sparkled on the hair, and trickled
down the bare shoulders of old and young, to our
great disgust. But notwithstanding this drawback
to our pleasure, we certainly felt it "good to be
there." The responses during prayer were united
[796] and hearty; the singing was by no means wanting
in good harmony,—a great advance upon that of the
New Zealanders,—and the sermon was listened to
with profound attention. At the close of the discourse,
Mr. Thomas, the officiating Missionary,
called upon the king to pray. This he did with
[782] much pathos and power, until his feelings quite
[781] overcame him, and a general outburst of weeping,
and warm "Amens," relieved the emotions of the
large congregation. We understood very little of
the language; yet we felt that there was here no
hypocritical or fictitious show, but the genuine and
unsophisticated evidences of a simple and earnest
religion.

797 The lamented death of the Rev. Francis Wilson, at Vavau, rendered it advisable that his loss should be supplied as soon as possible; and we therefore prepared to advance another stage on our long voyage. A few days happily spent in Nukualofa and the neighbourhood, in observing the native habits, and in acquiring a knowledge of the more simple elements of the language, prepared us to face once more, with cheerfulness, the troubles of sea life. Our final destination was now only about

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two hundred miles distant, and the ship's course 797
would lie through clusters of islands, the sight of which would be an ever-changing source of pleasure.

We touched at two places only on the way, and 797
we shall therefore reserve for future pages any de- 504
tailed description of the numerous islands we passed. 133
Haabai is the general name given to the first extensive range to the N.N.E. of Tonga; and at one of the group, called Haafeva, we anchored before the sun had set on the day we left Nukualofa. Our object in doing so was to land the usual annual supply of stores for the Rev. William Webb, the resident Missionary at Tugua, another island distant eight miles from Haafeva. There being no anchorage whatever at Tugua, all stores, &c., could only be obtained by way of Haafeva, after being transhipped to native canoes.

Mr. Webb's sphere of labour was a very solitary 797
one. Remote from the track of all foreign vessels, and separated by a rough and dangerous part of the ocean from all his Missionary colleagues and their families, Mr. Webb, continued his faithful and blessed toil upon Tugua and its adjacent islands, for seven long years. A noble example his of self-sacrifice and of sacred devotion to his great Master's service. Truly, bright will his crown be when decked with the memorial of the scores and hundreds of converts around his lonely habitation who were the fruit of his untiring ministry.

With none of the Missionaries was our own lot so remarkably interwoven in after years as with that of this excellent man. Together we looked death in the face, and were almost miraculously saved from drowning; and at a still darker and

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797 sadder time, amidst the wild tramp of fierce warriors, and the rattle of musketry, this beloved and useful Missionary lay helpless in the writer's arms, and breathed away his spirit into the hands of his Redeemer. The first of these events may most conveniently be related here; and, for the sake of perspicuity in the narrative, we shall speak *in propriâ personâ.*

On the 8th of July, 1847, the Mission brig "John Wesley" was anchored at Haafeva, having on board the Rev. Walter Lawry, the General Superintendent of the Missions. We were bound for Tonga with several of the Missionaries on board, there to hold the usual Annual Meeting for deliberation in regard to the affairs of the Mission. Shortly after the ship anchored, Mr. Webb came on board to receive his English letters, and to make the necessary arrangements for obtaining his stores. I had been engaged, during the day, in reading on deck the autobiography of Mr. John Gough, the noted lecturer on total abstinence. The book was entitled the "Hand of Providence." A few minutes before sunset Mr. Webb prepared to start in his canoe for Tugua. I signified my intention to accompany him to his station for the night; and, pushing the little volume into my top-coat pocket, intending to finish its perusal on shore, I took my seat in the canoe. There were in it five natives, Mr. Webb, and myself. Soon after leaving the ship the sun set, and darkness, as is the case in tropical climes, set rapidly in. By the time we had gone about four miles, it was so dark we could see nothing but a glimmering light from the brig. The islands were shrouded in darkness, and as we advanced the wind rose high, and the sea became

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rough. A premonition of evil seemed to come upon both the natives and ourselves. They plied their paddles in silence, interrupted only by the quick exclamations of the steersman, as he gave directions to meet, or to avoid, rapidly the more threatening waves. Giving a word of caution now and then to our well-trained crew, we sat in momentary expectation of some disaster. The canoe laboured heavily in the sea, and there was an evident probability that the outrigger would fly up, while glancing from the top of one wave to another, and so overturn us altogether. Suddenly this very calamity happened, and in another instant we were struggling in the sea. In turning over, the outrigger came down with such force upon the surface, as to tear asunder all the lashings, by which it was bound to the gunwale of the canoe, and thus our condition was made, apparently, a very hopeless one. Being able to swim, I was immediately upon the surface, and answered the calls of the men; for, in the darkness, this was the only mode of recognition. My companion, Mr. Webb, however, was missing. Instantly the natives dived, and groping about under water, happily succeeded in seizing him just in time to save his life. His leg had become entangled in the gear of the buoyant outrigger, so that he was prevented from raising his head to the surface. A few minutes more and he would have been drowned. But this circumstance, which almost cost him his life, was by God's blessing made the means of safety to the entire party. Had the outrigger been lost in the darkness, it would have been impossible to do anything with the canoe itself, but with it it was just possible the hull

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might again be righted. At first, indeed, the canoe-men proposed to abandon the wreck, and swim for the nearest island. We well knew, however, the utter impossibility of our swimming four miles in such a sea. Accordingly, clinging to the rolling hull of the canoe, and finally getting, with great effort, upon the top, I entreated the men, for their own sakes and ours, to give up the idea of swimming, believing, as I did, in the utter hopelessness of the attempt. I told them, in few words, that we were probably lost, but that there was one chance for us, if we could but attach the outrigger to the canoe, and manage to right it. They saw the force of our representations, and, commending ourselves in silent prayer to God, the brave men set to work with noble resolution. The task was truly a difficult one. The canoe was bottom upward; the sea was breaking over us every moment; the night was very dark and cold; and we knew also that the neighbourhood abounded in voracious sharks. The lashings of the outrigger had to be passed through small holes in the gunwale, which, of course, was buried under the surface of the sea. Every minute seemed an hour, and for rather more than an hour the struggle for life was kept up. Although we relieved ourselves sometimes by clinging to the ends of the canoe, and partially assisted our swimming by placing the broad blades of the paddles under our chests, yet both Mr. Webb and myself became much exhausted. One man then went to his assistance, and another came to me. I begged him to tear off my top-coat, so as to lighten me; but this could not be done. Finding my strength giving way, I told the young man to leave me and shift for himself; but his answer was, *Ikai*

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kabau te ta mate, te ta mate fakataha be, "No; if we die, we shall die together." I remember taking one long, sad, and, as it seemed then, last look toward the glimmering light from the brig. The thoughts of a whole lifetime appeared crowded into that one moment. Images of a beloved wife and child, and of distant kindred, flashed through the mind with the vivid speed of lightning, and then there was a quick, but solemn and hopeful, look into the future. I cannot say that any of us had fear. We felt, and so did our faithful and exhausted crew, that eternity was very near; but we felt that God was our refuge and strength. Few were the words spoken, and these were either words of prayer, or ejaculations of hope and encouragement to each other. At length the temporary lashing of the outrigger was completed, and not a moment too soon, for the cold was rapidly numbing our energies. Three different times the canoe was righted; but, being water-logged, the waves as often rolled it back again. One more desperate effort was made, and Providence kindly blessed it. A lull in the sea enabled us to get a little water out of the canoe. One man then got in and baled with all his strength. As the canoe rose, another got in; and thus, one by one, the entire party regained a place in the bottom of the canoe. By this time we had been drifted far out to sea, by the strong current which sets between those islands: so that it was not until after five hours of exposure and toil that we reached the welcome shore. Dreadfully exhausted, but with hearts glowing with gratitude to God our great Deliverer, we entered the Mission premises, and knelt down together in praise and prayer. Never, before this wonderful deliverance,

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had I seen so much force and beauty in those lines of the poet,—

"With faith I plunge me in this sea;
  Here is my hope, my joy, my rest;
Hither, when hell assails, I flee;
  I hide me in my Saviour's breast.
Away sad doubt and anxious fear,
Mercy is all that 's written there.

"Though waves and storms go o'er my head;
  Though strength, and health, and friends be gone;
Though joys be wither'd all and dead;
  Though every comfort be withdrawn;
On this my steadfast soul relies,
Father, Thy mercy never dies."

Singular enough, a similar accident happened to the same canoe, three weeks later, and in nearly the same locality. Being nearer, however, to the shore than before, the men abandoned the ill-fated vessel, and reached the beach in safety. Some months afterwards we heard that the remains of the beautiful *tafaaga* were cast upon the shores of one of the Fiji Islands, distant from Tugua about four hundred miles.

Our first landing at Tugua, July 3rd, 1846, was effected under more cheerful circumstances than those just described. Here, indeed, it was that we opened our ministry, among the Tonguese, by reading the morning prayers, and the Scripture lessons, in their own tongue. Mr. Webb afterwards interpreted a short discourse delivered in English.

Upon being pressed by our kind friends to remain a few days, we permitted the "Triton" to sail without us for Lifuka, the next calling station. Mr. Webb made arrangements to take us forward in a *kalia*, in time to overtake the brig before its 797 final departure for our own station at Vavau. We were not sorry to part company, even for a few days and nights, with the Egyptian plagues on board the ship. Since coming into the tropics, [136] musquitoes had added their forces to the legions of beetles already there, and the united venom of these insects made the time spent on board anything but desirable. We were also told that the kalia would run the distance to Lifuka in about three hours, whereas it would take the "Triton" nearly the whole day, if not more.

The time for embarcation came. It was our 797 first voyage in a native sea-going canoe; and we 501 were to be honoured by having, as *Eiki vaka*, [554] (ship's captain,) the greatest man in Tugua. The blowing of conch shells, the beating of the *lalis* or great wooden drums, and the shouts of the gathering crew, threw the whole population of Tugua into a fever. And no wonder, for it is doubtful whether they had ever seen so many Europeans on their little sand-bank before; and, then, we had evidently gratified their pride by forsaking the Mission brig for their own swift kalia.

Once on board, we, too, became excited. Such a jabber of tongues we had never heard before. Up went the huge sail, down went the great steer-oars splashing into the sea, and away we shot like a racehorse. The breeze was strong. Every timber of the canoe creaked again; while the mast bent like a reed, and cracked in its socket as if it would split the deck in two. The whole affair seemed to be grand sport to the natives; but we might be excused, on this our maiden-trip, for taking a firm grasp of a rope, in the expectation that every moment

797 501 would see the whole concern topple over, or go down bodily into the fathomless depths. Owing to the great rate at which we were going, the sea was like a hissing cauldron on either side of our course; and the kalia, instead of having time to mount over the smaller waves, cut its way right through them. The ladies were seated on the thatched roof of the deck-house. Suddenly, the canoe lurching heavily to leeward, the lashings of the thatch gave way, and, but for the quick movements of the crew, who laid hold of the occupants, one or more would have been thrown headlong into the sea. With the exception of this accident, we reached Lifuka safely in about three hours, having run a distance of thirty-eight miles.

501 There cannot be a doubt that the peculiar shape of the Tonguese kalia, and the arrangement of its large and single sail, are conducive to the attainment of great speed in ordinary weather. But in heavy weather and a rough sea, these vessels are exceedingly unsafe. They have, however, been known to live through severe and long-continued storms, chiefly owing to the fact that so long as they hold together, and do not upset, they cannot possibly sink, owing to the strong platform joining the hulls together. They are highly adapted for sailing close upon a wind. The formation, and position, of the sail enables them to go, at a good speed, within even three points of the wind; so that, in this particular, they have a wonderful advantage over all sailing vessels of European construction.

797 Remaining at Lifuka only so long as was necessary to land the Missionary stores, an agreeable run from thence, of about ninety miles, brought us at last to Vavau.

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proached, it appeared like a squall; and as soon as 133 we entered, the eyes of the men on watch were blinded with fine dust. Captain Samson put the ship about; but being convinced that there was no land near, he again kept on his course. When the sun arose, the dust appeared of a dark red colour, rolling over like great volumes of smoke, and presented an appalling appearance. At eight A.M. it became so dark that candles had to be lighted in the cabin. At eleven A.M. the atmosphere began to clear a little, and the sun was occasionally seen. By noon we were clear of the cloud, being then in 170° 45′ West longitude, and 21° 2′ South latitude, having sailed through the shower of ashes at least forty miles." Captain Cash, of the ship "Massachusetts," got into the shower about the same time, though his course lay in the vicinity of Savage Island, probably sixty miles to the eastward of Captain Samson's position. This shower of dust also fell, in immense quantities, over the whole of the Vavau Islands, producing great damage to the vegetation and crops of the country.

We had no opportunity of visiting Fonua Lei, and 797 Toku, until the beginning of 1848. Our intention 133 then was to land and make a few personal explorations. Such, however, was the violence of the surf, breaking upon the blackened shores, that it would had been madness to make the attempt. We therefore sailed along the coast, as near as a due regard for the safety of the Mission ship would permit, while soundings were taken, and we narrowly examined the various points of interest with the aid of telescopes. The scene was truly one of gloomy and 133 terrible desolation. While the day was beautifully clear and bright, the entire island lay before us like

We all expected death, and prayed for the coming 133
of the 'John Wesley.' O, why did she not come? 731
All the people here are afraid of the wrath of God. [783)
Sinners have confessed and forsaken their sins.
God has shown mercy as well as wrath; and nearly
all the people meet in class."

It is not to be wondered at that a deep, and 731
wide-spread, religious awakening should have fol- 781
lowed the solemn scenes attendant upon the eruption; and the first desire of the survivors of the destroyed village, and, indeed, of all the inhabitants, seemed to be to escape from the presence of a power so mighty and destructive. Hence it was but natural that they should long for the appearance of the Mission ship, which was expected about that time on her usual annual visit. That vessel was almost the only link of connexion they had with adjacent islands; and, had it arrived at the time, it would have afforded them the most likely mode of transference to another country.

As soon as the cooling of the surface permitted any 731
exploration of the scene of the calamity, it was deter- 794
mined, by the chiefs of the island, to hold a religious 797
service, as near as possible to the supposed site of the overthrown village. Accordingly a large assemblage of people met, courageously yet solemnly, under the shadow of the largest volcano, then still in action. John Latu, the then resident Assistant Missionary, delivered on the occasion a most touching and impressive discourse from these words: "For we know that if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, an house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens."

After a considerable time had elapsed, the peo-

731 ple became more calm, and all idea of leaving their
794 home was abandoned. The state of the island
797 shows, however, that, at any moment, they may
be exposed to the recurrence of similar, and perhaps even more fatal, visitations. Under these circumstances, it is satisfactory to know that a large proportion of the people are genuine Christian believers, and that even the unconverted among the community have the fear of God before their eyes, and are under daily religious instruction and influence of one kind or another.

133 In the beginning of the year 1854, while the writer was residing at Lifuka, in Haabai, another new volcano broke out, with great violence, on the Island of Late, which lies in latitude 18° 35′ S., and longitude 175° 16′ W. Although several weeks elapsed before correct information reached us of what had happened, yet, on the night of the eruption, the loud roaring of the volcano was heard by us at Lifuka, distant from Late about fifty miles. From the shore of our island, an immense pillar of smoke was seen during the day; and at night, the fire of the volcano was distinctly visible from several of the islands that had the advantage of a higher elevation than Lifuka. The position
[797] of the island, and the direction of the prevailing wind, carried the effects of the eruption more towards Vavau than Haabai; and these were thus briefly described by the resident Missionary, the Rev. George Daniel.

"We have lately had an eruption at Late. I do not know whether you in Haabai would see anything of it; but here we have had a most fearful smothering. The people say that the fall of dust when Fonua Lei broke out, was nothing when com-

pared to this. The light of the sun was thoroughly 133
obscured for many hours by the thick clouds of dust and ashes. The whole face of the country is blighted; and I am afraid that the crops will be greatly injured, if indeed they be not totally destroyed. The fine dust penetrated even into our closed houses to such an extent as to spoil our very meals."

Although frequented by the natives, Late had no resident inhabitants, so that in this case no lives were lost. As soon as it was safe to do so, the island was visited and explored. No streams, or reservoirs of water, were known to exist on the island, before this eruption; but the natives reported, on their return to Vavau, the formation of a beautiful fresh-water lake, at a considerable elevation on the mountain side. The central portion of one side of the mountain, (which reaches an elevation of two thousand five hundred feet,) was found to have been completely blown out, a fact which we ourselves subsequently verified; while many other changes of a minor kind had followed the outbreak.

The volcanic island of Tofua, in the Haabai group, is somewhat smaller in extent than that of Niua Foöu, but otherwise it has many features in common with it in appearance and character. It is in constant action, with more or less of periodical
violence. A personal visitation of this island in 133
1853, when on Missionary duty, and while delayed 797
for several days by stormy weather, afforded us ample time to explore it thoroughly.

Ascending, by a steep and narrow path, from the (137)
village of Manaka, the visitor passes through patches of the most enchanting tropical vegetation,

luxuriating under the cool shade of lofty forest trees. The ascent is toilsome; and, after passing upward for a considerable distance, the traveller emerges upon an expanse of open country, with little else upon it beyond a withered covering of coarse grass. Reaching, at length, the ridge of the land, the whole scene suddenly changes. The eye sweeps the entire circuit of the island, the centre of which is occupied by a circular lake, studded with a few small islets. The sides of the lake are most precipitous, and only admit of approach to the water at one or two points. The crater lies on the north-west part of the island. It has evidently been upheaved from the lake itself, inasmuch as it forms a promontory extending into its waters; while, beyond it, there is a continuation of the main ridge surrounding the whole. The space, between this outer ridge and the crater, has been partially filled up by deposits from successive eruptions, thus forming a valley of hardened lava and loose ashes and scoria. The summit of the crater is much lower than the height of the island. So low, indeed, that the observer looks down upon it from all points, and would, but for the smoke, be able to see into the crater to some depth. The smoke was dense and murky. It curled and twisted, most singularly, about the gaping mouth of the crater for a while, and then shot up high into the air, accompanied by a dull, rushing sound. There was no appearance of flame while we were there. But huge boulders of scoria, and blocks of stone, lay scattered all over the ridge, as well as far down the smooth and shelving ground running down to the seaboard. Some of these stones were almost of fabulous size and weight. They bore silent but certain testimony to the enormous power of those Titanic forces by which they had been hurled into mid-air, to drop miles away, from the crater from whence they had been disgorged.

While threading a way through the *débris* of ashes and stones, our attention was attracted by a jet of black smoke, issuing from a crevice in a rocky declivity, some yards below where we stood. We also became speedily and uncomfortably conscious that the ground beneath our feet was quite hot. Upon piercing it in a soft place with a walking-stick, a thin vapour was instantly emitted, while the point of the stick was coated with a black substance resembling coal tar or pitch. Nothing daunted by this, our companion, Bita Vi, a native Missionary, at once made his way, with difficulty, toward the smoking rock, carrying a stout stick in his hand, and declaring that he would scrape away until he obtained a light. The attempt, however, failed. The intensity of the heat, and the softness of the ground, compelled him to desist, and beat a retreat. We were not sorry at it. No valuable object was to be gained; and he might have come to grief by persevering in his endeavour. The discovery we had made was an important one. It was evident that the subterranean fires of the volcano were extending far away from the original crater, on the opposite side of the island; and it was equally clear that, in the event of any outbreak where we stood, the village of Manaka beneath must necessarily be destroyed. Our guides were evidently much excited by what we had witnessed. Upon returning, therefore, to the village, we strongly urged upon the people the duty of removing at

133 an early period, for safety, to one or other of the
[797] Haabai islands.

For some months after this visit the signs of a [166] coming rupture increased; and, by an express order from King George, the inhabitants removed from the island towards the close of 1854. At that period the waters of the lake were almost at boiling heat, and a large section of the cultivatable land was scorched up.

But as no actual or serious eruption had taken [797] place up to the close of 1855, at which time our residence in the islands terminated, it may fairly be supposed that the dreadful eruption of Late, during the course of the previous year, had given vent to the internal forces, so as to relieve the pressure from that particular locality.

Two more volcanic eruptions, of a different character from those already described, remain to be mentioned. They may be called oceanic volcanoes. In the year 1852 a large canoe was proceeding [724] from Vavau to Tonga, carrying troops and arms, [669] to join the forces of King George, in a war then raging, on the latter island. Those on board observed, a great fire to the westward of their course, when they were about half-way between the islands of Late and Tofua. Supposing it to be a ship on fire, they altered their course, and steered towards it. It soon became certain, however, that it was not a burning ship. The water was strangely agitated; and the fire evidently ascended from the sea itself. Greatly alarmed, and full of amazement, the crew again kept on the proper course. Immediately upon their arrival in Tonga, they reported what had been seen; but nothing further was observed until 1855. In that year the same singular

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appearance was witnessed by the writer and by hundreds of the people of Haabai. The smoke of this oceanic volcano was seen for more than a week, and it then disappeared. Its bearing was to the N.N.W. from the centre of Lifuka, precisely in the direction where it had been first discovered in 1852.

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Now observe. In the track which was taken by the Missionary ship "John Wesley," during her annual voyage through the islands in August, 1857, a new island was discovered, whose position answers precisely to the locality where the before-mentioned phenomena were observed in 1852 and 1855. The following is an extract from the captain's Journal:—

"Thursday, August 6th, 1857.—Having left Tonga for Vavau the day previously, we at noon this day passed an island which has appeared above the surface of the sea within the last few months. The whole land, which is about sixty feet high, emits volumes of fire, smoke, and steam. Its latitude is 19° 15′ S., and longitude 175° 8′ W.

"August 19th.—At 11 A.M., got under weigh and proceeded through the reefs for Tongatabu. At 2.30 P.M., passed a small rocky islet, that must have been thrown above the surface of the sea by volcanic action. It has never been seen before this voyage, either by myself or any of the Missionaries on board, all of whom have sailed in this neighbourhood before. At 6 o'clock got out clear of the reefs to sea.

"August 27th.—At 1.30 P.M. came upon what appeared to be shoal water. Lowered the boat to sound, but got no bottom with forty fathoms. We are now five miles S.S.W. from the volcanic island development. Some of them, within a certain limited depth, are crowned with forests of living coral, of all kinds, and in large masses. Others, again, having reached the surface, present only small and fragmentary specimens of the many varieties of coral. Isolated reefs are usually, but not always, of a circular form. When they have been upheaved to the low-water mark, they generally contain in the centre a lagoon of smooth water of varying depth; or else the interior becomes filled up with deposits of sand, and of coral, that has been ground to powder by the action of the sea. The circular form, and the interior bason, of these reefs is, to our own mind, conclusive evidence that they are not the product solely of insect labour, but that they form the crests of oceanic volcanic cones, whose action, and further upward progress and extension, has been checked by the eruption of the ocean, with a force superior to that of the volcano itself. Some of the reefs of this class are exceedingly dangerous to navigators. If they lie below the surface, at a depth of five or six fathoms, many minutes may elapse before any sign of their presence appears. But suddenly the sea swells above it in one huge wave, and, rising high into the air, it curls over and breaks with tremendous fury. This phenomenon is caused by the resistance which the sea meets with in its impact upon the abrupt and perpendicular walls of the reef beneath; and no vessel, however strong, if it should happen to steer upon the spot during the minutes of deceitful calm, could possibly survive the shock of those sudden reef waves.

The writer was himself nearly lost in this way, [797] when voyaging in an open boat, accompanied by a crew of four natives, from Haabai to Tonga. The

133 proximity of such a reef in our course was known ;
797 but it was thought that we were steering in a direction sufficiently wide from its supposed locality. Nevertheless, a bright look-out was kept. The night was beautifully clear, with the moon nearly at the full. Leaning my head upon the gunwale, I was scanning the open sea in the distance. Suddenly I observed a peculiar swelling in the water ; and had just time to shout, to the man at the rudder, to put the boat about, when a sound like rolling thunder saluted us, only some hundred yards in advance of our position. It proved to be the very reef we had been trying to avoid ; and, most likely, had the night been dark or tempestuous, we should there have become food for the rapacious sharks. But to a gracious Providence we were indebted, on this occasion, as on many others of a like description, for turning aside the fatal hour.

133 Of the second class of reefs, viz., those which are found in groups, or in a continuous chain, it is only necessary to observe that throughout the Pacific, as well as within the limits of the Friendly group, they follow the same law of polar inclination, which so clearly marks the physical arrangements of the islands themselves.

Of the third class or shore barrier reefs, a few points of interest may be named. According to Mr. Ellis, the author of "Polynesian Researches," they are generally "a mile, or a mile and a half, and occasionally two miles, from the shore." We presume that his remark applies, more particularly, to the Society Islands. In Tonga the shore reefs do not occur at such great distances. Hence there
[504] are none of those wide lagoons there, into which vessels may be steered, as into a harbour. The

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[515] they serve as public bathing-places. Where two separate localities for men and women cannot be obtained, each sex resorts in turn to the same bathing-place, at different and appointed periods of the day. The water of all these wells and ponds is simply the sea-water filtrated through the sand and coral rocks; and hence, it is largely impregnated with lime.

For soft water, the Mission families, and other foreigners, depend entirely upon what is collected from the clouds, either in tanks or in clay pits, called by the natives *lebas*. In the construction of these pits, the people are extremely clever; but they soon crack under the intense heat of the vertical sun, unless tended with great care, and most effectually covered over with thick layers of cocoa-nut leaves.

797 It is to be regretted that no regular meteorological registers have ever been kept by the Missionaries residing in the Tonguese islands. The information thus obtained is of great public utility, and we think it would be no abuse, but rather a legitimate employment, of Missionary funds, to supply every central station with a set of the most approved modern barometrical and meteorological instruments. The daily observations necessary need interfere in no degree whatever with the higher, and spiritual duties of the Missionary; while the value of the information would be an ample remuneration for the small expenditure of
000 money and time. The Missionaries of the London Missionary Society have done good service, in this department of science, by their carefully prepared Meteorological Registers, published from the Samoan Islands. It appears that in those islands there are, on an

132 European constitution. In the height of the hot season, the humidity also becomes proportionably increased. One seems to live in a vapour bath all the day long. It must, however, be stated, as a set-off against this, that the resident, in any of the Tonga islands, has no need to dread the miasma of marshes, [164] or deadly swamps. Violent or fatal fevers are scarcely known. We are convinced that with ordinary care, and by having better habitations, the Missionaries, and other foreigners, would avoid a great many of the evils which at present result from the excessive humidity.

342 354 The houses, of the class possessed at present, are not sufficiently impervious to the outward atmosphere; while the system of ventilation is not such as to contribute to the comfort and health of the inmates. It will be enough to say, in proof of this, that there are no means of ventilation in any part of the high thatch roof of a Tonguese house. Hence, to secure the ventilation absolutely necessary for ordinary health, the walls themselves have to be made of open reeding or wattle-work. All the air, therefore, that is admitted, enters and departs below the eaves, that is to say, through the walls up to a height of seven or eight feet. Through these walls the damp, and cold rains and dews, easily strike into the interior, rusting everything in the shape of cutlery, and necessitating also a regular exposure of wearing apparel to the sun, to free it from the damp and mould, consequent upon even a few days' neglect. 342 797 Such houses cannot be healthy; and although the Missionaries have been content to occupy them, on the score of economy, it is an economy liable to very grave objection and doubt. Nothing that

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diminishes the vigour, or shortens the life of a Missionary, or that of his family, can be an economy in the long run.

The islands are liable to hurricanes, which seem to recur, with periodical regularity, and always in the rainy season, from December to March. There are gales every year in those months, both heavy and destructive enough; but the full force of the cyclone falls, upon one or other of the three groups, at intervals of about seven years. The hurricane gives but few indications of its approach. The wind rises suddenly, accompanied by heavy rain, and its duration, strength, and progress, in any given locality, depends upon its being nearer to, or more remote from, the centre of the wind circle. No tongue, or pen, can possibly convey an adequate idea of these visitations. Heaven and earth appear to be on the move; and, as for the sea, its grandeur is altogether indescribable. The rush of the irresistible tempest;—the cracking and fall of trees on all sides;—branches hurled through the air;—cocoa-nuts torn from the trees and flung in all directions with the velocity of cannon-balls; —a deluge of rain;—unusual darkness;—and the crash of falling houses;—all these attendants upon a hurricane make up one of the most dismal and terrific pictures in natural phenomena. The destruction of dwelling-houses, and other buildings, usually attendant upon these visitations, must however, be attributed not merely to the force of the wind, but also, in great measure, to the torrents of rain. During a recent hurricane in Vavau, thirty-four out of thirty-nine chapels were blown down; and yet these buildings were the very best and strongest constructed by the people. The

261 up their protest in vain. By the custom of the
262 country, in this matter, the bulk of the people have
574 been kept poor, through an indisposition on their
231 part to breed and rear animals that might, at any moment, be demanded from them by the chiefs, as a contribution to a domestic, political, or even religious festival.

136 Horses and cattle were re-introduced by the
231 Missionaries, a few years since, and have thriven
[797] well. They were first left by Captain Cook, but became extinct during the long series of wars which succeeded the period of his visit. Sheep also have been added, in late years, to the stock of fine goats that had been introduced at an earlier date. The number, however, of these various animals never can become anything very great. The islands are too small to permit of extensive districts being devoted to sheep-runs or pasturage for cattle. Sufficient, however, may be raised for all the purposes of home consumption, and for the replenishing of ships' stores, even should the population become much more numerous than it now is.

The common domestic fowl, the *moa* of Polynesia, is exceedingly abundant, both in the *abis* of the people, and in all parts of the bush. They are somewhat smaller than the English species, but are quite equal in flavour. The *bato*, or Muscovy duck, is also becoming plentiful; while the possession of fine large broods of turkeys is not now restricted to the limits of the Mission families, by whom they were introduced. Geese and English ducks have been tried; but they do not appear to thrive. Perhaps this is owing to the want of sufficient water-ponds.

136 There is no great variety in the other members

136 the exception of an occasional squeaking cry from the whole fraternity, when any troublesome bat fluttered about in search of a new roosting-place. As night approached, all became uproar and commotion. There seemed invariably to be a great deal of debating and manœuvring, before they could finally start on their nocturnal expeditions in search of food. Their return to the grove of *toas* always indicated the near approach of daylight, accompanied as it was by their loud chattering, and the evident contention for convenient roosting-places.
136 On certain occasions, in former times, these animals
825 were *tabu*, or considered sacred by the people.
784 During those seasons, the penalty of death itself
might be inflicted upon any one who should disturb
(778) or destroy them. In this way, one of the Mission-
136 aries, the Rev. Stephen Rabone, well nigh fell a
825 sacrifice to the rage of a heathen chief in Hihifo.
784 At the time, one of the chiefs was lying danger-
ously ill, and the bats were then *tabu*. Not know-
797 ing the law or custom, Mr. Rabone shot one, as
it happened to fly over his garden. Shortly afterwards, an enraged relative of the sick man rushed into the Mission House, club in hand, and would certainly have done Mr. Rabone serious personal injury, but for the prompt interference of a Christian Chief of higher rank than himself.

136 Here, as in all tropical countries, insect life swarms, and luxuriates, as much as the vegetation. Many of the insect tribes are doubtless useful to man in their own places; but when they take possession of human habitations, and there multiply profusely, they then become a real plague. Ants, black, white, and red, swarm everywhere, and so do lizards, and beetles of all kinds. Some of these

244 guese. Among these may be reckoned the *kumala*, or sweet potato, (*Convolvulus batatas*,) and the *talo*, or *arum*, of botanists. Both are grown; but the former is considered to be a very vulgar substitute for the yam; while the latter requires such marshy land for its perfect success, that only a very few spots are found suitable for it in the Friendly group. 797 The common potato has been tried by the Missionaries, and thrives pretty well 137 in favourable situations. The potatoes, however, soon degenerate in size and flavour, so that a renewal of imported seed becomes necessary every second or third year. It would, no doubt, do better if cultivated only on the higher lands of Vavau, and in similar localities.

There are several species of the *ji*, (*Dracæna*,) 244 and from one of these a large root is obtained, [263] which, when baked, yields a considerable quantity [262] of brown saccharine liquid, sometimes used in sweetening native puddings; while the stringy substance of the root itself is eaten, and resembles somewhat in taste the sweetness of stick cinnamon. [231] The leaves of the different sorts of *ji* afford capital fodder for goats, sheep, and cattle.

824 The arrowroot plant, (*Tacca pinnatifida*,) grows [244] wild, and is found in quantities sufficient to meet the wants of the people, without any special care being devoted to its cultivation. The chief use of the starch, obtained from it by the natives, is in the manufacture of their *gatu*, or cloth. The various [287] small stripes of *fetaaki*, or beaten bark, of which the cloth is made, are joined together by means of arrowroot paste. Any quantity, however, of the root could be raised with but little outlay or labour; and when a better method of scraping and

quarter to which the eye may be turned, the land 245
appears clad with their graceful foliage, down even to within a few feet of the sea itself. Proximity to the ocean, and a sandy soil, appear rather to favour than to hinder the rapid and healthy growth of the tree. Some of the finest and tallest specimens are met with on the shores of the lowest islands. In such situations they attain an elevation of eighty and even ninety feet. Hence an approaching voyager discovers the tufted heads of these palms in the distance, long before the land itself, upon which they grow, becomes visible.

The natives reckon at least nine different kinds of cocoa-nut trees, for all of which they have distinctive names, such as, the *niu-kafa*, *niu-ui*, *niu-leka*, &c. All these are known and included under [114]
the generic name of *Niu*; so that Dr. Seemann appears to be in error when he says, that "the Fijians are the only people who in their barbarous state had a collective term for the great natural order of palms."*

In addition to the multifarious uses to which 439
every portion of this tree has been devoted, from 434
time immemorial,† the natives now derive from it [824]
a large revenue of wealth, by the manufacture and exportation of cocoa-nut oil. Nothing of this kind 439
was done, of any importance, before the year 1846. 434
At that time the Missionaries adopted various mea- 797
sures calculated to encourage the manufacture of the article, and to facilitate its sale to resident foreign traders. They also explained the duty incumbent upon professed converts to the Christian faith, and especially upon all members of the church,

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* Dr. Seemann's "Viti," p. 367.

† Ellis's "Polynesia Researches," vol. i., pp. 50–59.

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439 of personally contributing to the support and extension
434 of missionary agencies. These measures resulted
797 in the commencement of a commerce that has since
reached considerable dimensions, and still continues
to extend every year; while the native
churches now meet the total expenses of the Missionaries,
Native Ministers, and religious institutions
amongst them. The islands have also been
[648] brought thereby into much closer, and more frequent,
intercourse with the Australasian colonies
of Great Britain.

The present mode of making oil is both rude and
258 wasteful. With proper machinery, double the quantity
433 of oil could be obtained from the same number of
nuts now used. By the present native system from
sixty to seventy nuts are required for every gallon
of oil: whereas by the use of suitable machinery
one gallon can easily be obtained from only thirty
good oil-yielding nuts. Some persons very competent
to judge, have not hesitated to say, that
this quantity can readily be expressed from even
000 twenty nuts. But, be this as it may, the value of
a plantation of cocoa-nut trees, properly attended
to, may soon be calculated: and, where the nuts of
this prolific palm have been allowed, hitherto, to
perish on the ground by millions every year, there
must certainly be a good opening for European
appliances and industry. The estimated produce
of a full-bearing tree is from ninety to one hundred
nuts per annum. A plantation therefore, of a few
thousand trees would yield a good income. Already
several of the residents, who, in by-gone days,
landed on the shores of these islands, destitute
wanderers, have, through the assistance of the
Missionaries, and by the development of this

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—may we add?—the probable future of the Vavau harbour. And having dwelt in great measure, thus far, upon the physical characteristics and beauties of these islands, let us now invite the reader to consider some of the wonders of Divine grace, exhibited in the moral regeneration of a fine, but once truly barbarous race of people; and in their consequent elevation, and rapid progress, in all the blessings of Christian civilization.

We have intimated in former pages, that we 791
arrived at Vavau during the progress of a remarkable religious awakening, with which we were made acquainted by the arrival of King George and his fleet of canoes at Tongatabu. It will be necessary, (128)
however, to retrace briefly the history of Christian effort and success in Vavau, from its commencement, so that the true condition of the people, at the time of our arrival, may be fully and clearly understood.

There is no study more interesting or instructive, in relation to the spread of Christianity, than that of observing the incidents that attend the dawn of truth upon dark and untutored minds. The instruments employed by Providence, in first rousing a spirit of inquiry, are often, in human estimation, the most unlikely to effect the purpose; and like the break of day, it is impossible to say precisely, where or when the total darkness is invaded by the earliest gleam of light. The past history of the church, in all lands, has shown that the human mind is often prepared, by events apparently trivial, for the greatest of moral and religious revolutions. And thus has the confession of one of the apostolic Christian Missionaries been practically reiterated

797 and confirmed, that the "treasure" of heavenly truth is deposited in "earthen vessels, that the excellency of the power may be of God, and not of us." Vavau was the last of the Friendly groups to receive the Gospel, and in bringing about its successful entrance and ultimate predominance, God was pleased to choose "the weak things of the world to confound the things which were mighty."

797 634 No direct efforts were made for the establishment of a Mission in Vavau until the year 1831, partly owing to the inability of the few Missionaries to overtake the work pressing upon them in the other groups, but chiefly because of the determined and obstinate opposition of Ulukalala, otherwise called Finau, who then wielded the chief rule over Haafuluhao. He was the Finau Fiji mentioned in Mariner's "Tonga," and was otherwise known by the name of Tuabaji.

Finau Ulukalala and his people were thoroughly acquainted with all the missionary movements that had been in progress in the southern groups from the very commencement of the work. His relationship to the chief and people of Tongatabu,—some of whom were among the earliest Christian professors,—together with the regular intercourse maintained, between the groups, in political and domestic affairs, continually brought additions to his stock of religious information. The rude elements of this knowledge he had already gathered from some English sailors, who, amid all their ignorance and vice, did not fail to tell him and his people, of the existence of the one living and true God. Perhaps, the early Christian training they may have received at their mother's knee, or the recollection of the sanctuaries and Sabbaths of their

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native land far away, may have impelled them to pay this tribute to the religion, which they themselves had forsaken and dishonoured.

By the help of one of these men, Ulukalala indited a letter to the Rev. Nathaniel Turner, in July, 1828, in which he applied for the services of a Missionary in his group of islands. His real motive at the time was one probably of either pride or covetousness; but the letter itself is worth transcribing in part. It began and ended with the following words:—

> "SIR,—I am so glad to hear that you are at Tongatabu, teaching my friend Tubou to know the great God: I hope, sir, you will be so kind as to send to Port Jackson for some Missionaries, to come to my island, to teach me and my people........ ....Be so kind, Sir, as to go as quick about Missionaries as time will allow. So no more from me, a wicked sinner."

The language of this letter betrays the hand of an illiterate foreigner, and it seems to indicate that, either he was a canting hypocrite, or that his conscience was really ill at ease. The words "from me, a wicked sinner," put into the lips of Finau, a dark savage, were, let us hope, expressive of some lingering qualms of conscience, and of the grace of repentance, on the part of the poor wanderer himself who penned them on his behalf.

This application was not immediately met by the appointment of an English Missionary, and the pride of Ulukalala would not permit him to receive religious instruction from one of his own race. Nevertheless, the visits of Vavauans to Tonga, 797 634 brought them in contact with the Missionaries from time to time, and also into the company of their converted fellow-countrymen. Many of these voyagers visited the chapel at Nukualofa from motives of curiosity, while the Missionaries availed themselves of all opportunities to talk and preach to them about "Christ, and Him crucified." Thus wrote the Rev. N. Turner on October 25th, 1829, from Nukualofa in Tongatabu:—"The chapel was crowded to excess again this morning, and many strangers from Vavau were outside in the yard, having come to see and to hear what this *lotu* (religion) is. In the evening I went out to the sea-side, to the Vavau camp, and preached to the strangers, many of whom listened with profound attention; and, I trust, some of them with real profit." The word *was* as "bread cast upon the waters," and it was "seen after many days." Every *folau*, indeed, carried home to Vavau some additional and startling intelligence to the haughty Ulukalala and his people, of what the new religion was accomplishing in Tonga; but, thwarted as he had been in his desire for an English Missionary, he now resolved that none of his people should be permitted to pray. And thus a fierce struggle began, which, however, proved of but short duration.

As well might Finau have tried to arrest the sun in his daily course through the heavens, as to have stayed the progress of the Gospel, now that its truths were enlightening and agitating the minds of hundreds of his subjects. In vain also did the [793] heathen priests and priestesses fulminate their impotent rage against the God of the foreigners, knowing full well that their entire craft was in danger. Still, the power of the imperious chief-

tain kept the people in awe, and for a time no signs 797
of the coming change could be seen. 634

At length two men, called Faone and Lube, yielded to their convictions, and avowed themselves Christians. They knew full well the risk that was incurred, but, in dependence upon Divine aid, they made the venture; and were prepared for encountering cheerfully all hazards. With no Missionary near them, nor any Christian teacher, to give them advice or shelter; these men stand out from the thousands of heathens around them, and in the face of an angry monarch, proclaim themselves followers of Jesus Christ. What a triumph, and how glorious were its results!

They were immediately summoned to the presence of the chief, and with many threats were commanded to desist from prayer. They knew not but that the club of their autocrat master would lay them in the dust; but they, nevertheless, boldly refused to recant from the religious profession they had made. Happily the wrath of the heathen was partially restrained. The persons of these two men were not touched, but they were forcibly driven away, from
lands, and wives, and friends. Meantime the islands 797
of Haabai had received the Gospel, and thither, 798
therefore, Faone and Lube went for safety. There also the heathen greatly persecuted them; but they remained steadfast through it all. They were proof against open persecution, but would they equally resist bribery, and bland persuasions, to deny their Heavenly Lord and Master? Let us see.

The arrival at Haabai of a canoe from Vavau is 797
heralded by the rapid roll of the wooden drums. 634
Part of its business is to bring a message from the [202]
offended Ulukalala to Faone and Lube. They are [534]
[203]

797 634 203 summoned to the presence of the chief whose duty it is to deliver it in the king's name. They are told that it is the king's desire they should immediately return to Vavau, in which case he would restore to them lands, and wives, and friends. It was a tempting bait; but what was the instant answer? "Tell the king," said they, "that if he will permit us to pray, we will go; but if not, we will not go. We prefer a life of poverty where we can pray to God, to wives, or houses, or lands, without God." 797 781 With much less light and knowledge than the three Hebrew children, who, at all risks, refused to obey the blasphemous mandate of King Nebuchadnezzar, these two humble Christian converts were equally firm in their adherence to the faith of Christ. They were fully prepared even to die if needful; but God did not permit them to be tried to that extremity.

797 157 With Lube we had no personal acquaintance, but we found in Faone a man of no common stamp of mind. He was an able, and very original and powerful preacher; and for some years he did good service as an evangelist in Fiji, to which country he went, in answer to the call of the church, a few years after his conversion. From thence he was removed again to his own native land, and we trust he still lives to adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour. He was lacking in prudence in regard to some of his proceedings, in the management of the Mission committed to his care, while in Fiji; and, after his return to Vavau, he also incurred the displeasure of King George in reference to some political affairs; but we believe him to have been a thoroughly good man, and to have been possessed of no ordinary gift in prayer. At all events, his name deserves to be

recorded in the history of the religious progress of his country, on account of the bold stand which he and his companion Lube made, when, as yet, the thousands of their fellow-countrymen, were bowing down to stocks and stones. 797 157

Their decided conduct unquestionably produced a great impression upon the mind of Ulukalala, and still more so upon the people at large, many of whom were secretly anxious to follow the example of Tonga and Haabai. But during two years Ulukalala was madly bent upon sustaining idolatry, and continued to repress, with bitter and cruel persecution, the rising wishes of many of his people. In April, 1831, Vavau was visited on temporal business by Taufa-ahau, (the present King George,) from Haabai. He went in considerable state, with a fleet of twenty-four large canoes, in which were many chiefs and commoners, who, with himself, had recently renounced the idols of heathenism. These spread the leaven of the Gospel still more widely, amongst the people, while Taufa-ahau personally employed all his powers of argument and moral influence, with his friend Ulukalala. Gradually the proud mind of the chieftain yielded; and he went so far as to express a willingness to receive a Missionary, if he were sent direct from England. Leaving his fleet in Vavau, Taufa-ahau, with characteristic promptitude, set sail at once to carry the intelligence to his own resident Missionaries at Lifuka. Upon hearing the glad news, they wrote a friendly answer to Ulukalala, stating that his wish for an English Missionary would shortly be gratified, and exhorting him to dismiss his former prejudices, and believe in the true God. With this letter Taufa-ahau returned 797 634 (798)

797 634 to Vavau on the 27th of May, and on the following Lord's Day, Ulukalala, and a number of his people, began to worship God. The service of singing and prayer was conducted by the native Teacher, who had accompanied Taufa-ahau and his fleet, as a sort of chaplain.

797 798 634 When this memorable Sabbath was over, Ulukalala issued an order that the heathen temples under his control should be burnt down. Some of the chiefs still held aloof, and many people heard with alarm the threatened demolition of their pagan deities and sacred places. But in the midst of all the divided opinions agitating the people, there were many willing hearts and hands ready to do the work. For three days the smoke of heathen fanes, and burning idols, darkened the azure sky of Haafuluhao, and ascended as the incense of a spiritual sacrifice before the presence of that Great Being, by whose power and Spirit the glorious triumph had been brought about.

797 634 The converts who had gone from Haabai to Vavau in the fleet of Taufa-ahau, were now besieged by anxious inquirers. They knew but little, as yet, of Bible religion themselves, but they knew more than the Vavauans; and the little they did know was willingly imparted. For days and nights in succession, some of them talked, read, prayed, and sang with the new converts. The thirst of the people for the word and worship of God seemed insatiable; and it was with difficulty that Taufa-ahau and his followers could tear themselves away on the return to Haabai.

[565] [798] [669] There were several important chiefs by no means satisfied with the new state of things inaugurated by Ulukalala. These men and their people soon con-

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stituted a heathen party, who only wanted the 797
presence of a bold leader, to assume the attitude of 798
open antagonism. The triumph that had been 669
gained over heathenism was too grand to be allowed [565)
to pass unchallenged, or unassailed, by the "god of this world." During long ages he had held the people in miserable bondage, and would not now let them go free without a desperate effort to recover his power. He soon found a ready tool to execute this purpose, in the person of a chief, the half-brother of Ulukalala, who, about this time, returned from a temporary residence in Fiji.

After organizing the disaffected chiefs and peo- 634
ple under his own command, Laulalo began to 798
inflict heavy sufferings upon the Christians. At 669
first single houses, and then entire villages, were ravaged and plundered. Ulukalala, for a time, permitted these grave proceedings to go on unchecked; but when the heathen party at last fortified themselves in the town of Otea, on the island of Falevai, and had declared war against him, he was compelled to adopt strong measures for securing the peace of the land. There can be no doubt that his brother had a double object in view: first, to root out the new faith; and secondly, to wrest the government from the hands of Ulukalala. In this emergency, and chiefly because the rebellion was headed by his own relation, Ulukalala applied for counsel and aid from Taufa-ahau. The latter accordingly sailed from Haabai with a large fleet, and, upon reaching Vavau, used his best influence to effect a peaceful reconciliation of parties. The heathen, however, were fully determined to try the force of arms. They would listen to no conciliatory overtures, and would not consent to submit under any conditions

634 to the government of Ulukalala. Accordingly the
798 fortress of Otea was closely invested by Taufa-ahau
669 and his warriors, as the allies of Ulukalala. Very
soon the spirit and courage of the besieged began to flag, and ultimately the fort was taken by stratagem, and was razed to the ground, without any bloodshed:—a new thing truly in the tactics and annals of Tonguese warfare, as well as a commanding evidence of the great change that had already come over the temper and habits of the people.

797 Soon after this bloodless conquest, the rebel
798 chiefs and their retainers, one by one, joined the
Christians; and thus was heathenism, as a system, completely swept away, even before the foot of an English Missionary had touched the shores of Vavau.

Zephaniah Finau Ulukalala did not long survive
634 the period of his own conversion, and that of his
666 subjects. He died toward the close of 1833, truly
[797] relying upon the Saviour; and by his dying com-
mands and nomination, the chiefs of Vavau proceeded to elect Taufa-ahau, then baptized George, King of Haabai, to the supreme government of Haafuluhao. Although, in after years, it appeared that this was not done very heartily by certain of the chiefs, yet they could not deny the just hereditary right of Taufa-ahau to become Ulukalala's successor. The election, therefore, was carried into effect in due form, and with the apparent consent and sanction of all concerned.

This accession of King George was, undoubtedly,
634 of great importance to the interests of religion in
781 Vavau; but an event of still greater moment
occurred in the course of the years 1834–35.

It pleased God to visit the people of Vavau, at

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that time, with a deep and wide-spread religious 634 awakening, in which many hundreds sought and 781 found Divine mercy. During the progress of this remarkable visitation, King George himself, and the Queen, who had been baptized by the name of Charlotte, had occasion to visit Vavau. They also felt the power of God upon their minds, and attained a higher state of religious experience than that of a mere nominal profession. The love of God was shed abroad in their hearts, and from that time they both devoted themselves to a course of real godliness, and of practical usefulness in various departments of Christian service.

Many cases of genuine and satisfactory conversion 797 gladdened the hearts of the Missionaries then on the spot; but it would be hazardous to fix, with arithmetical precision, the exact number. We may be permitted to doubt whether "two thousand two hundred and sixty" persons were savingly converted in the course of six weeks. We do not doubt either the power or the grace of God to do this, but we do question the possibility of an uninspired person calculating with such nicety the results of any similar visitation. The cause of truth is only damaged by the attempt. But we can avow that the moral aspect of the Vavauans was wholly changed, and that a great and lasting impetus was given to the spread of vital Christianity throughout the entire group of islands.

During the interval that elapsed between this awakening and our own arrival in 1846, the churches of Haafuluhao held on the even tenour of their way, unopposed by any heathen influences, and only troubled in 1837 by a vexatious but ineffectual attempt, made by a Romish bishop and

797 several French priests, to obtain a footing on the islands.

671 634 692 In November, 1839, an important step was taken by the king, in the adoption and promulgation of a code of laws, and by the appointment of four judges or magistrates, by whom alone all cases of crime, or civil complaint, were to be legally tried and disposed of. The code was very brief and primitive, but it was valuable as an establishment of the principles of law and justice, in a land where "might" had hitherto been "right," and where the despotic club had usually been the supreme arbitrator in all serious quarrels. Neither chiefs nor people were hereafter to take the law into their own hands. The rights of all parties, in criminal or disputed matters, were to be decided and maintained by the appointed and responsible courts of law, after a fair and open trial.

797 177 [798] Thus, in 1846, we found Haafuluhao completely purged from its former heathenism. Only fifteen years had elapsed since the people had submitted to the sceptre of Christ. Yet now the Sabbath was rigidly and reverently honoured. Sanctuaries had been erected, and were well attended, in every village. Considerable progress had been made in Scripture knowledge. Schools were in active operation. Upwards of two thousand Church members claimed unceasing pastoral attention; while the entire population was under daily religious instruction in some form or other. Numbers of lay-preachers, and Day-school Teachers, were under training, by the Missionaries, for various important duties and posts of usefulness. Property and life were guarded by the sanctions and power of law duly administered. Domestic relationships

were observed and honoured; while the general 797
morality of the people was such as commanded the 177
admiration of all right-minded visitors, although it had, more than once, elicited the bitter sneers of lascivious and unprincipled men, who in former times, when visiting these shores, rioted in unbridled and unchecked lust.

In this year also, another season of spiritual 797
power had come. The awakening began in the 781
same village of Utui, where that of 1834 commenced: and like the former, this also broke out under the preaching of a native. Several events had recently contributed to deepen religious feeling, where it already existed, and to produce anxiety in
the minds of the careless and ungodly. Out of 797
four Missionaries one only remained. One had died under peculiarly distressing and sudden circumstances; another had been compelled, through failure of health, to vacate his post; and lastly, in March, 1846, the people had witnessed the holy and happy end of the Rev. Francis A. Wilson, a Missionary who had been greatly esteemed and beloved, both by his colleagues, and by all
the people. About the same time, the terrific 133
eruption took place at Fonua Lei, of which an account has already been given. For more than two weeks the islands of Haafuluhao were rocked, night and day, by the most alarming earthquakes. During part of that time, the shocks recurred
at intervals of only ten or fifteen minutes. The 133
inhabitants knew not what might happen at any 781
moment, and the stoutest-hearted quailed in the presence of phenomena so grand and awe-inspiring. All these various occurrences were overruled and accompanied by the power of the Holy Spirit,

133 until the question came earnestly from hundreds
781 of the people, "What must we do to be saved?"

Upon landing at Neiafu we were cordially wel-
797 comed by the people, and we found the Rev. Peter
781 Turner, almost worn out by the incessant toils and excitements of the previous few months. Day and night he had been ministering the Word of Life; and for weeks together he had been absent from his home, visiting all the towns and islands in succession, that he might, by his personal labour and oversight, direct, or check, where necessary, the outburst of religious feeling that was sweeping over the entire population.

Although the Tonguese are naturally a very stately and reserved people, it could not be expected, that such an extensive religious movement, embracing all ranks and every description of character, should be entirely free from objectionable features. Nevertheless, the amount of real good done was great and indisputable. Many of the worst adversaries of the truth were truly converted; and not a few of these very men are now employed, as Christian ministers and teachers, on important Stations in their own land, or else in Fiji, Samoa, and in other regions.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE town of Neiafu—Study of the language—First Tonguese sermon—Sketch of Joue Fifita—Faubula, the son of the King of Lakemba—Vavau in 1846—A Sabbath day's labour—Calls for help—Variety of Missionary occupations—Administration of Medicine—Tonguese doctors—Instances of their skill—Visit and letter of Professor Harvey—"Protestant Missions Medical Aid Society"—Boat-building—Missionary Journal—Chapel-opening at Toula—A visit to Hologa—Tonguese Palanquin—Inauguration of oil contributions—Mode of burying foreigners at Toula—The God of Makave—Missionary tour to out-stations—Various services—Huga, and its cavern and Bay—Niuababu—Singular cavern—Native tradition—Lord Byron's poem of the "Island"—Cave at Falevai—Return to Neiafu—Sacramental service. 000

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STANDING upon ground reputed sacred in heathen times, the town of Neiafu was of considerable note, and it was resorted to as a sort of neutral territory, in the wars of Haafuluhao. Its chief importance, however, in modern days, has resulted, like that of Nukualofa in Tongatabu, from its facilities for intercourse with Europeans, and from the concentration thither of Mission families and their influence. 361 [797] [648] [177]

The town is situated in a valley, stretching between the hill of Talau, and that which overhangs Neiafu Tahi. The immediate site of the town lies behind a small cove facing Neiafu Bay, in which stand several large *hala folaus*, or canoe sheds, into which the sea-going Kalias are drawn for shelter from the sun. These sheds resemble in form, but only on a much smaller scale, those that cover ships while in course of construction in our English naval yards. Ascending the rising ground behind these sheds, the path passes between the *abis* of the king, and those of several of the principal chiefs. [343]

361 Beyond these stands the *Bou valu*, a large open
[344] building devoted to the reception of strangers, and
to the transaction of all public business. Around
[351] this place there is a *malae*, or grassy sward, of
several acres in extent, fringed by cocoa-nut and
[764] cedar trees; the prospect being bounded on the
right by the hill of Neiafu, at the foot of which lies
a burial-ground, where the remains of two missionaries
have been interred, near the tombs of the
leading native families.

361 Proceeding a little further inland, the Chapel is
368 reached. That which stood there in 1846, measured
797 one hundred feet by forty-five. Turning
from thence to the left by a road leading towards
[491] Talau, the Mission premises were soon reached.
These consisted, at the time specified, of a large
printing-office, containing three presses with all
their necessary appurtenances; and beyond that
building lay the dwellings required for three Mission
families. These were erected upon separate
[417] *abis*, or allotments of gardening land, the whole
[245] being surrounded by a neat native fence, with a
magnificent row of large orange-trees lining the
entire frontage to the road.

797 After the bustle of landing our stores was over,
the active duties of Mission life immediately commenced.
Among these, the acquirement of the
797 language was felt to be the thing of greatest importance.
122 We had not been idle in this matter
since reaching the islands: but still, in the prevailing
religious excitement, and the consequent
increase of labour devolving upon our senior colleague,
Mr. Turner, we saw abundant reason for
prosecuting its study with unsparing diligence.
[123] We longed to take an active part in the religious

instruction of the people in their own tongue. To this end we resolved to acquire it entirely from the natives. And being convinced that mingling a great deal with the native children, would be the speediest way of obtaining a knowledge of the simple and ordinary modes of expression, with a clear pronunciation, I accordingly went very much amongst them. At the same time, I gladly embraced the kind aid offered by Kalisitiane Tutoe, the chief judge of Vavau, who devoted two hours every day to my instruction in the language. The result was, that by the end of three weeks, I had composed a short sermon in Tonguese, and on the following Lord's-day conducted the service, with the exception of the extempore prayers, at a village called Makave. On the way thither I was accompanied by a few of our best Christian teachers. Among these were Jone Fifita, and Jone Faubula. When about a quarter of a mile from the village of Makave, Fifita stayed our further progress by asking whether we might not pause and pray that God would assist His Missionary servant, and also bless the word about to be delivered. The proposal was no sooner made than acted upon. We immediately knelt down by the roadside under the shade of the overhanging trees, while Fifita poured forth a beautiful and powerful prayer. He prayed that the Lord would "soften His servant's mouth,"—meaning that He would enable him to speak with ease and correctness; and also that He would open the hearts of the people to receive the truth spoken. After such a preparation, it seems hardly necessary to say that the service was a time of blessing, as well as of mental excitement and trial. It was a truly small, and no doubt a feeble beginning; but

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797 from that Sabbath-day, and during nine years afterwards, 123 the writer never failed to preach to the Tonguese 122 the "unsearchable riches of Christ" in their own tongue, with the exception of two or three occasions when laid aside by sickness. Our first extempore attempt was made at Leimatua, at the watch-night service at the close of the same year; and we never had occasion after that time to *read* any of our discourses to the natives. We do not mention these things by way of boasting, but as an encouragement to all young Missionaries, who may be tempted to be disheartened while learning a foreign tongue. Our advice would be to all such, to learn from the natives and not from Europeans, and to begin by speaking with and amongst the children, while careful at the same time to secure the aid of some native of known ability to guide and correct their studies.

157 Jone Fifita was a man of no ordinary character and ability. As a public speaker, he was possessed 159 of many of the gifts and graces of a polished, but yet natural orator. His religious character likewise was bright and consistent in the highest degree. In [142] person he was considered much below the Tonguese standard of height and physical development. Nevertheless, he had been noted, in heathen times, as a great champion in all pugilistic and gymnastic feats. He was also an oracle in traditional lore, and in his knowledge of the *mekes* and *ulas*, or songs and dances of the country. After his conver- 157 sion, his natural powers were sacredly devoted to 159 the cause of Christ. He loved the society of the 797 Missionaries, and he profited more than most of his companions under their instructions. He soon acquired large and correct views of Scripture truth;

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and, considering the slender advantages he enjoyed, 157
from having only become a Christian in his old age, 159
his general knowledge was extensive. He was en- 797
dowed with a remarkably clear and quick reasoning [537)
faculty, an excellent memory, a fine chaste diction,
with the most wonderful flow of language; and a
mellifluous and powerful delivery. All these
qualities were accompanied by a natural impetuosity of manner, and appeal, that made his public ministrations both highly interesting and profitable.

His peculiar gifts of mind, and his extensive acquaintance with native history and customs, qualified him for special usefulness to the Missionaries, both in reducing the language to its present scientific arrangement, and in translating the Bible into the native tongue. During the whole period of our Mission life we had constant intercourse with him; but especially so during a three years' residence in Vavau. All who knew him, will bear us out in saying, that he was one of the choicest of those good and able men, whom God has raised up among the Tonguese themselves, to be the teachers and the messengers of the churches. In his later years, Fifita resided at Hoöfoa, in Tongatabu, where he died, bearing a most happy and triumphant testimony to the "truth as it is in Jesus."

The early religious history of Jone Faubula, who 159
is now regularly employed as a native Minister, 563
affords an example of many similar cases of con- 797
version, in which great sacrifices have been made 793
on the part of the converts, rather than that they should remain in heathenism. He is the son of Tuiniyau, the King of Lakemba, in Fiji. Under the ministrations of Messrs. Cross and Cargill, he

159 professed Christianity; and, after a while, was truly
563 converted. His heathen relatives then tried by
various means to force from him a recantation
797 of his religion. But, rather than yield before their
793 persecutions, or to their persuasions, he embraced
an opportunity that presented, of making his escape
to the Friendly Islands, where he knew he would
be permitted to worship God in peace. Although
often solicited since then to return to Lakemba,
where he would at once be assigned no mean sta-
tion among the ruling chiefs, he has steadily refused;
preferring rather to hold the sacred office of a Minis-
ter in the Church of Christ, and to labour for the
spiritual benefit of the people amongst whom
his early religious impressions were fostered and
159 ripened into maturity. Faubula was a great
797 favourite with us, in all our Missionary boating
expeditions. He was intrepid, skilful, and hearty.
157 He was also possessed of a fund of natural vivacity
563 and wit, which enabled myself and the boatman, who
always accompanied me, to pass pleasantly many
an hour upon the sea, under a blazing sun, which
otherwise would have been wearisome enough.

797 Vavau contained, when we arrived, nearly three
thousand church members. There were thirty-two
[794] preaching-places, seventeen of which were reached
by water. The others varied in distance, from the
Mission station, from two to ten miles. Having
no horses, at that time, the labours of the Mission-
aries were extremely exhausting. The inland
journeys were commenced before sunrise, and pur-
sued during the cool of the morning; but, whilst
thus avoiding one evil, another was encountered,
equally great, if not worse. The roads, in most places,
[491] were no better than footpaths through the long
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grass and brushwood; and, everything being saturated with the heavy dew of the previous night, one could not proceed far on a journey, before being thoroughly drenched. Indeed, it would have been quite as comfortable, in some instances, to have waded through a river, as to push a way through the long grass, and other prolific vegetation encroaching upon the road, laden with glistering dew. The arrangement for a Sunday's work, was usually something like the following:—Breakfast about four A.M. Then walk to the most distant place for the day, say nine or ten miles. Preach there at nine o'clock. Refreshment after service, and then a walk of a few miles, under a vertical sun, to the second preaching-place, where service would be held at one o'clock P.M. From thence another village would be reached, in time for a third service, about four o'clock P.M. All this done, the exhausted man would arrive at home again, a little after sunset. Destructive as these labours were of health, in such a climate, they were the necessary result of two men attempting to do what would have fully taxed the strength and time of even four.

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Such are the circumstances under which oftentimes the cry comes from distant Mission-stations for additional help. A Missionary brother, more vigorous than his fellow-labourers, is left standing alone at his post, after all the others have been removed by sickness or death. He only out of the number is left to pastorize the famishing thousands around. Innumerable cares of the churches crowd upon him; journeys are multiplied; religious services are increased; the very hours of necessary repose are diminished; while, in a variety of ways, the

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000 earnest Missionary endeavours to overtake the additional demands made upon him. But, too soon, he is made aware how all this tells upon his physical and mental state. He feels stealing upon him a deep and dreary foreboding of premature exhaustion; in the midst of which he indites a wailing cry for help to Christian hearts and hands, in his far-off native land. He thinks,—and is he not right in so thinking?—that for him to die in the work of the Lord, would be an individual gain; but that the Church at large will not be justified in the sight of God, should it permit a needless sacrifice of Missionary life, when, by even ordinary exertions, or, if need be, a little more sacrifice, relays of labourers might be afforded. Never, then, let these calls be unheeded. They are the cries of men panting, and sometimes dying, under enervating and multiplied toils that far exceed their strength. Let the least possible delay occur before every such entry as, "One Missionary wanted," be erased from Missionary Reports, by an immediate supply. Failure in this duty will, most likely, entail something akin to blood-guiltiness upon the Church, and, by just so much supineness and neglect, will unquestionably retard the universal spread of the Gospel.

997 Nor must it be forgotten that, in Stations such as the Friendly Islands, many other duties devolve upon Missionaries, besides those of a strictly ministerial character. The absence of a European population, and the total ignorance of the natives, concerning all the arts of civilized life, in the earlier years of the Mission, necessitated the performance of labour which the Missionaries would otherwise have been under no obligation to under-

take. They had to superintend the building of chapels and houses, and in great part to make, and fix, with their own hands, doors, windows, and all internal arrangements and fittings. Where a printing-office was established, as in Vavau, the labour of that department had to be done by themselves, until natives were instructed.

What was still more serious, they had to be their own family doctors under all contingencies, and, in addition to that, they dispensed medicine largely among the sick natives. To this very important branch of Missionary work, two hours were devoted each day, at every Mission residence throughout the Friendly Islands. The Missionaries considered the art of healing the body, or alleviating the sufferings of the dying, as second only to that of saving the soul. Medicinal science, therefore, and the elementary principles of surgery, were studied by them, next to the Bible itself. Some may think that it is undesirable to unite the two professions of doctor and minister in one person. It has been said that if we attempt to engraft the medical profession upon the higher and nobler one of divinity, we shall, "at the same time, spoil a divine and make a quack."* In Tonga, facts disprove this. Incalculable benefit has accrued from the course adopted in devoting attention daily at the Mission residences to the medical wants of the natives. And, although the Missionaries would lay no titular claim to the "profession" of medicine, they would very stoutly and properly maintain the untold value of their extensive and successful "practice." Thousands of natives, every year, have been glad to avail them-

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* See Dr. M'Gowan, in "Conference on Missions," p. 275.

799 selves of medical Missionary skill: while, at the
177 same time, they have confessed to the general
efficacy of the treatment received, by the entire
abandonment of many of the quackeries of their
own professional doctors.

756 These Tonguese doctors, or *kau faitoo*, were a
759 distinct class who confined the knowledge of their
art to their own families, and thus made the
employment, which was lucrative, hereditary. The
[755] practice they followed was a combination of sorcery,
[757] and superstitious ceremony, with the administration of herbal medicines, or the external application
of medicated oils, or pounded leaves. Unquestion-
[824] ably, their knowledge of the medicinal properties
of herbs was considerable; but, not unfrequently,
fatal results ensued from their prescriptions. Sometimes, in heathen days, these occurred by design,
and at all times their administration might be
757 accompanied by serious accident. For the sake of
securing greater secrecy, the herbs are often
gathered during the darkness of night. Hence
cases have been known, in which a deadly poison
has thus become mixed with the intended medicine,
and the patient has been destroyed. For the relief
of local pain, the natives are great believers in the
soothing and curative powers of proper external
manipulation and friction, as well as in a liberal
depletion, by small gashes, made over the afflicted
part, after the style of "cupping." In rheumatic
[171] affections, and pains of a kindred nature, the
natives employ medicated embrocations, which, I
believe, are similar to those mentioned by Dr.
Seemann as in use among the Fijians.*

752 In setting limbs, a few of the Tonguese doctors

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* "Viti," by Dr. Seemann, p. 340.

were really skilful; and this may be also said of 752
them, in regard to a few severe and delicate surgical
operations which they do not hesitate to perform.
It is worthy of remark, however, that they never
attempted amputations more serious than those of [412]
the fingers; and these were often effected in a most
rude and barbarous manner, by either hacking and
sawing them off with the edge of a sharp shell, or,
in modern times, by the use of knives or carpenters'
chisels. Two instances illustrative of these statements
may be here given. The first is that of a 752
woman, who came one day to the Mission dispensary, 797
with a diseased finger. It had begun to
mortify; and I told her that she must have it
amputated at once. To this she assented, and
expressed a desire that I should do it there and
then. I told her that I was both unwilling and
unable to do it myself, but referred her to a native
doctor. Accordingly, she went to one immediately, 752
and, waiting patiently until he had sharpened 412
a tool for the occasion, the mallet and chisel disposed
of the little member at a single stroke. Such
wounds were always healed by cauterization.

The second example of surgical skill we shall 752
adduce, was more refined and complicated. The 797
writer was called upon, in common with other Missionaries, [726]
during a native war in the year 1852, to
attend many cases of gunshot, and other dangerous
wounds. Among the number, we were summoned [634]
to visit Joeli Mafileo, the Governor of Haabai, who
had been dangerously wounded in the shoulder
by a musket-ball. The ball had passed completely
through the joint; shattering the bones
most severely. When we arrived, we found
that the native doctors had already dressed the

752 wound, and we therefore contented ourselves by
797 administering some needful medicine. The progress of the patient, however, was slow; and very unfavourable symptoms appeared from time to time. At length, one of H.M. ships of war arrived at the island, and, under the circumstances, we requested the surgeon to examine the wound, and give his opinion. He accordingly did so, and concluded by saying that it was a case in which no European surgeon would hesitate for an instant. The injury done was so extensive, that he considered the arm must ultimately be lost, if not the life of the patient. Mafileo, however, would not hear of amputation. The native doctors therefore continued the treatment of the case, declaring their conviction that they would save both the arm and the life of the patient. After the lapse of several months, a cure was fully effected. When we left the islands, more than two years had elapsed since the war in which Mafileo received his wound; but he was then well and hearty. Although he could not use his arm, he was saved the pain of dismemberment, and had avoided an unsightliness from which the proud native mind instinctively shrinks. The
752 Tonguese would rather die than submit to the loss
826 of a limb by amputation; although, as we have
304 seen, they are by no means nice about sacrificing a joint or two of the fingers.

797 While upon this subject of medical Missionary effort, we may say that various English Protestant Missions abroad have been greatly indebted for aid in this department, to the Christian testimony, and benevolent liberality, of a gentleman of eminent scientific ability, who visited the Friendly Islands and Fiji, during the year 1855, in the prosecution

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of scientific researches. This gentleman was Dr. W. H. Harvey, of Trinity College, Dublin, Professor of Botany, &c., &c., whom the writer had the pleasure, as well as honour, of entertaining for a short time on the island of Lifuka, in Haabai.

Convinced, by his own observation, of the importance and extent of the medical aid afforded by the Missionaries in those islands, Dr. Harvey addressed a letter to his friend, N. B. Ward, Esq., F.R.S., F.L.S., &c., of London, suggesting the establishment of a "Polynesian Medical Aid Society." This suggestion, accompanied by a kind pecuniary gift, led to the establishment of the "Protestant Missions' Medical Aid Society," having for its President the Right Honourable the Earl of Shaftesbury; N. B. Ward, Esq., treasurer; and Henry Deane, Esq., honorary secretary. This Society has already done great service, by sending valuable grants of medicine and simple surgical instruments, through various Missionary Societies. to remote and necessitous Stations, in all parts of the world, thus extending its beneficial influence far beyond those South Sea Missions, for which it was primarily originated. Dr. Harvey's interesting letter was dated from Tongatabu, July 29th, 1855, and we cannot refrain from making a few extracts from it. The entire communication is well worthy of perusal by all interested in Missionary work in the South Sea Islands; but our space forbids a reprint of the whole.*

Dr. Harvey writes as follows:—

"I have become much interested in the Missionary work which is now going on in these Islands,

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* See "Wesleyan Missionary Notices," for February, 1856.

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since I have seen for myself some of the fruits already gathered in by the Wesleyan Missionary Society here. You know my predilections are not in favour of sectarianism, and hitherto I have abstained from supporting any but the Missionary Societies of the English Church; nor should I now depart from this line of conduct, did I regard the Wesleyan Missionary Society as a sectarian body. Here, at least, the Mission is conducted in a truly catholic spirit; the natives hear only the plain unadulterated Gospel which we all receive, nor would they be aware (but for the presence of a Jesuit Mission among them) of the unhappy differences which have rent the Christian Church. The Missionaries take the New Testament in their hand, and expound the truths of Christianity, in their fulness and broadness, without troubling the natives with curious questions and speculations. They have also translated into Tonguese an abridgment of our noble Liturgy, which is always used in the chapel service. The result has been the total extinction of Heathenism in these Islands, accompanied by a change in manners truly wonderful, considering the short time that the Mission has been established......Now they are a quiet, peaceable, and well-ordered Christian community; and many have given unmistakeable evidence of the reality of their conversion, and have become able assistants to the Missionaries in carrying on the work of Christianization......

"So far for my preface; and now for my main object, which, when I have stated the case, will explain my reason for writing all this to *you*, instead of to some other of my friends. I find that the Missionaries here, and at the other Sta-

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tions, are in the habit of distributing, at an almost nominal charge, large quantities of medicines; which medicines are entirely provided by these devoted men out of their slender pittances. The funds of the parent Society, though large, are so overburdened, (as you may see by the Annual Reports, in which the Society is always some thousands in debt to its Treasurers,) that no assistance can be given in this respect. The Missionaries, therefore, must continue to bear this expense themselves, or see the poor creatures round them suffering and dying without assistance. I need hardly add, that the ability to minister to the diseased is a valuable aid to a Missionary's more especial work; and, indeed, in my opinion, so great an aid, that all persons educated for Missionary work ought to receive a proper medical training; and, if possible, medicines ought to be supplied to the Missionary in such quantities as to enable him to distribute gratuitously in cases of necessity. At present, as I have already said, the medicine-chest is a very serious annual expense, and particularly so as the Missionary is often obliged to purchase in Sydney, at the extravagant colonial prices.

"Now, my object is to try whether we cannot raise, among our personal friends, a small fund, which might be expended by you or by Mr. Deane...... I think we might raise enough to afford, at least, a supply, for a year or two, to this and to the Fijian Mission; and should the funds, by the blessing of God, prove greater than we look for, then perhaps we might establish a little 'Polynesian Medical Aid Society,' through which agency an annual contribution of medicines might be sent to the Missionaries, who would then be enabled to distribute gratuitously."

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Independent and unsolicited testimony like this, to the results and continued successes of Christian Missions, and aid from such a source, is well calculated to cheer the hearts of labourers abroad, and to satisfy the Christian public at home, that the schemes of Missionary philanthropy are neither Utopian nor abortive.

In duties like those already named, all the spare time of South Sea Missionaries is amply occupied. Spare time, indeed, they have none, if we are to speak with strict accuracy. From before daybreak until long after the sun has set, each day is crowded with a variety of cares and occupations. All who have spent any time in that part of the world, in Mission work, can fully understand and endorse the apostolic saying, "We labour, working with our own hands;" and, "These hands have ministered to my necessities."

One of the earliest employments, in which we learnt how to handle carpenters' tools, was that of building a whale-boat, to carry us to those places which could only be reached by sea. The boat already on the station was not sea-worthy, and I could not bear to risk myself in small native canoes. Accordingly I enlisted the aid of an American, called John Kelly, who worked as a compositor in the Vavau printing-office. "Kelly," I said one day, "do you think that you and I could build a whale-boat?" His reply was, "Well, I guess an American can do as much with a jack-knife as anybody else." So we set to work, and in the course of a few weeks we built and launched a very good boat, twenty-four feet long. It subsequently carried me safely many hundreds of miles, through storms and dangers, while visiting our Mission stations.

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

It would be easy to give lengthy extracts from our personal Missionary journal; but we shall content ourselves by giving, here and elsewhere, such only as will illustrate the ordinary routine of Mission work.

Sunday, November 28th, 1846.—Left Neiafu in my boat before daylight to visit two small islands called Ofu and Oloua. Felt very unwell before starting, and, having been overtaken by a heavy shower, feared the results might be serious. But, before reaching the first place, I was considerably better, and preached with great liberty from Heb. ix. 24. Had some refreshment immediately after the service, and then sailed for the other island of Oloua. Here we met with but few people, and those who were present at the preaching seemed very indifferent and lifeless. Returned to Neiafu about sunset.

Thursday, March 4th, 1847.—This day has been appointed for the opening of a new chapel in Toula, a small village about two miles from Neiafu. I accordingly accompanied Mr. Turner in the Mission boat. Mrs. Turner, Mrs. West, and our infant boy also went with us. I opened the services of this sanctuary with singing and prayer; after which Mr. Turner preached, from Matthew xii. 6, a very instructive and useful sermon. Other religious meetings were held during the course of the day. One of these was continued until midnight,—a practice I very much deprecate. We then retired, but sought sleep in vain. The heat was most oppressive, and we had the discomfort attendant upon a full serenade of musquitoes until daylight. As the sun rose, we held another meeting for prayer; and then, having been plentifully regaled with

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

797 refreshments by our kind entertainers, we sailed again for home.

March 7th.—Started at daybreak for Hologa, a place nine miles distant from Neiafu. There having been heavy rains during the last few days, the roads were in bad condition. The country is very undulating in this direction, and, in some localities, the rains having washed away the alluvial soil from the underlying strata of clay, it was almost impossible to keep one's footing, or make any advance. We were met, however, by a party of men
797 from Hologa, who, knowing the state of the roads,
494 had brought a *fata*, or rude palanquin, on which to
[493] carry me forward. It was not so stylish as those of the Eastern continent, but it afforded a welcome relief to wearied limbs. It consisted of a cocoanut leaf mat doubled, and having a pole inserted at each end. I sat upon the mat, and was borne along by four men. The poor fellows had many a slip, and were bathed in perspiration; but they would not hear of my descending again to walk. They seemed really proud at having a Missionary to carry, and were not a little pleased that my weight was nothing when compared to that of my venerable and portly colleague, Mr. Turner, for whom they had often done the same kind service.
797 The delightful work of the day amply made up for all the toil. Found it very profitable to explain the Scripture lessons read. The people seemed greatly interested; and when the service was concluded, and we had retired to the Teacher's house, many questions were asked on various passages of Scripture, to all of which I gave explanations according to my ability.

[794] [431] Friday, 12th.—To-day we have been busy enough

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

in a new and pleasing work,—that of receiving con- 797
tributions in cocoa-nut oil from our Church mem- 794
bers in Neiafu alone, in aid of the General Mission 431
Funds. Each separate group of people advanced,
bringing their contributions to the front of the
Mission House, while singing some well-known [533]
hymn tune, or a plaintive native air to suitable words, expressive of Christian experience and joy. The sight was highly pleasing and suggestive. About one hundred and thirty gallons were received. This is a fair beginning: and, as all the places in Haafuluhao are engaged to do something, we expect to have a considerable quantity ready, for shipment to the colony, on the arrival of the "John Wesley." The few Englishmen residing here have also sent in contributions of several dollars; and their example has been followed by some of the chiefs, who have had the means of obtaining money from ships and traders.

Sunday, 14th.—Preached this morning at our 797
large chapel in Neiafu; but, in consequence of an excruciating headache and feverishness, felt unequal to any great exertion. The weather extremely sultry and the heat intense. Having rested a little after service, I went to an adjacent village, to preach what may be called a Missionary Sermon. The object was to encourage the present movement among the natives for the support and extension of Missionary effort among themselves, and in surrounding islands in these seas. Our service continued in the midst of heavy rain and storm till after sunset. Being thoroughly exhausted, Noa Maui, one of my boatmen who had accompanied me, would not allow me to
walk. Both of us were wet and weary, but he insisted [482]
upon carrying me all the way home on his broad shoulders. The Lord will reward him in "that day."

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

797 Wednesday, 17th.—Have been ill since last Sunday, but my mind is kept peaceful.

Sunday, 21st.—Still rather unwell, but went in the boat and fulfilled my appointments at Bagaimotu. Preached twice, and met the members of Society. I spoke to each member individually, and hope good was done. Returned home after dark. [533] The boatmen sang several hymns as we glided along over the rippling sea, lighted on our way by the glorious beams of the full moon. There are no moonlight nights like this under the murky skies of our native land. The scene was gorgeous, and the singing sounded exceedingly fine, as it echoed and re-echoed from the shores of the harbour on either hand.

797 Thursday, 25th.—Walked to Toula. The road 766 was bad, and it rained nearly all the way. After 609 preaching, I visited a small cave facing Neiafu Bay, where all foreigners, whether Europeans or others, who died in these islands, were formerly buried. The native guide informed me, that strangers to the land were never buried in the ordinary places of interment. They were considered as outcasts, and their bodies were, therefore, brought to this cave to be buried in the sand. Upon any sudden rising of the sea, such as occurs during hurricanes, the cave was liable to inundation, in which case the relics of the dead were generally carried off by the receding tide. There were still, however, (when we saw it,) several human bones strewing the cave, clearly indicating the purpose to which it had been devoted in heathen times. Now, [177] through the Gospel, a better and more generous spirit actuates these people, and strangers receive all the necessary respect when they die, by being interred in the ordinary manner, and in the usual burying-grounds.

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grounds. While standing at the mouth of the cave, I picked up a beautiful harp-shell, which species, I was told, was formerly worshipped by the people of Makave, a village only a few miles from this place.

Sunday, 27th.—Departed in the boat, about an hour before daylight, on a tour to all the out-islands of this group, to preach, and meet the church members, this being the time of quarterly visitation. We passed through the beautiful boat passage at Bagaimotu just as the sun rose. The scenery appeared most enchanting in the calmness and light of the morning. We reached Oloua about 7 A.M., and immediately after landing beat the *lali*, or wooden drum, for Divine service. I afterwards spoke individually to each of the members. About mid-day we sailed to Ofu. Having preached, I met all the male members. Held a public prayer-meeting in the evening by lamp light.

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Monday, 28th.—Neither my boatmen nor myself obtained much sleep, although greatly needed after yesterday's work. Beat the *lali* at sun-rise to assemble the female members of society, and spoke to them individually as their state seemed to require. I must here observe that, although in all the classes I observed a great sameness of experience and expression, there can be no mistake as to the real conversion of numbers of the people. Still, many have the form without the power, and we certainly want more heart-work among our native converts. At the conclusion of the classes, we held a short public prayer-meeting. Before leaving for the next place, this affectionate people brought us tangible expressions of their love, in the shape of baked pigs, yams, oil, and sugar-cane, for the use of myself and boatmen. A portion of

797 these we took with us, and the remainder we divided, according to Tonguese custom, among suitable parties in the place.

Immediately after disposing of the food, we sailed
for Tauga, a small but very beautiful island, on
which the families of a few fishermen reside. We
reached it about noon. Our visit being expected,
the people were all prepared for Divine service,
which was held at once. After preaching, I met
the members, and then started for Ovaka at two
o'clock P.M. This latter place is the most distant
of all our preaching-stations in Haafuluhao. Being
anxious to reach in the evening another island,
where we had arranged to sleep, I did not preach
at Ovaka. However, I met all the members, and
spoke to every individual on spiritual subjects.
This occupied me fully until about sunset, when we
again embarked, and sailed for Huga. Favoured
by a strong breeze, we reached the entrance to an
inlet or bay of this island, of which I had never
before heard. On former visits, our boat had been
[133] run into a rough and wild-looking cave, situated
towards the north-east end of this island, where
there was only space sufficient to prop the boat up
on the rocks, beyond the flow of the tide. We were
generally carried through the sea, by one of the
boatmen, from the interior of the cavern, to a rude
ladder hanging over the face of the rocks, by
which alone we could reach the surface of the land
above. We were not sorry, therefore, to find that
[504] the island had a more convenient landing-place in
the bay at the south-east end, although it is
only available at the time of high water, owing
to a reef stretching across the mouth of the
inlet, and which is left bare at low water. We

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arrived just in time to pass without damaging the boat, although we touched the rocks several times rather heavily. Upon reaching the deeper water of the bay itself, the boatmen accompanied their rowing by singing several plaintive native *tauaalos* set to religious words. The effect was very fine; and, before we reached the landing-place, the moon had thrown her brilliant light over the peaceful landscape. Late as it was, several of the Leaders and Local Preachers were still waiting our arrival, who conducted us to the village. Here we found that great preparations had been made for a preaching service. The chapel was beautifully lighted up, and the people were anxiously waiting to be called together. Having already held four religious services during the day, and having sailed above twenty miles under a burning sun, without any shelter, I felt almost unequal to the exertion; but, under the circumstances, I dare not say no. With considerable effort I preached, and concluded the service about ten P.M.

Tuesday, 29th.—Was occupied to-day, from daylight until about noon, in meeting the members of the various classes. It was a season of spiritual refreshing, and I trust that our people were quickened during these services. But, O, how much need here for real heart-work! What need for the instructions of the Divine Spirit!

After partaking of the abundant refreshment provided by this kind and grateful people, we sailed for Niuababu, where we arrived about three P.M. Being, however, completely exhausted, and even ill, I could not possibly preach. After meeting the male members in the various classes, I rested for the remainder of the night.

> "Wide it was and high,
> And showed a self-born Gothic canopy.
> The arch, upreared by nature's architect;
> The architrave some earthquake might erect;
> The buttress from some mountain's bosom hurl'd,
> When the poles crashed, and water was the world;
> Or hardened from some earth-absorbing fire,
> While yet the globe reek'd from its funeral pyre;
> The fretted pinnacle, the aisle, the nave,
> Were there, all scooped by darkness from her cave."

Unlike the cave at Niuababu, that of Falevai may be entered by an ordinary whaling-boat, without even striking the mast, when the weather is moderate and the wind favourable. Upon gaining the interior, the visitor finds himself surrounded by beautiful stalactites hanging from the roof, and descending the sides of the cavern, like the tracery and pillars of an old cathedral. The sea within the cave is pellucid as the clearest crystal, and the shells and fish below are seen reflected upwards, by the light from the entrance striking upon the white sandy bottom. At the innermost recess of the cavern, there is a ledge where a landing can be effected, and from whence a wide fissure extends back into the solid rock. This fissure is high, and contracts greatly as it recedes, so that we could not determine whether it opened out upon the surface of the land above or not. The bottom of the cleft is covered with a considerable deposit of rich guano, indicating that the cave is resorted to by large numbers of sea-birds. It is certainly not a little remarkable that so many of these caverns should exist along the coasts of the islands of Haafuluhao.

Wednesday, 30th.—Niuababu. Assembled the 797
female members of Society in the chapel, and, having addressed them individually and collectively, we afterwards held a public prayer-meeting,

which was largely attended. We launched the boat immediately after, and sailed to Falevai, where we arrived about noon. After meeting the male members, I arranged for a preaching service in the evening, which I accomplished with great difficulty from want of voice.

Thursday, 31st.—Finished the classes at daybreak, and then sailed for Utugaki, which we reached about eleven A.M. Here I preached and met the Society, and departed thence direct for Neiafu, taking with us several of the Teachers and Local Preachers, that we might be present at a sacramental service, appointed for to-day, in our principal chapel there. The holy ordinance was administered to those members only who were of long standing, and of whose religion we had no reason to doubt. It was a most blessed and profitable season.

CHAPTER IX.

000 Burning of Mission premises—Fracas with an English captain—Voyages of King George to Samoa—Origin of Wesleyan Mission—Deputation of Samoan Chiefs to Vavau—Second voyage of the King—Benjamin Latuselu—His labours in Samoa—A murderous attack—Defence of the King's conduct—Resumption of the Samoan Mission—Return of the King to Tonga—Plots to assassinate him—Change of Administration in Vavau—Effects of the King's speech—New code of laws—Mission press and publications—Completion of New Testament in Tonguese—Niua Tobutabu—A mission of mercy—Loss of seventy natives—Another mission to Uvea—Murder of Gogo and the Niua Tobutabuans—Sufferings and escape of the queen—Niua Foöu—The Gospel introduced by Vavauans—Total loss of a canoe—Narrow escape of others—Progress of the truth—Uvea—Special message from King George—Rejection of the Teachers—Conversion of Booi—Arrival of Romish Priests—The Wesleyan chapel burnt—Pretended recantation of Booi—Steadfastness of the Native Teacher—A Martyr spirit—Preaching in the woods—Arrival of Maatu from Niua Tobutabu—Attempts at reconciliation—Plot for the murder of Maatu—Commencement of hostilities—Death of the Teacher—Subsequent state of affairs—Personal visit to Niua Tobutabu—Night with the musquitoes—State of the church in Niua Foöu—Uvea—War—Miserable condition of the besieged Protestants—Interview with the King and the French Priests—Their complicity in the war—Escape of the Protestants to Vavau—Abandonment of the Uvean Mission—Appointment to Tongatabu.

797 Notwithstanding the wonderful change that had been effected in the moral and religious condition of the Vavauans, there still appeared, at times, in the conduct and proceedings of both chiefs and people, sufficient indications that much had yet to be done for the elevation and enlightenment of the native mind. Even in close connexion with the religious awakenings already mentioned, events had occurred that reminded one of the days of barbarism, so recently passed away. The general tone of public character was pervaded by the spirit

of Christianity; but there were many, nevertheless, who still remained heathens at heart, however much they were restrained, by the new state of things, from outward practices of superstition and sin. We need not, therefore, be surprised that the anger of such persons was sometimes directed against the Missionaries, and that it led to the perpetration of serious offences. 797

The Mission premises at Neiafu were twice set on fire by evil-disposed men. On the first occasion, which happened before our arrival, the Mission store and the greater part of its contents had been destroyed. This act entailed upon the Mission great pecuniary loss, and was the cause of serious privations to the Mission families. The second instance involved the destruction of the dwelling-house and personal property of the Rev. Walter J. Davis, who had arrived in June, 1847, to strengthen the Mission in Vavau. A new house having been built for the writer, Mr. Davis occupied that which we had vacated, it being contiguous to the printing establishment, the oversight and working of which was to devolve more immediately upon him. He had not been settled many months when, in the depth of a stormy night, the place was maliciously set on fire. The whole range of the Mission dwellings and outhouses was placed in imminent danger, and it was only through the ready aid proffered by numbers of the people that the fire was limited to Mr. Davis's house. Fire-raising having become a thing of too frequent occurrence in the settlement of native feuds in Vavau, the king had previously issued a decree, declaring the crime punishable by death, where it could be proved that the lives of the inmates were aimed at, or were even seriously 797 798 [671] [643]

797 798 endangered. The attempt on Mr. Davis's house was certainly of an atrocious description, and might have ended fatally. So rapid was the advance of the flames, that he and Mrs. Davis, awakened suddenly by the fierce crackling of the devouring element, had barely time to escape with life. The deed was held in the utmost detestation by the great bulk of the people; but the author of it escaped detection for several months. A singular train of circumstances led, at length, to the discovery of the culprit and to his arrest upon the charge. After trial and
797 798 685 643 conviction, followed by a full confession of the crime, he was sentenced to undergo the extreme penalty of the law. The day for the execution was fixed, and the king, who had in the meantime arrived at Vavau, ratified the sentence, and seemed resolved to have it carried into effect. The Missionaries, however, by earnest and united entreaties, prevailed upon him to grant a commutation of the sentence into one of penal servitude for life; but he would not permit this fact to be made known to the young man until the very last moment. Accordingly a great crowd assembled on the morning for the execution, which, had it taken place, would have been the first since the introduction of Christianity. The profound silence and solemnity that prevailed, presented a most favourable contrast to the abominable scenes that attend English executions. When the prisoner had been led, pinioned, into the presence of the king, the latter proceeded calmly and sternly to dwell upon the aggravated nature of the crime committed, and the righteousness of the doom he had incurred; but when he went on to say, that through the interposition of the Missionaries, the criminal's life was to be spared, a thrill of satisfac-

tion passed through the crowd, and the young man 797
himself seemed scarcely to credit the clemency that 798
had been extended toward him. It was truly painful 685
to observe the varying emotions betrayed by his 643
features during the king's address, but he never lost [152]
his self-command.

The tear that trickled down his cheek showed 797
that he was not insensible to the danger he had 798
escaped, or beyond the reach of recovery from the 685
state of mind under which he had imperilled not only Mr. Davis's life and property, but also that of the entire Mission establishment. It is questionable, however, whether he did really repent of his crime. He died about two years afterwards very suddenly, and, according to native report, in great agony of both mind and body; the probability being that he had taken poison rather than continue any longer in a state of criminal servitude as a *tamaioeiki*, or slave.

In the month of May, 1848, an English whaling 648
ship visited Vavau, commanded by a captain who stated himself to be a Wesleyan. During his stay a serious misunderstanding arose, which had well nigh led to fatal results; such as had often been witnessed, in heathen times, when, under slight provocations, or urged on by insatiable cupidity, the natives had destroyed foreign vessels and massacred their crews. Having lost one of the men, while on the whaling ground, the captain gladly accepted an offer of shipment made by a sailor on shore, to make up the complement of his hands; but when this became known to a few of the principal chiefs, they peremptorily demanded from him a payment of thirty dollars, before they would permit the foreigner to leave the island.

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Samoa OU8

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797 from Tonguese or Samoan teachers subject to their control. Under these circumstances the Samoans would not entertain, for one moment, the question of a removal of the Missionaries. Indeed they themselves thought it best to pause, and send a full representation of the case as it stood, before acting upon the instructions of the English Committee. All, however, was in vain, and in obedience to kind but positive instructions, dated December 6th, 1837, the Missionaries, with great regret, and in the face of the most earnest and imploring cries of the Samoans, vacated the islands. Thus left to themselves, the people determined to maintain the form of worship they had received: and, notwithstanding the entreaties of the Wesleyan Missionaries, who urged them to throw in their lot with the London Society's people, they steadily refused to do so. Hence repeated appeals came from Samoa to
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648 the Missionaries in the Friendly Islands, and to the Tonguese people, beseeching the reconsideration of their case, and begging the return of the Missionaries; or, failing that, the appointment of properly-trained and authorized native teachers for their instruction, and for the due conduct of the Divine worship which was still kept up among them. In view of the settled and explicit instructions received
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[643] from the Committee in England, the Tonga Missionaries could render no assistance; but when the Samoans, turning from them, appealed to King George for help, they felt that they had no right to interfere with what he might feel disposed to do on their behalf. They could not sanction, and neither could they hinder, even if they had been so disposed, any steps he might choose to take.

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[484] Accordingly, in 1841, a canoe sailed, by King

George's authority, from the Friendly Islands for S T
Samoa, having on board several Tonguese teachers 797
under the care of Benjamin Latuselu, a local 648
preacher and leader; who was a man also of high T
rank among the chiefs of Tonga. The king's (484)
instructions were, that if on arrival in Samoa they
found that the Methodists had joined the London
Society's Mission, they were immediately to return
to Tonga; but if not, they had his authority to
remain and teach the people, according to their
own request. As might be supposed, these Tonguese T
teachers were warmly welcomed; and in the 797
course of 1842, King George himself visited Samoa, 648
carrying with him ten more teachers and their 643
families. He took these steps on his own responsibility, S
and because he considered that a great wrong 797
had been committed in the abandonment of the 648
Samoan Mission. After his return from this visit,
King George drew up a lengthy document, setting
forth the whole case, and narrating what he had
seen of the condition and wants of the people.
This document was forwarded to the Wesleyan
Missionary Committee in England, with the king's
earnest request for a re-consideration of the whole
matter, toward securing a resumption of the Mission.
This appeal also was in vain; but the king did not
cease to sympathize with the Samoans, or fail still
to render them such assistance as he could.

This was the state of affairs, when, in the year T
1847, another deputation of Samoan chiefs visited S
Vavau with the special object of laying before the 797
Missionaries, and the king, a further statement of 648
the religious condition of their countrymen, and S
also to reiterate an urgent request for Missionary (484)
oversight and help from ourselves. The interview

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S between the deputation and the king was a public
797 one at Neiafu. The writer and his colleagues were
648 present, together with a large assemblage of chiefs
and people. The Samoans severally rose and
delivered long and impassioned addresses. They
sketched the history of affairs, and dwelt especially
upon the injustice of an agreement in which their
best and holiest interests were involved as a people,
but about which their wishes had never been consulted,
in the first instance, and when they had been expressed,
were silently and positively ignored. They stated,
that having maintained the forms and discipline of
the Wesleyan Church for a number of years, and
being fully resolved upon the same course in future,
they came once more to beg for sympathy and help.
They also declared, most solemnly, that, under all
the circumstances of the case, they never could
consent to become united to the London Society.
They further stated that they had applied to us, the
Missionaries, for aid, but had been refused on the
ground that we could neither appoint them a Missionary,
nor a single Tonguese teacher, so long as
we had no permission to do so from our executive
T Committee in England. Such being the case, they
797 therefore turned to the king, and looked to him
648 for a renewal of the kindness he had already shown,
643 by the appointment of such individuals as he might
S think competent to become the instructors of their
797 abandoned co-religionists. The appeal was closed
648 by an excited threat, that if their wishes were not
conceded, the Samoans would consider that the
Tonguese had given them just cause for waging
war against them, whenever an opportunity for
doing so might transpire. At this futile and ill-judged
threat the king only smiled; and after the

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ceremony of kava-drinking had finished, he stated 797
his intention of shortly visiting Samoa in person, 648
and that he would, if possible, secure for them 643
the services of some Tonguese teachers, and local S
preachers, on his own entire responsibility. He 797
declared that he deeply sympathized with them, 648
and that although the Missionaries felt themselves
bound in honour to maintain the mistaken and ill-advised
agreement between the two Societies, he
was at perfect liberty to do everything he could to
meet the necessities of the case.

Accordingly, toward the close of that same year, T
King George sailed, the second time, for Samoa, 797
accompanied by a fleet of ten canoes. Prior to this 648
he had waited upon us to ascertain whether we 643
could, or would, officially select or set apart any 484
preachers or teachers to accompany the expedition. S
We then candidly explained to the king that whatever 797
might be our own personal opinions, yet as 648
the case stood, we could take no such step. Upon
this the king proceeded to adopt his own measures
for securing volunteer teachers for Samoa; and
several competent and able men having come forward,
he conveyed them and their families to their
destination, where they at once joined the other
Tonguese teachers who had either remained in
Samoa after the English Missionaries had left, or
who had been taken thither by the king in 1842.

Among those zealous and self-sacrificing men to S
whom the Samoans were deeply indebted, was 797
Benjamin Latuselu, who, as we have before stated,
went to Samoa in 1841. Amid many difficulties
and privations, this able and godly man directed
the affairs of these infant and deserted churches,
from that time until the year 1847, when he came

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from Samoa on a temporary visit to his native land.

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The Missionaries, who knew Latuselu best, had long looked upon him as one whom God had specially called to the work of the Christian ministry. His visit, therefore, to Tonga, occurring simultaneously with that of the Rev. Walter Lawry, the General Superintendent of the South Sea Missions, seemed to make it desirable that he should be solemnly set apart to that office by imposition of hands. We could not, however, give him ordination and send him back to Samoa. He was therefore informed that either he must forego being ordained as a Minister, or else he must be content to leave Samoa, and to labour in any locality to which we had a right to send him. He consented to the latter course, and was accordingly ordained at Nukualofa as a probationer for the ministry. He then received an appointment to the island of Niua Tobutabu, with the understanding that he should be permitted to return to Samoa, for the sole purpose of removing his wife and family to his new sphere of labour. Latuselu was the first Tonga man who was thus formally set apart as a Minister of Christ. On the 19th of August, 1847, he was landed at Niua Tobutabu, and, after remaining several months until an opportunity presented for proceeding to Samoa, he went thither to remove his wife, and his goods and chattels.

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It soon appeared, however, that this could be much sooner said than done. The Samoans determined to retain him by force in the country, and adopted measures for that purpose, to which Latuselu was compelled to submit. He reasoned with them and entreated, but all in vain. They would not allow him to leave again; but rather

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797 Latuselu continued to labour on earnestly and successfully among the Samoans, although he never received a penny of salary from the Wesleyan Mission funds while he continued there, until his failing health compelled the Samoans to relinquish their firm hold upon him, and to permit his return to the Friendly Islands, for the prolongation of his life.

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797 We have thought it but just to enter upon the foregoing particulars, in relation to the visits of King George to Samoa with Tonguese teachers, and also in regard to the labours of Latuselu, because these events have been misapprehended, or misconstrued, by our esteemed Missionary brethren of the London Society, as is very evident from the following statement, made by them in the "Samoan Reporter," dated October, 1857, and published in those islands:—"In the course of last year, the 'John Wesley' extended her voyage three hundred miles beyond the Friendly Islands to Samoa. The London Missionary Society has ten Missionaries devoted to the instruction of the thirty-four thousand people of Samoa. They are assisted by a large number of native agents, and have succeeded in giving to the population a complete Bible, which is generally circulated. We hoped, therefore, that those who direct the movements of that vessel would see that the repetition of her visits to Samoa would be only a waste of the church's time and resources. But last month she returned, bringing a Missionary and a number of Friendly Island teachers, to superintend the instruction of some Samoans scattered in various parts of the group, *who, through the influence of different agencies from the Friendly Islands*, and in violation of the agreement entered into between

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the London Missionary Society, on the one hand, and the Wesleyan Missionary Society, on the other, *have, from an early period of the Mission, been kept from attending our schools and services.*"

We should not have even made the above quotation from the publications of a Society whose labours, in the South Sea Islands, have been both extensive and useful, were we not convinced that the statements contained in it would not have been made had the whole truth been known. Surely the plain facts we have stated afford, in themselves, a sufficient answer to the serious charge advanced against the Tonguese. That King George should have listened to the entreaties of the Samoans cannot be cause of surprise, or even subject of regret, to any who truly know the character of the man. Through false representations, and evil surmisings, his visits to Samoa have been attributed to ambitious political motives, and it has even been insinuated that he would have no scruples in extending his power to those islands, or to others, under the guise of religious zeal. We can only say that those who may have made these statements, and those who first originated them, whether natives or foreigners, knew but little of the nobleness of the king's nature, the expansiveness of his Christian charity, or the prudence of his course as a political man. To our minds the voyages of the king, to a land very distant from his own, and for the great object of transferring some of his best people to become the religious instructors of the Samoans, under no influence or constraint, but that of Christian and cordial benevolence toward those whom he considered wrongfully abandoned, presents a unique and striking illustration of the power of Divine grace.

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Samoa OU8

T Divine grace. But however high we may place the
797 actions of the king, we must place those of the
648 self-denying Tonguese evangelists still higher.
643 With no fee or reward of any kind, save the love
157 and care which they might receive from the people
S amongst whom they laboured, in the midst of
797 dangers and discouragements, these men prosecuted
648 their spiritual work for years, far away from their
own beloved islands, and from all those home associations and comforts, which are as dear to a Tonga man as they are to any European Missionary when he sacrifices similar blessings that he may go "far hence amongst the Gentiles." They were men imbued with the best and truest Missionary spirit.

S Before passing away from the subject of the
797 Samoan Mission, we may observe that, as a rule, it
would always be best that such a limited group of islands as that of Samoa, should be under the religious teaching of only one branch of the Protestant church. But inasmuch as the London and Wesleyan Societies' Missionaries began to labour there, and almost simultaneously, without any preconcerted design; and seeing also that the success of the latter was so rapid and extensive, that a very large number of chiefs and people would not submit to an alienation from that community, such as was attempted to be forced upon them, it does seem to be a case for the exercise of mutual forbearance and brotherly harmony. Viewing the whole affair in this light, the affiliated Conference of the Wesleyan Body in Australia considered it their duty, as well as their right, to undertake the resumption of the Mission in Samoa, in 1857, by the appointment of an accredited Missionary. This was accordingly done,

643 last few months. As on the former occasion, so
669 now, all the accused parties have denied the truth of the reports, and have publicly signified their continued allegiance to the king's person and government. The population at large rejoice, beyond doubt, under the wise, kind, politic, and Christian rule of King George. This is also true of the great majority of the chiefs; but there are a few designing men who, to serve their own ambitious purposes, would gladly advance the claims of the children of the late Ulukalala. This they dare not do openly. They well know that the nomination by Zephaniah Ulukalala of King George, as his successor, even to the exclusion of his own son; and the subsequent ratification of this nomination by the chiefs of the land, were legitimate acts; and in perfect accordance with Tonguese law and custom. Nor must it be forgotten, that these events only restored the kingdom to the lawful representative of those from whose hands it had been wrested, by rebellion, in former years. It is now hoped, that the active measures adopted by the king, and the wisdom which marks all his movements, will put a final stop to these fruitless machinations of his enemies.

797 In the face of all these disturbing and evil influ-
177 ences the cause of religion and civilization con-
671 tinued steadily to advance in Vavau; and the very
643 occurrences we have named, only tended to elicit, and to display more clearly, the real power which Christianity was attaining in the restraint and guidance of the native population. With the rapid advance of education, the king felt the need of a more comprehensive and complete code of laws for

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the government of his people. On this subject, he 797
frequently and earnestly conversed with the Missionaries, 177
and finally applied for their official help 671
in framing it. The subject was carefully considered, 643
in the annual assembly of the Missionaries, presided over by the Rev. Walter Lawry, in 1847; and, after an interesting and important discussion of the whole matter, we recommended the king to obtain the opinion and advice of the highest English legal authority in New Zealand. The king, therefore, drew up a communication upon the subject, which Mr. Lawry conveyed to the proper quarter. A reply came, in due course, to the effect, that King George could not do better than adopt a code of laws, similar to that drawn up for the natives of the Society Islands, with such modifications or alterations as might be considered necessary, for its adaptation to any special peculiarity in the Tonguese government, or the customs of the people.* A translation of these laws was prepared by the Missionaries, and placed in the hands of the king and chiefs, for their united consideration. Many consultations were held with the chiefs, and various alterations, amendments, and additions were made. After these were completed, the king waited upon the Missionaries, to obtain their further opinion and
advice, upon the rough draft thus submitted. Upon 797
carefully and unitedly examining and discussing the 177
whole, we suggested several important alterations, 671
which he and his native advisers were to consider for themselves, and to either adopt or reject as they might deem proper. We were very careful to impress them with the conviction, that these laws must be adopted and promulgated as their own,

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* See Ellis's "Polynesian Researches," vol. iii., pp. 177-191.

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and not as the laws of the Missionaries. This 797
was accordingly done; and, when the code was 177
finally completed, and made law, by public and 671
regal authority, the Missionaries found in it much that was contrary to their own views. It was, however, a great advance upon the brief and imperfect code already in operation, and would, no doubt, prepare the way for something better still.*

Schools, and the press, were doing a great and 797
lasting work, in conjunction with the regular and 177
direct ministrations of the Missionaries. The press, especially, had already conferred incalculable blessings upon the population of the whole islands.
It had poured out innumerable elementary pages, [212]
in which the once unwritten language of the people was embodied in such characters, as even the aged, and most ignorant, might soon master and remember. Various portions of the Holy Scriptures, in the native tongue, had, from time to time, been issued, and were eagerly caught up by all classes. Elementary works in general and religious knowledge, had been supplied to all the schools; while, for the purposes of Divine worship, the people were supplied with native hymn books, and Wesley's abridgment of the services of the Church of England. An excellent "Tonga and English Vocabulary," compiled by the Rev. Stephen Rabone; a small quarterly periodical entitled the "Friendly Visitor," (*Aahi Fakakaiga,*) and an Almanac, completed the limited list of books and pages issued from the printing department of the Mission. These were, however, powerful agents in advancing the civilization of the people. Heathen

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* For a copy of these laws, see Young's "Southern World," [113]
p. 235. London: Mason. 1858.

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games, dances, and endless modes of passing away time, having become obsolete, the study of letters —in a literal sense—became the pastime of the people. Young and old were eager after learning. It was soon felt here, as elsewhere, that knowledge is power; and that it imparted an influence and status to its possessor, which mere rank, or position in the social scale, could not bestow.

But much as had been accomplished, in translation and printing work, the Missionaries felt that the time had fully come when the entire New Testament, at least, should be placed in the hands of the people. It was, therefore, resolved that the Rev. Stephen Rabone should remove from Haabai to Vavau, to undertake this important task, in conjunction with the writer and the Rev. Walter J. Davis, who were subsequently joined, toward the conclusion of the work, by the Rev. Thomas Adams, who arrived in the islands for the first time, and whose acquaintance with the language was then necessarily imperfect. The translations of the various books had been prepared by different Missionaries, and they had undergone careful examination from native linguists. After this, they were again submitted, by the several translators, to the mutual and candid criticism of each other. Thus the utmost pains had been taken to secure a correct and idiomatic version. The revision and printing of the entire New Testament was completed, at the Vavau press, in the year 1848. The printed copy then underwent a final ordeal of revision, and was forwarded to the Committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society, with an application for a large edition of the work, such as could not be produced through the

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local press. The request was met by an immediate grant of ten thousand copies. The work was printed under the supervision of the Rev. T. W. Mellor, M.A., Superintendent of the editorial department of the Society, with the additional assistance rendered by the Rev. George Kevern, whose acquaintance with the Tonguese language, after a former residence in Vavau, extending over five years, enabled him to do this important service for the people of his former ministerial charge.

The arrival of this large number of New Testaments was a joyous event in the history of the Mission; and it elicited, in a variety of ways, the high esteem in which the natives held the Word of God. The four thousand already printed at Vavau, and distributed among the people, had awakened no ordinary desire for the arrival of a further and more adequate supply. Many who had failed to secure one of the four thousand, became greatly concerned lest they should also lose the opportunity of obtaining this. These persons, therefore, visited the various Mission residences, many months before the book arrived, to deposit the price of their copies. "But," said the Missionaries, "we are not sure that the ship will bring them." The answer invariably was, "Never mind: whenever they do come we shall be sure." The day after the books had been landed at Vavau, a poor man waited upon the Missionary there, bringing the price of a copy, in cocoa-nut oil. The day was exceeding wet and stormy; and the poor fellow looked cold and half-drowned after his walk of several miles. He was therefore remonstrated with for coming out in such weather, and endangering his health; but his simple and ready answer showed how deeply anxious he was to secure the Word of life. "The reason is," said he, "I am going away to another island, as soon as it becomes fine, and I am afraid lest, when I come back, all the books should be gone." About the same time also, a teacher, whose house had been accidentally burnt down, came to the Missionary with his tale of trouble, when, holding up his New Testament, he exclaimed, "All my worldly goods are gone, but, thank God, I have saved my Bible."

Another incident may here be stated, as affording an illustration of the general faithfulness which the native teachers manifest, in the oversight of the work of God committed to their care, in those places which lie remote from the Missionary, and as showing the strength of that love which many of the people had for the precious Book of God. A young woman, belonging to the island of Uiha, in Haabai, who had long been in the habit of reading her New Testament with great care and profit, when on her dying-bed, gave strict injunctions to her friends that they should lay her head upon her loved Bible, when she was departed hence, and bury it with her. It was, no doubt, in her case, the simple expression of an undying love for the word which had been the means of her salvation, and of support and comfort in the hours of sickness, and in prospect of approaching dissolution. Her friends, therefore, readily complied with her last request; but the teacher thought that the act might possibly savour of superstition, and he thought, moreover, that the precious volume might, more fitly, have been retained for the use of the living. Accordingly, he named the occurrence, when reporting the state of the people under his charge. With the remembrance we had of former

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superstitious practices, at native burials, we could 797
not be of a different opinion from the teacher himself; 177
but, at the same time, we could not do otherwise than admire, in this particular example, the high value placed by the dying woman upon her greatest earthly treasure.

We must conclude these brief records of the 797
principal events, which transpired during our 128
residence in Vavau, by describing the incidents attendant upon a Missionary voyage, undertaken, from thence, to the islands of Niua Tobutabu, Niua Foöu, and Uvea, or Wallis's Island. But we must first prepare the way by sketching rapidly the rise and progress of Christianity in those places, up to the time of our visit.

In the details about to be given, we crave the reader's special attention to the interesting and most important fact, that, as was the case in the spread of the Gospel from group to group of the Friendly Islands proper, so also in these more remote and solitary islands, it was spread from one to the other through the immediate efforts of
natives themselves. Under their instructions, 797
also, the cause of God was so prospered, in the two Niuas, that in a very brief period heathenism was exterminated, and flourishing churches of simple and devoted Christians filled the land. With the exception of a very few months, during which the Rev. Peter Turner resided on Niua Tobutabu, waiting for a vessel to convey him to Samoa, to commence the Mission there in 1835, no European Missionary has ever resided on any of these islands.

NIUA TOBUTABU.—So early as the year 1829, the

[Niua Tobutabu]

797 inhabitants of this island were made acquainted with the new religion which many had espoused in the island of Tongatabu. They obtained this information, either when on their accustomed tributary visits to the supreme government of Tonga, or through the tidings brought to their own island by Tonguese voyagers proceeding to Samoa. To them God was still the "Unknown God," as truly as He was to the Athenians, in the days of St. Paul. They knew not how to pray, nor for what, and they were still without any instructor; but they resolved even then to build a place of worship to the God of the foreigners. The native mind was evidently wearied with the silly traditions and oppressive impositions of heathenism; and the people were prepared by an unseen but Divine influence, to welcome a deliverance into light and life.

Nothing of much moment followed these incipient movements toward Christianity, until after Vavau had yielded obedience to its Heavenly Lord. No sooner was this brought about, than the people of Niua Tobutabu eagerly sought for and welcomed the presence of converted men and women from thence, who became their instructors. Considering the still infantile character of the cause in Haafuluhao itself, these teachers and their wives could not be thoroughly equipped in all respects for their office and work. They could, however, [212] read and write; and, above all, they were simple-hearted, believing, praying, zealous persons. Their labours were therefore greatly owned and blessed by the Most High, in thoroughly preparing the way for the prolonged visit of Mr. Turner in 1835, who was then the means of placing the organization and work of this little church on a correct and firm basis.

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[Niua Tobutabu]

It is, nevertheless, remarkable that, even before 797
that time, the people of Niua Tobutabu were exceedingly
anxious to spread the religion which they
themselves had just received. They longed to
carry the glad tidings to their neighbours and
friends of Niua Foöu. Above ninety miles of
ocean, noted for its storms and heavy seas, rolled
between them, where many a canoe had perished
while attempting to make for either shore. But the
restless desire grew stronger and stronger; and,
finally, the necessary arrangements were made for
a Missionary visit to the island in question. Two 797
canoes were prepared, and manned by about one 505
hundred and fifty persons. The expedition was 132
headed by the King of Niua Tobutabu, and it was 484
accompanied by a teacher from Vavau. The distance [634]
ought, under ordinary circumstances, to have
been run in a single day; but, shortly after starting,
the winds became adverse and tempestuous,
and for six days the canoes were driven hither and
thither. Niua Foöu had been sighted for several
days, but could not be reached. The storm, meantime,
increased in fury. The sea ran mountains
high; and, at last, one of the canoes was overwhelmed,
and foundered. It contained about one [165]
hundred persons, of whom seventy were drowned,
the others being rescued by the second canoe.
Among those who perished was the Vavau teacher. 797
His body was afterwards washed on shore, and
when found, his hand still grasped, in the rigour of
death, a bundle of Scripture Books, from which he
was not parted even in his watery grave. We may
well believe that, by the precious truths he was so
anxious to carry to others, he himself was strengthened
in the hour of awful calamity and death.

[Niua Tobutabu]

797 The Great Master did not permit him to accomplish his loving intention, but the reward of his charity and sacrifice would not be the less glorious on that account.

797 Undismayed by this sad event, the king and peo-
505 ple of Niua Tobutabu, at a subsequent period,
484 undertook a similar expedition to the island of
648 Uvea; an island still more distant from them than Niua Foöu, but with whose king and people the Niua Tobutabuans had domestic and political relationships. Their voyage thither was made in
797 safety, but it terminated in still greater disasters
648 than had befallen the former. The ruling chief of Uvea could not brook the advice tendered him by his friendly visitor; and, perhaps, the latter, notwithstanding the purity of his motives, was not discreet and prudent in his measures and movements. It is probable, too, that the chief of Uvea had cast an evil eye upon the queen of Niua Tobutabu, who had accompanied her husband Gogo. Be this as it may, occasion for a quarrel was sought, when the Uveans suddenly rose upon their visitors, mercilessly slaying the king, with nearly the whole of his crew of forty-five men. The women were all spared, but only to meet a more ignominious fate. The wife of the murdered king was commanded to join the seraglio of the Uvean chief, but this she positively refused to do; and, to escape from his vengeance, she ran off into the bush, where she hid herself for two months, subsisting upon roots and such edibles as she could obtain from around her place of concealment. She was discovered by a Tonga man, at the end of the time specified. She was greatly emaciated by hunger and exposure, and was apparently in a dying condition. While in this state

[Niua Tobutabu]

she was visited by her cruel persecutor, and commanded to eat, under pain of instant death. Food was forced upon her, and after a time she partially recovered, when the foul savage repeated his base proposals. She was proof against all his threats. The narrative of the subsequent sufferings and escape of this high-minded woman, form a romance in real life such as is not often met with. She ultimately escaped in the time of her greatest peril, by means of a Vavau canoe, which was providentially drifted to Uvea by stress of weather. The crew taking compassion on her case, by a clever stratagem carried her off in safety, and conveyed her to her own land.* 797 648

We reserve for another place the account of a still more recent visit to Uvea undertaken by the successor of the murdered king of Niua Tobutabu, in which he also, and his followers, narrowly escaped a similar fate. It will be enough to say here, that amidst all these sources of alarm and depression, the work of God prospered in Niua Tobutabu itself, under the care of the native teachers, with the occasional and brief visits of the Missionaries.

Niua Foöu.—In the year 1832, the "glad tidings of great joy" first reached this island in a very remarkable manner. Ulukalala, the king of Vavau, having projected a voyage to Niua Tobutabu, on political and domestic business, was accompanied thither by the Rev. Mr. Cross, then one of the resident Missionaries in Vavau, who gladly hailed the opportunity thus presented, of preaching Christ in the "regions beyond." When the objects of the visit were accomplished, seven canoes in all prepared to sail for Haafuluhao. Of this 797 505 484

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* "Tonga and the Friendly Islands," p. 276.

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[Niua Foöu]

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number, however, only four actually started. The others, chiefly manned by heathens and natives of Niua Tobutabu, were either deterred by the threatening appearances of the weather, or by superstitious fears. The voyage proved disastrous in the extreme. One canoe was lost, with its crew of between sixty and seventy persons. Another, commanded by the Niua chief, was driven away to Fiji; the third, having on board Ulukalala and Mr. Cross, with immense difficulty and risk reached the islands of Haabai; while the fourth, filled with Vavauans, after many days of toil and extreme peril, sighted the island of Niua Foöu. The coast was known to be extremely rugged, and they were fully aware of the fierce character of the inhabitants. They knew that if the canoe should be wrecked in making for the shore, the people would not fail to fall upon them, according to the wide-spread custom of Polynesia; and that after having destroyed them, they would take possession of whatever might be saved from the wreck itself. They were not surprised, therefore, upon nearing the land, to see numbers of armed men clustering upon the rocks, ready to resist their landing. The Vavauans, however, being well supplied with muskets and ammunition, determined upon making a grand and formidable demonstration by firing several vollies of blank cartridges. Before this display the ruder Niua Foöuans fled away in terror, leaving the coast clear for the visitors to effect a landing in safety. They might have followed up their advantage in a less bloodless manner, but the power of the Gospel was already sufficient to restrain the former passions of these half-enlightened men. When the people of Niua Foöu

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[Niua Foöu]

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returned to the Vavauans, to sue forgiveness for the mode in which they intended to have received them, and to supply all the necessities of the voyagers, these, in return, told of the great things God was doing for their country, in the conversion of Ulukalala, and numbers of his people, to Christianity. While they remained on the island, religious services of singing and prayer were regularly held; and, such was the deep impression produced, that before the Vavauans left, the people of Niua Foöu were anxious to retain the services of one of the crew as a religious instructor. Accordingly, one who was more advanced than the others in the art of reading and writing, consented to remain behind; while his companions sailed for Vavau, with the intelligence that Niua Foöu was waiting, with open arms, to receive a Missionary, or such other help as could be sent from Vavau. From that time the Mission work on Niua Foöu was carried on through the agency of a succession of native teachers, until the entire population had turned from heathenism.

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UVEA, OR WALLIS'S ISLAND. The history of Christianity in Uvea, presents a more chequered and gloomy picture than any we have yet had before us. We have already seen how they rejected the friendly overtures of their visitors from Niua Tobutabu, and how horridly they imbrued their hands in their blood. But that untoward event did not prevent further, and immediate, efforts being made, from another quarter, to enlighten and save them. Not long after the sad news had reached the Friendly Islands, a favourable opportunity occurred for sending two teachers and their wives, who were willing and anxious to undertake the risk

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[Uvea]

000 ants, until the time of our own visit thither, and for many dreary months of suffering after that.

Having thus glanced at the main facts connected with the rise and progress of religion in the two Niuas and in Uvea, we now proceed with the details of our own voyage thither; upon which occasion I was accompanied by my esteemed friend and colleague, the Rev. Walter J. Davis.

797 We sailed from Vavau on Monday, June 6th, 1848. Passing in the immediate vicinity of the ruined and still burning island of Fonua Lei about three P.M., we stood on, and reached Niua Tobutabu on the following day, about eleven A.M. The
133 island is about six miles long, and two broad. There are several tolerably high hills in the centre, but otherwise the land is low. The population
[162] consists of about six hundred or seven hundred people. Toward its western extremity, the island is divided by an inlet of the sea; and there is, in that direction also, an immense sandy flat, stretching away toward another lofty conical island, called Tafahi, which lies about seven miles distant from Niua Tobutabu. Tafahi is certainly an extinct volcano, and it attains an altitude sufficiently high to make it plainly visible from a distance of fifty
131 miles. Niua Tobutabu is the Kebble's Island of English charts; and Tafahi is, probably, that
114 known as Boscawen's Island. The latter name has been sometimes assigned, in the charts, to Niua Foöu, which is evidently a mistake; for its relative position will not correspond at all with that describing Boscawen's Island. Considerable difficulty is felt in identifying this island, as well as many others in the Pacific Ocean, whose position has not been properly defined, owing to their remoteness

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[Niua Tobutabu]

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from the usual tracks of navigation. The charts are often at fault, both as to the locality and names of many islands.

The day being fine, we experienced very little difficulty in landing. We were met by the chief teacher, and a number of the people, with whom we set off across the sands. The walk was rather fatiguing; but we arrived safely at the town, and were immediately conducted to Maatu, styled Tui-Niua, or King of Niua. The remarkably narrow limits of his dominions evidently never troubled his mind, or distressed those of his subjects. The humblest of the company present moved along with a natural dignity and grace, that any courtier or monarch might have envied. We have already had occasion also to show that, although few in number, and a "feeble folk" in many respects, yet these Niuans were not wanting in stirring enterprise or true courage. 797 [634)

Even before we reached the town, the great wooden drums had been sounding, to give notice of our arrival, and to summon the entire population from their daily occupations, in preparation for the various religious services about to be held. There being no safe anchorage off the island, the visits of the Missionaries are necessarily very brief; while such a multiplicity of onerous duties devolve upon the visitors, that the greatest expedition must be observed, and they can scarcely find time either to eat or sleep. [202] [534)

Let us look for a moment at the work to be done. No visit from a Missionary had been received by Niua Tobutabu for several years. The attempt had been made in the previous year, but failed through the violence of the sea and wind. The doings therefore of the teachers over a considerable period of time had to be reviewed. The lists of church members

[Niua Tobutabu]

797 had to be examined, and all cases requiring discipline gone into and dealt with. After this, preaching services must be held, and several of the schools be examined. As might be expected, a large number of marriages and baptisms had also to be performed. Such likewise is the close relationship between religious, political, and judicial affairs, in a community so small and primitive in its habits, that the visiting Missionary is compelled to "intermeddle with all wisdom." He must listen to queries and appeals from both chiefs and commoners, and, to the best of his ability, he is expected to express his opinion and decisions thereupon.

In many of these occupations Mr. Davis and myself were kept busy from one P.M. until nearly midnight, with only one short interval for refreshment. Thoroughly tired, we then retired from the chapel to our appointed habitation; but here, again, we found a large number of teachers anxiously waiting our coming, that they might have passages of Scripture explained, and be supplied with outlines of sermons to carry them on through their preaching duties, for another twelve months, at the least. All [136] this, too, was done in the midst of clouds of musquitoes, for which the island is very famous. We were literally worried in body and mind, and longed for a little repose. Being at length positively un- 797 able to answer any more questions, or meet any 122 further demands, we retired to the little sleeping 136 room, where our musquito curtains had been very carefully adjusted, and where we expected to obtain renewed strength for the further duties of the morrow. We were miserably disappointed. We had not been long laid down, when our insatiable persecutors found an entrance somewhere through the curtains.

[Niua Tobutabu]

We then lighted a lamp, and tried to beat them out. The attempt, however, failed; more came in than those we destroyed or swept away. Finding it useless to remain there, the natives advised a removal into the centre of the large chapel, where they thought we should be comparatively safe, owing to the free circulation of air through the building. We tried this also, but in vain. The musquitoes were in such numbers, we were driven forth to walk about till daylight. Fairly overcome by sleep, Mr. Davis sought a nestling-place under a thicket, whilst I, equally needy of repose, climbed into a tree. But all was in vain; and we finally walked about until the dawn of day brought a little relief. 797 122 136

When daylight came, Mr. Davis was found to be in a dreadful state. His face and hands were swollen to double their usual size. He presented the exact picture of a man who had been severely handled in a pugilistic encounter; and although we pitied him, we could not resist the temptation to have a good laugh at his expense. Although the venom of the insect had not produced the same effects upon my person, yet I was thrown into a state of high irritation and feverishness. A more miserable night we could not have spent after a day of so much excitement and hard work.

It will be supposed that we were but ill prepared for the many duties of the new day; but these had nevertheless to be done. The same round of occupations filled up our time, as on the previous day, until about three o'clock, P.M., when we prepared to embark. We had done our best to adjust the heterogeneous jumble of church and state affairs that had been brought before us. To have done so 797

[Niua Tobutabu]

797 to the entire satisfaction of every one, or even to our own, in every instance, in such short time, would have been almost impossible. We tried to do what was right, and we commended all our work to the blessing of the Most High. We found both chiefs and people willing to be instructed, and very anxious to act in accordance with the principles and teachings of God's word. With the Tui-Niua, Maatu, we were much pleased. He seemed [648] a truly godly and judicious man, and from our personal interviews with him, I have no reason to doubt the correctness of any of the particulars, which we have already related, respecting his escape from the murderous intentions of the Uveans.

797 731 Niua Tobutabu had been visited, for two years in succession, by terrific hurricanes, which destroyed all the native produce. In the famine that ensued, a great many of the people died; and although things were mending when we arrived, there was still considerable poverty and suffering. We were exceedingly happy, therefore, in being able to land a large quantity of yams, which the Friendly Islanders had forwarded by the Mission ship, for the use of the Niua Tobutabu people; after which, we bore away, amid their prayers and benedictions, for Niua Foöu.

797 504 In any state of the weather, or of the sea, it is a thing of no small difficulty to effect a landing upon this island, which we reached late in the afternoon of the day following our departure from Niua Tobutabu. There is not a single patch of sandy beach to be seen anywhere on the coast: nothing, indeed, but black and precipitous rocks. Sometimes the Mission ship has been brought to an anchor, in from seventy to ninety fathoms, in fine weather, and well

[Niua Foou]

in shore, even with that depth of soundings. But al- 797
though the weather was fine when we arrived, the 504
very heavy swell put anchoring out of the question. The boat was therefore lowered, and being deeply laden with boxes of books, slates, &c., &c., ourselves, and the native teachers, with the boat's crew, we made for the shore.

A strange sight here presented itself, for which 226
we were quite unprepared. About thirty men were [415]
observed in different parts of the sea, at distances ranging from one to two hundred yards from the shore, each carrying a short bamboo cane with a fishing-line attached, and a *finaki*, or fish-basket. They had no canoes, but were swimming, or stand- [501]
ing as one does when treading water, pursuing [481]
their avocation. Each man had a kind of lifebuoy, made of several large joints of bamboo, from which he received partial support, and to which also his various fishing-lines were attached. These he drew up, from time to time, and deposited the spoil, if any, in the basket slung over his shoulders. Such is the rugged and dangerous [133]
nature of the coast, that it is only on very rare [501]
occasions that canoes can be launched for fishing purposes, and therefore the mode described above is regularly practised. The fishermen appeared to 797
be at perfect ease in the briny element; and, as 504
our boat passed along, they tendered us the usual [226]
salute, and then, hauling up their lines, they swam toward the shore to assist in the dangerous process of our own landing. We were directed, by natives waiting on the rocks for our arrival, to a spot where there was a narrow but flat ledge, to which our crew pulled straight ahead. When within a few yards of the shore, a number of men sprang into

[Niua Foöu]

797 the water, each of whom seized the gunwale of the
504 boat, guiding it stem on toward the bluff rock before us. The sailors meanwhile "feathered" their oars, and were prepared to "back water," in case the swell should carry the boat forward with too great velocity, in which event it would either have been instantly smashed upon the rocks, or overset by the rebound of the sea. Thus, poised upon the top of the swell, we each watched when the boat rose level with the ledge of rock, and at a favourable moment sprang upon the shore. The operation involved the certainty of a ducking, if not something worse, in the event of a false or short jump, and of broken shins or knees, in case of landing too heavily. With the exception of some of our goods getting wet, no misfortune attended our landing. We found that preparations had been
797 made for carrying us to the chief town, about four
[494] miles distant, and knowing how much labour of
[493] another kind was before us, we reluctantly consented to the proposal, only descending from the rude palanquin or hammock to walk, where the road was excessively steep, or was too narrow to admit of safe progress, excepting in single file. Certain parts of the road we took skirted the top of tre-
[133] mendous precipices descending to the lake lying in the centre of the island. At these points it required some nerve to look without giddiness on the grand scene below us, and to pass on in safety. We need not, however, dwell upon the natural features of the island, these having been already described in former pages.*

A round of ministerial duties, such as we had already discharged at Niua Tobutabu, gave us full

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* See pages 82–88.

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[Niua Foöu]

occupation here also. The population, however, 797
on this island is much larger than that of Niua Tobutabu, and the church numbered about five hundred members. The teachers seemed a very united, hearty, and enlightened set of men; and they evidently possessed the affections of the chiefs and people. There were on this island six chapels, with schools connected therewith. The entire population having been Christian for about twelve years, considerable progress had been made in Scripture knowledge, and in the elementary arts of reading and writing. Mr. Davis and myself were greatly pleased with what we saw and heard, and were truly sorry that longer time could not be spent in ministering to the people the word of life. We should also have liked very much to explore the wonders of this remarkable island; but with the Mission ship beating off and on the coast, awaiting our re-embarkation, and with all the uncertainties of wind and weather, we were compelled reluctantly to hurry away. With even greater difficulty than that which attended our landing, we leaped from the rocks into the boat, which, in addition to carrying ourselves and a teacher's family, was also well laden with gifts for the Mission from the people on shore.

Once again on board, we bore away for Uvea, 000
with no small anxiety as to what might be the condition of affairs on that unhappy island, and what might be the character of our own reception. We had been apprised, before leaving Tonga, of the continuance of the war against the Protestants; and, not knowing what exigencies might arise, in his intercourse with the heathen, Captain Buck occupied the time, during the voyage from Niua

During their continued residence in Vavau, great 167
numbers of the Uveans died. They seemed very susceptible to the influence of any contagious disease. Probably the great hardships many of them had endured, together with the depressing thought that they were strangers in a strange land, predisposed them to sickness, and made them more easily sink under it when seized. No doubt the remnant of the people will ultimately return to their own land; and we may hope that the mission of Protestantism has not yet been finally disposed of. Since the event we have narrated took place, Uvea 000
has been made the head-quarters of a Romish Polynesian Bishopric, and from thence its emissaries have been sent forth, to various parts of the Pacific, in the wake of Protestant pioneers. Let us trust that this shall only be for a time, and that the light and comfort of a purer faith will yet bless the poor deluded Uveans.*

With these reminiscences we must now take 128
farewell of Vavau and its adjacent northerly islands: 797
and, before carrying our readers to the island of Tongatabu in the south, where the next four years of our life were spent amongst a mixed population of Christians and heathens, we must briefly allude to the mythology and customs of the latter, so that our readers may be better able to form an estimate of what had already been accomplished by the Gospel, in the course of twenty-two years, and to appreciate to the full extent the still greater, because complete, triumph shortly to be witnessed.

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* Since the above was written, a proposal has been made to resume the Uvean Mission, by the Wesleyan Conference of Australasia; but whether this is owing to the return of the expatriated chiefs and people, the writer is not aware.

bidden sugar-cane; upon which the Fijians told 754
him that he was a doomed man, and should not 763
long survive his offence. He laughed at their fears, and had never thought of it again, until he was reminded of it by a Fijian woman, one of the attendants who had accompanied him from Fiji, and who firmly believed that his sickness and death were solely attributable to that cause. Netani himself had no such opinion, and died a very peaceful and happy death, trusting in his Saviour; but it was evident that many around him thought otherwise; thought, in fact, that he had been prayed to death by the heathen.

It cannot be cause of surprise that the dread of 754
sorcery, and especially the fear of the power of the 171
priesthood to pray people secretly to death, should have obtained such complete dominion over the native mind, when we remember, how by Papal fulminations, and paper interdicts and excommunications, the Church of Rome exerted her authority, in olden times, even in enlightened Europe. By the bugbear of a Papal anathema, whole kingdoms were thrown into a state of distress and panic, scarcely conceivable in modern times.

We have seen, however, by what took place in 771
Vavau on the introduction of Christianity, how 177
much the priestly craft, and the whole system of
lies which it propagated and sustained, depended 797
upon the countenance of the civil powers. No sooner was their protection withdrawn, than the whole fabric of heathenism collapsed and crumbled into ruin. It had no deep-seated and inherent vitality of its own, which could enable it to maintain its authority as a purely religious system. When left by the political power to its own re-

771 177 797 sources, it fell at once, like Dagon before the ark of God. Hence the cause, in a secondary sense, of the rapid spread of the Gospel throughout the whole of these islands. And, although, as we shall shortly have reason to show, heathenism made a stand for years in Tongatabu, yet that was owing to political conditions, and not because of any inherent strength in heathenism itself.

565 [642] The political constitution of the country was that of a monarchical despotism, supported by an hereditary aristocracy. The ranks of society, besides the priestly orders, were well defined, and fixed as unalterably as the castes of India. The grades were these:—the *Hau*, or families of the blood royal; the *Houeiki*, or chieftain orders; the *Muas*, or gentry; the *Matabules*, or official attendants and companions of the higher classes; and the *Tuas*, or common people. Certain subdivisions [463] [428] were also recognised under each of these orders, and professional employments were strictly hereditary; such as those of carpenters, fishermen, undertakers, doctors, &c., &c.

565 562 [428] [611] Rank was hereditary, and descended chiefly through the females; who sometimes, although rarely, held the reins of government in their own right. Hence the women of Tonga were never oppressed and burdened, as in many heathen lands. On the contrary, the females of these islands were kindly and considerately treated, and we might almost say they were idolized by the sterner sex.

562 611 174 831 It must, however, be observed, that the succession of rank through the mother originated, probably, in the great licence existing between the sexes. If it were difficult to designate the father of a child with certainty, no doubt could exist with re-

565 place himself in a more elevated position, condign
554 punishment would be the result; in some instances,
784 death itself was the penalty. When journeying, the commoner was required to sit down by the roadside while his superior passed; and, if he were carrying a burden, he must make a *détour* from the road, while, at the same time lowering the burden from his shoulder, he carried it along with every mark of humility.

One of these numerous enactments of barbarous
565 etiquette, led to a ludicrous scene in the early years
554 of the Mission in Lifuka. When the first chapel
177 was built and opened, a pulpit was of course indis-
797 pensable for the occasion. Little did the officiating Missionary think how gravely he was trenching upon sovereign rights, when he ascended the place prepared. Taufa-ahau saw the elevation of the minister with dismay. It would never do for a foreigner, even though he were a Missionary, to violate thus publicly the rules of Tonguese propriety; and so, to meet the difficulty, the king ordered his carpenters to prepare him a pulpit of still loftier elevation, to be placed opposite that of the Missionary, in which he might sit and hear the word of God without any disparagement of his dignity, in the presence of his people. Great, therefore, was the Missionary's astonishment when, on the following Sabbath day, he was confronted by the pulpit of the king, and saw his majesty looking down upon him with a mingled look of drollery and haughty superiority. This he continued to do, until convinced that no intention existed of lowering his authority, and that the pulpit was a necessary and usual part of buildings devoted to the public worship of God.

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CHAPTER XI.

000 **Commencement of Tongan Mission—Revolutionary War—Murder of Tukuaho—Massacre of three Missionaries—Abandonment of the Mission—Recommencement in 1822—Success of Tahitian Teachers—Arrival of English Missionaries—Difficulties in Hihifo—Progress at Nukualofa—The First happy death—Advance of the Mission—War in Tonga in 1837—Renewed outbreak of hostilities—Danger to the Missionaries—English intervention—Death of Captain Croker—Temporary suspension of the Mission—Renewal of peace—Further progress of the Gospel—Landing of French Priests—Political intrigues—Division of Mission Stations.**

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In 1797, twenty years after the second visit of Captain Cook to Tongatabu, the first Christian Missionaries effected a landing on the western coast of the island, under the sanction and direction of the London Missionary Society. None of the party were ordained ministers; but, as reputedly pious and skilled artisans, they were intended to prepare the way for the establishment of an accredited ministry and an organized church. They were conveyed from Tahiti in the Missionary ship, "Duff," to their destination in Tonga; where, for a time, they received partial countenance and protection from a few of the leading chiefs, under whom they had placed themselves. They do not appear to have succeeded in making any marked impression, of a religious kind, upon the native mind. And yet it would be wrong to suppose that no good results whatever had followed their efforts. They had made no converts, it is true; but no good men of faith and prayer could go out and in for

three years, before a barbarous people, as they did, 175
worshipping and serving God, without communi- 797
cating some Divine light and power to those
around. To say the very least, the spirit of in-
quiry would be awakened, and even that would
endanger the prolonged existence of Heathenism.
These men had opportunities for witnessing certain
horrible features in the refined savage life of the
Tonguese, which, happily, the Missionaries, who
arrived in later times, did not see; owing to the
rapidity with which the light of Christian truth
spread, rendering the perpetration of these former
crimes impracticable. They were cast also upon evil 175
times, as to the political condition of the island. A 797
bloody revolutionary war, then in progress, unfitted 669
the people for yielding much regard to spiritual
instructions: and this state of things involved,
at length, the massacre of some of their number,
the ultimate removal of the survivors, and the con-
sequent abandonment of the enterprise they had
undertaken with so much zeal and self-devotion.

Upon the death of Mumui, who was the reigning 175
chief of the islands when these men arrived in 797
Tonga, Tukuaho, the grandfather of the present 643
King George, succeeded to power. Although a
man of cruel disposition, he nevertheless continued
his protection to the Missionaries, until they them-
selves determined upon separating, so as to localize
themselves in different parts of the island; think-
ing in this way to secure greater personal safety,
and a wider influence over the people. Tukuaho, 175
in the mean time, held the reins of government in 643
the most despotic manner. He wielded his absolute
power in the perpetration of various acts of tyranny
and oppression, by which a spirit of dissatisfaction

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175 was roused among the people at large. He pur-
643 sued a similar course, also, to the higher class of
his subjects; until his impolitic and despotic pro-
175 ceedings led to an organised insurrection, and,
643 finally, to a complete revolution in all parts of his
669 dominions. The leader of this rebellion was Tubou-
Niua. The murder of Tukuaho was planned and
[682] executed under the eye, and by the hand, of this
daring insurgent; and it proved to be the signal
for a war that was carried on, for a considerable
period, with great ferocity and varying success.

175 Early in the course of this contest and political
confusion, three of the Missionary pioneers, brought
797 by the "Duff," were barbarously murdered; and
669 the others, after being plundered of their property,
saved themselves by flight to the western district
of the island, from whence they were at length
removed to New South Wales, by the captain of a
merchantman, who touched at Tonga, on his voy-
age from the Society Islands to Port Jackson.

Nothing further was attempted from the year
797 1800 to the year 1822, in the way of Christian
effort on behalf of the Tonguese. The door that
had seemed to open, closed again in darkness and
blood; but the fact that several of the chiefs went
on board the vessel, in which the remaining Mis-
sionaries departed, for the purpose of respectfully
taking leave of them, seems to show that some good
impressions had been made; and that the self-
denying labours of these men had commanded the
respect, if not the belief and love, of a few among a
proud and deceitful people.

In the Stations of the Wesleyan Missionaries, as
fixed in the Conference held in London, August,
1822, the following entry occurs, under the head of

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South Sea Misssions:—"Friendly Islands, Two to be sent." The abundant encouragement experienced in the wonderful and rapid successes of the Tahitian Mission, after many years of sorrowful and apparently unproductive toil, had, about this time, thrown new energy into all Missionary undertakings; and had drawn renewed attention to the numerous islands of the Pacific, as a fair and promising field for effort. Some considerable delay, however, occurred, before the two Missionaries, proposed to be sent to the Friendly Islands, actually departed on their Mission; but still the proposal showed that the church was prepared for any opening that might present itself.

In the mean time, the subject of resuming the Tonguese Mission had been seriously and prayerfully considered, by a few of the Missionaries and leading lay-friends of the cause, in New South Wales. After a full consideration of the whole case, it was resolved to try what could be done. Leave was accordingly granted, by the District Meeting, to the Rev. Walter Lawry, to proceed to Tongatabu. A ship was chartered, chiefly at his own expense, to convey himself and family to the island, where he arrived on August 16th, 1822; about the time when the Conference in London was entertaining the very question of sending Missionaries thither. Mr. Lawry's residence terminated in the latter end of 1823, domestic circumstances necessitating his removal. During his short sojourn, he had received much kindness from the chiefs of Mua, where he had located himself; but, he had also seen and felt sufficient to prove that, with it all, there was a large mixture of the characteristic covetousness and treachery of

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797 the people. There is no doubt that he was sometimes placed in considerable peril; but the natives were evidently more disposed to tolerate the presence of the Missionary, and to receive his teaching, than ever they had been before. A little more light was certainly shed upon the prevailing and dense darkness; but no instance of conversion yet gladdened the heart of the Christian labourer.

For two years the people were again left under the undisputed reign of heathenism. About this time, however, Christian evangelists appeared in Tonga, from a very unexpected quarter, whose humble efforts were designed, by the Great Head of the Church, to begin a new and memorable era in the history of this people. Two Christian natives from the island of Tahiti landed upon the shores of the Friendly Islands, and took up their abode in the town of Nukualofa, where they immediately began to preach the Gospel to all who were willing to listen. They spoke in a tongue of which but little could be known by the Tonguese, and therefore theirs was but a feeble and most imperfect mode of imparting religious knowledge; yet the labours of these simple-hearted but earnest men were honoured of God. As the result of their influence and teaching, a place of worship was soon erected, where nearly three hundred persons regularly assembled, to take part in Christian service. (643) What was still more strange, the king, Tubou, himself gave his countenance and personal support to the teachers and their work.

While this movement was progressing in Nukualofa, the two Missionaries, proposed to be sent to Tonga in 1822 by the London Wesleyan Conference, arrived there in the month of June, 1826.

These were the Rev. Messrs. John Thomas and John Hutchinson. They did not think proper to occupy the site of Mr. Lawry's attempt, nor did they choose to make common cause with the Tahitian teachers. They fixed their station at Hihifo, where they erected a substantial wooden house, and began immediately the study of the language, simultaneously with the instruction of the people.

So great, however, was the opposition encountered, that a further abandonment of the Mission, as a hopeless enterprise, was for a time seriously contemplated. But the friends of the Mission in New South Wales, who greatly deprecated such a step, despatched a deputation to the islands, to investigate the real state of affairs. The result of their visit of inquiry was the appointment of additional Missionaries in 1828; when the Rev. Messrs. Nathaniel Turner and William Cross proceeded to Nukualofa, and entered upon the labours already so successfully inaugurated by the Tahitian teachers. Here the most cheering results followed the efforts of these Missionaries; while Mr. Thomas, struggling bravely against native indifference, and avowed and fierce opposition, was, at length, compelled to remove, very reluctantly, from Hihifo, and transfer his labours to the Haabai group, where a most wonderful opening for usefulness presented itself early in the year 1830, of which we shall have more to say when we come to speak of those islands. Mr. Thomas, however, did not labour in vain, even in Hihifo. He had been the means of instructing several of the children of the principal chiefs in the art of reading and writing; and, although the dread of the chief, Ata, prevented the people from making any open advances toward

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Christianity, there were no doubt many whose minds were made up to do so, from conviction, as soon as Ata's approbation would insure their personal safety. Even as it was, there were a few young men, headed by an afflicted son of the chief, who often met, in comparative secrecy, to sing and pray; and, when at length their leader, Lolohea, died, there was every reason to believe that he was the first of many thousands of Tonguese converts who have since died in the Lord, and have entered into the heavenly rest.

In the mean time, from 1827 to 1830, marvellous progress had been made in Christianizing the Nukualofa or central district of the island. Messrs. Turner and Cross, stationed there, were men possessed of no ordinary strength of mind; while, at the same time, they were full of Christian faith and zeal. Although they did build upon a foundation laid by other men, and these men natives of Tahiti, yet they made full proof of their ministry, and the fair fabric of a Christian church rose rapidly under their active and able labours. Village after village was successively visited, where schools were organized, and preaching services established; and from the Nukualofa department of the Mission, the influence of the Christian religion spread itself to all the other groups of islands. Such, indeed, were the results now unfolding themselves in favour of the Mission, that special resolutions were adopted, at a meeting of the Missionary Committee, held in London, October 7th, 1829, in which it was determined immediately, and largely, to reinforce the staff of Missionaries, and to send out the necessary requisites for a printing establishment. These proposals were shortly carried into effect, with the

happiest results; as will be seen by the following 797
statistics, which show the rapid advances made from 1831 to 1834:—

Tonga	1829	Number of church members	31
	1830		72
Tonga and Haabai	1831		516
Tonga, Haabai, and Vavau	1832		1422
	1833		3456
	1834		7451
Total number of scholars attending the schools in 1834			7241

In these large numbers, however, Tonga itself 797
had but a small share. The heathen districts of 798
Hihifo, Houma, Bea, and Mua, forming by far the most extensive and important portion of the island, remained firm in opposing the Gospel. Many of the chiefs, indeed, had determined to adopt measures by which the further spread of Christianity might be prevented; and some of them hoped that it might even be rooted out. For the accomplishment of this work, they made preparations to wage war against the Christians, and to depose the king, Josiah Tubou. The island was kept in a very unsettled state during 1835-6 by warlike rumours of various kinds; and, in 1837, actual hostilities broke out. As the heathen party far outnumbered that of the king and his Christian subjects, he followed the previous example of Ulukalala, in Vavau, by summoning to his aid King George, of Haabai; through whose alliance and assistance the contest was brought to a speedy and successful conclusion. The Heathen were discomfited; and the peace which ensued was ratified by an interchange of presents, according to Tonguese custom, between the King of Haabai, and the various Heathen chieftains of Tonga. The results of this war were

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797 not great, as to any progress made amongst the
798 heathen population. Indeed, it was never prose-
669 cuted with the idea of converting them by physical force. They were rebel offenders against royal law and order; and, when they had submitted to these, the object of the contest was accomplished. Nevertheless, it was overruled for some good purposes, beyond those of a merely political kind.
797 The Mission premises at Hihifo, after a suspension of operations there, extending over eight years, were allowed to be re-occupied by the Rev. Stephen Rabone; who had the happiness of seeing many of the heathen converted under his ministry. Among these were some chiefs of note, whose example went far to shake the remaining confidence of the people in the waning deities and heathen practices of the country.

797 The peace of Tonga did not last very long. In
798 the beginning of 1840 a war, more fierce and determined than the former, commenced, and
669 continued over a period of eight months. The principal heathen actors in this new attempt to overthrow the authority of Tubou, and to overpower the Christian party, were the chiefs of Hihifo and Bea. The latter directed the brunt of their rage against Nukualofa, and the former against the small fortified settlement of the Christians at Foui, about a mile from the chief town of Hihifo. We gather the following particulars of the origin and progress of this war, from the letters of the Missionaries then resident upon the island, the Rev. Messrs. Charles Tucker, and Stephen Rabone.

[721] On the 14th of January, the heathen, under the chief Ata, of Hihifo, murdered four of the Chris-

tians belonging to a small fortified village near 797
Nukualofa. These persons were at work in their 798
fields when the heathen fell upon them. They 669
also attacked a little girl, whom they left for dead; 721
but she afterwards recovered from the effects of the wounds inflicted. This horrible act was perpetrated whilst King Josiah Tubou was on a friendly visit to the chief of Hihifo. He had gone thither, in fact, to persuade Ata to become a Christian, and to attempt the creation of a kindlier feeling between the Christian and heathen people there. There can be no doubt that the murder was committed, at that particular time, with the design of preventing the good effects that might have followed these peaceful endeavours. Abraham Vakajiuola, the king's brother, upon hearing what had happened, started for Hihifo, accompanied by a large party of armed men, who brought the king away in safety. Ata and his people of Hihifo and the neighbourhood then flew to arms against the Christians of Foui, and would not be persuaded by the entreaties of the old king to desist. The course adopted by Ata was quickly followed by all the other heathens of Tonga, and a general war upon the Christians was determined on.

The old king felt himself personally unequal to 797
meet the emergency, and, as in the war of 1837, 798
he now again sought for support and succour from 669
his old friend, and tributary sovereign, King George, of Haabai and Haafuluhao. King George arrived in Tonga just in time to thwart the well-concocted plans which the heathen had laid for the destruction of Foui. The two kings sent messengers to Ata, to know if a visit from them would be agreeable, and, if possible, to make up the breach

797 798 669 between the two parties. For a time he gave evasive answers to the repeated messages sent; but at length consented to receive the friendly overtures of King George, who immediately prepared to enter Hihifo on his peace mission. It was discovered, however, that the whole thing was a villainous trap. The heathen had taken measures to secure the murder of King George immediately upon his entering the fort. Of this purpose, the chief, Ata himself, made confession. Of course, under such circumstances, all idea of temporizing with the heathen, any further, was abandoned. The place was closely invested, and, through the skilful tactics of the besiegers, the heathen, at last, surrendered at discretion. Five hundred prisoners were taken; but instead of former barbarities being practised upon them, they were all pardoned by the king, who had previously issued orders to his warriors to refrain from shedding blood while taking possession of the place.

797 The result of this contest was the return of Ata and his people to their accustomed allegiance to Tubou. The whole place was also thrown open once more to Christian effort, and this issued, very shortly, in the entire abandonment of heathenism, in Hihifo and the villages in its immediate vicinity.

797 798 669 The scene of civil conflict was now shifted to Nukualofa, against which the combined heathen forces from Houma and Bea were directed. They had already formed a plan of attack, but the fall of Hihifo deterred them, for a time, from any active movements. By the urgent request of King Josiah Tubou, and the loyal chiefs, King George remained at Nukualofa with about nine hundred of his men, in readiness for any emergency that might arise.

On the 20th of April, the heathen assumed the 797
position of aggressors by attacking a canoe belong- 798
ing to Nukualofa. They took five prisoners, whom 669
they carried off to Bea; but, after merely threatening the remainder of the unarmed Christians with death, they suffered them to depart. Five days later, a United States' ship of war arrived, commanded by Commodore Wilkes, whose squadron of four vessels was then engaged in an extensive exploring expedition under the auspices of the American Government. The Missionaries had an interview with him, in which they related all that they knew about the state of Tonguese affairs. On that very day, however, a fatal encounter occurred between a heathen fighting party from Houma and the Hihifo people. The former fired unexpectedly upon the latter, and wounded five or six of their number. A sharp skirmish followed, in which six of the Houmans were killed. They then fled, although they far outnumbered the Hihifo party.

An ill-arranged and fruitless attempt was made 797
by Commodore Wilkes to bring the contending 798
forces to peaceful terms. He seems to have acted 648
upon the supposition that the heathen were the 669
aggrieved and injured individuals; and when he found that these both duped him and robbed him, notwithstanding his good opinion of them, instead of manfully acknowledging that the representations made by the Missionaries were true, he left the islands in anger; and in evident chagrin at being outwitted and laughed at by the heathen, he published opinions concerning the Missionaries of a damaging character, which had no foundation in justice or truth.

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797 Soon after the departure of the American com-
798 modore, further aggressive acts on the part of the
669 heathen followed. The Missionaries were kept in
a state of constant alarm and danger, from the 12th
648 of May until June 21st. Various fatal encounters, between the rebels and the loyalists, took place on a small scale during that interval of time, all of which tended to embitter the animosity of the combatants. On the latter date, H.M.S. "Favourite," commanded by Captain Croker, arrived. He had received a letter from the Rev. Mr. Thomas, while at Vavau, requesting his amicable interposition, to arrest, if possible, the further progress of the war. Upon landing, therefore, at Nukualofa, he immediately intimated to the allied kings his readiness to do anything he possibly could to terminate the war. Such, however, was the state of affairs, that the two Missionaries addressed the following letter to the captain, which, in itself, will best explain the exposed and dangerous position in which they and their families were placed.

"NUKUALOFA, TONGATABU, *June 22nd*, 1840.
To Captain Croker, of H.B.M.S. 'Favourite.'

"SIR,

"WE, the undersigned, being Missionaries labouring under the auspices of the Wesleyan Missionary Society in this island, gratefully hail your visit here at this critical juncture as a gracious interposition of Divine Providence, and earnestly implore, as British subjects and Christian Missionaries, your protection and assistance in behalf of ourselves and families.

"In consequence of the civil war which is now

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raging on this island, our lives and property are in great danger day and night. Our premises stand outside of the fort, and are, consequently, comparatively unprotected; and we have no means at our command of removing to a place of safety; the fort being far too small to contain all the Christians who have run thither from the different villages and out-stations to save their lives.

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"The heathen have tried to fix on a plan to take Nukualofa by storm; but have been mercifully prevented. They have repeatedly made incursions, both by day and night, to within a short distance of this place. On Thursday last, they killed four aged men from here, within about two miles of our premises, and mangled their bodies by cutting off their heads and carrying them away as trophies to their fort. We heard the alarm, and also that they were chasing others of the Christian party towards this place. Knowing our defenceless condition at the time,—King George, with nearly all the people, being twelve miles off in another direction,—we knew not where to run for safety; but thought it not prudent to risk our lives, and those of our families, by remaining in our houses where we were. We, consequently, had to abandon the premises, with all our property, and the property of the Mission; but, providentially, the rebels retired, after coming within a short distance of our town.

"The Kings Josiah and George, with their people, are alarmed about our safety; and Josiah himself, with a few old men, kept watch at our gates on Wednesday night last, while King George and the people were away.

"There are three fortresses in rebellion against

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797 the king and government of this island, counting
798 about 1,400 men. The Christian party number
669 800 men:* and whenever King George and the
648 people go out against one fortress, we and the few
left here are exposed to the rage and murderous intentions of the other two. It has been at such times that the rebels have latterly committed depredations, coming on several occasions very near our premises. We cannot depend upon the natives keeping regular watch, and often fear, when lying down at night, lest our dwellings should be burnt, and ourselves murdered, before morning. We have no means at our command of removing our families and property either to Haabai or Vavau or any other place for the time being. In these painful circumstances we cast ourselves under the shield of British protection, earnestly begging you, as the representative of Her Majesty Queen Victoria, whose subjects we are, to assist us in the removal of our families to some place of safety.

(Signed) CHARLES TUCKER,
STEPHEN RABONE."

After receiving this letter, and promising the protection claimed, Captain Croker, by the request of the allied kings, undertook to act as mediator between them and the rebels, the conditions of peace being drawn up by him, and approved of by the two kings.

Captain Croker then prepared to visit the rebel

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* If this number be correctly stated, then many of King George's warriors must have returned to Haabai and Vavau subsequently to the capture of Hihifo, as he was before stated to have remained in Nukualofa with nine hundred of his own men, in addition to those under King Josiah.

fort of Bea. But, no doubt, considering the 797
treacherous character of the people, he thought it 798
right to land his guns, and to take an armed force 669
with him. The fortress stood four miles inland, 648
and was a strongly defended place. Having carried his guns very near the fort, he forwarded the conditions of peace; and a signal of approval being given, he was admitted into the fort, when he had an interview with the chiefs. They expressed themselves favourably inclined to his overtures of peace, but wished for time to consider the subject, and to ascertain the minds of the chiefs of the other forts. But before any message could reach any of the other forts, Captain Croker ordered his guns to be drawn within musket-shot of the fortress, contrary to the expostulations of some of his own subordinates, and then, heading the sailors, sword in hand, he said, "Now, blue-jackets, follow me." They did so, but the consequences were disastrous in the extreme. The captain was shot dead upon the spot, and eighteen of his men were severely wounded. The reason of this rash act could never be ascertained; and the English sailors and marines had to retire in disgrace from before the enemy, through the unaccountable conduct of their unfortunate commander.

Immediately after the funeral of Captain Croker, 797
the Missionaries considered it essential for their 798
safety to remove for a time to the island of Vavau, 669
to which place they were conveyed in the ship of war. A sifting examination of the whole transactions satisfied the Missionary Executive, and also Sir George Gipps, the representative of the British Government in New South Wales, that throughout the whole course of these painful events, the Mis-

797 sionaries were fully exonerated from all blame, and
798 that they had always acted in perfect accordance
669 with their high vocation as ministers of the Gospel
of peace and goodwill toward men. It was also proved beyond all disputation that the kings and Christian chiefs had uniformly acted on the principle of forbearance, while desiring as far as possible to find a peaceable mode of settling the quarrel which the heathen had first begun.

Three weeks after Messrs. Tucker and Rabone had left Tongatabu, the former returned to that island, accompanied by the Rev. John Thomas, and effected a visitation of the different heathen fortresses. The result was a happy cessation of open hostilities; after which the suspended work of the Mission was resumed, with greater prospects of success than ever. A few, but still a very few, of the heathen renounced idolatry at the termination of the war. The principal chiefs at Houma, Bea, and Mua, remained firm in their opposition to Christianity, and so also did most of their people. But for several years after the peace that opposition did not assume its former aspects of persecution, and desire for war, against the loyal and Christian party; and not, until, as we shall see presently in relating our own personal experiences, the evil counsels of Romish priests, and the expectation of foreign aid, urged on the heathen population to a fresh attempt at revolution.

797 Before and during the progress of the painful events related, the Missionaries witnessed many instances of clear conversion, and had reason to rejoice over not a few who died in the faith of Christ, exulting in the clear hope of a blessed immortality. There was abundant and satisfac-

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tory evidence of the sincere and active piety of many of the chiefs and people, even during the deplorable progress of the war; and when the evil effects of that period had subsided, the little churches grew apace both in secular and Divine knowledge. The re-establishment of the regular means of grace, and the public schools, soon wrought great changes, for the better, in the condition and character of the people.

After several unsuccessful attempts to obtain a footing on the Friendly Islands, under the proper sanction of the king or chiefs, a French Catholic priest effected a clandestine landing upon Tongatabu in the year 1842, and took up his residence at the heathen fortress of Bea. He was received there by a chief called Moeaki, and was shortly after joined by another priest, and by several Tonga men who had been converted to Romanism at Wallis's Island. Maafu, however, the principal chief of Bea, remained a heathen, and so did the greater part of his people. From Bea the Popish influence subsequently extended to the town of Mua, in the eastern district of the island, where eventually the spiritual chief, Tuitoga, professed Popery, as did also a few petty chiefs, and a comparatively small number of the people. Tugi, the ruling chief of the district, with a large majority of the inhabitants, remained heathens. It was evident that the priests were anxious to secure the interest, or, if possible, the conversion to Romanism, of all the chiefs known to be disaffected to the government of King Josiah: whilst their endeavours to counteract the success of the Missionaries in the island were unremitting. For this purpose, the priests itinerated, for a time, to the various places where the Missionaries were

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797 located, endeavouring to subvert the faith of the native converts. In the prosecution of this object, they resorted to every species of calumnious misrepresentation. They did not, however, so far as was known, succeed in leading astray by these means even one Protestant. The itinerant system was therefore abandoned; and their labours were then devoted more especially to Bea and Mua.

These operations of the Romanists were not confined to the exertions of the resident priests. Considerable excitement was produced at one time, by a report that a French bishop was on his passage to Tonga, for the purpose of turning all Tonga to the Church of Rome. And, at length, a vessel did arrive, having on board an ecclesiastic, said to be a bishop, with a number of attendants. On that occasion, every thing was done to make an impression upon the people, by pompous display, by denunciation of the Wesleyan Missionaries, and by threats and intimidation. The proceedings of the French at Tahiti were enlarged upon; and intimations were given that Tonga could not withstand the French. Considerable alarm was awakened, in the minds of the heathen population, by these proceedings and threats; and some of them began to consider whether it would not be better to submit, and become Papists, rather than subject themselves to the displeasure of the French, and be exposed to the fire of their guns. But still the disinclination, of even heathen minds, to accept a form of religion such as Popery offered, caused them to hesitate; and thus the grand attempt of the Romish emissaries failed, in the end, to bring any important accessions to their communion. They then saw that
[798] their strength, if any could be obtained, would lie

in secretly fanning and encouraging the spirit of 797
disaffection, which the termination of the war of 798
1840 had not removed, from the minds of several important heathen chiefs.

When, therefore, King Josiah died, in November, 797
1845, and King George, of Haabai and Haafuluhao, 643
was appointed, by the unanimous voice of both 798
heathen and Christian chiefs, as his lawful successor, the French priests shortly afterwards began, secretly at first, and then openly, to undermine and deny his authority. They first of all attempted to advance the claims of their principal convert, the Tuitoga, to the supreme government. They asserted his right not only among the natives, but to captains of merchantmen, and ships of war, belonging both to England and France; whilst they denounced King George as an ambitious usurper. No sooner, however, did the latter become acquainted with these facts, than he manned a few canoes, and sailed direct to Mua, where he publicly charged the priests with the offence, and where he also confronted the Tuitoga. The latter denied all participation in any attempt to advance himself to civil power; and declared further, that he had no right to it, nor did he wish it. Whether he was perfectly truthful and sincere, in these assertions, may well be doubted; but, nevertheless, his public disavowal of all claims, as opposed to those of the lawful sovereign, effectually prevented any further open attempts on the part of the priests, to be his advocates.

Foiled in this direction, the priests then made another move. They endeavoured to maintain that the several chiefs of Houma, Bea, and Mua, had a perfect right to govern their own towns and people,

797 independently of the general law of the land, and
643 irrespectively of the supreme authority of King
798 George. Thus, when any offenders against the
laws made their escape to either of those places,
[696] they were taken under the shelter of the priests
and heathen chiefs, and were not delivered up to the
officers of the king who were sent to arrest them.
Such was the state of affairs, existing from 1845 to
1850, between the king's government, and the
heathen and Roman Catholic portion of the people.
797 And, we have carefully stated these facts, because
798 they will serve to explain much that will appear in
connexion with the events transpiring during our
own Missionary labours in Tongatabu, from 1849 to
1853. It was impossible that such a course as that
pursued by the Romanists and heathens, could be followed long, without leading to painful and most dis-
[669] astrous consequences. These, indeed, soon ensued,
in the commencement of another civil war; which,
however, ended very differently to the wishes and
expectations of the French priests, who were its
chief instigators, and of the chiefs whom they had
misled.

797 From 1845 to 1849, several important advances were made in various directions, upon the heathen population of Mua; until, ultimately, Tugi, the chief of that town and district, consented to the residence of a Missionary there, who thus resumed a station that had not been so occupied, since the departure of the Rev. Walter Lawry, in 1823.

An extensive and well-conducted Institution was also established at Nukualofa, under the supervision of the Rev. Richard Amos, for the education and training of schoolmasters and Assistant Missionaries. The whole of the older Mission stations were prosperous, and their entire aspect most encouraging. New openings were likewise presenting themselves into heathen villages formerly closed against religious influences.

The Missionary stations of Tongatabu were adapted to its political divisions. During our residence, on the island, Mua was occupied by the Rev. George Daniel; whose labours extended to all the villages in the eastern part, including also the island of Eueiki. Nukualofa, and the central districts, were under the ministry and pastoral care of the Rev. Messrs. William Webb and Richard Amos; the former being succeeded, at his death, by the Rev. Thomas Adams. All the places included in the Nukualofa district, were nominally Christian, with the exception of the town and fortress of Bea. In that place, the principal chiefs remained heathens; although several French priests resided among them, who had gathered about two hundred adherents, and had built a very superior native place of Popish worship.

The station to which we removed from the Vavau islands, was that of Hihifo, or the western division of Tongatabu. Hihifo was the largest town, and Jefesi Ata the ruling chief of the district. The [103]
principal villages connected with the Mission residence at Hihifo, were Neiafu, Haatafu, Foui, Teekiu, Nukunuku, Matahau, Fahefa, Fatai, and the island of Atata. Houma was the only town in the Hihifo district still remaining heathen; but, there was no Popish element there, as was the case at Bea and Mua.

Hihifo had been a strongly-fortified place in [712]

797 former days, and was, consequently, surrounded by
[712] a deep trench or ditch, surmounted by earthworks;
which, since the war of 1840, had been allowed to
fall into dilapidation. Outside of the trench, and
near to one of the principal entrances into the town,
stood the Mission dwelling-house. It was flanked,
[137] on one side, by an artificial mound, overlooking the
trench, crowned by a single large orange tree, and,
on the other, by a magnificent cluster of weeping
iron-wood trees, reaching to a height of sixty or
seventy feet, and overhanging a small native
burial-ground. The rear, and further boundaries
[137] of the premises, were thickly set with cocoa-palms,
and other lofty tropical productions. The whole
locality had a peculiar air of stateliness and retirement,
as well as of unusual beauty. Indeed, the
house stood within about a hundred yards of the
[643] famous place called Bagai; where the various Tonguese
sovereigns had, in succession, undergone the
ceremony of their public inauguration to power.
The trees at Bagai are grand specimens of old forest
life; and, could they speak, would tell of many
strange changes in the personal history, and dynastic
fortunes, of those who had sat, in solemn conclave
and state, under their deep shadows.

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CHAPTER XII.

Conversion of Tugi—Attempts at his perversion—Resistance at Bea and Houma—Singular conversion of Hafoka—Strange sight at Neiafu Chapel—Armed interference from Houma—Christian settlement at Fatai—Death of Vaea—Political difficulties—Journal—Interview with Romish priest—War rumours—Visit to Houma and Bea—Declaration of war—Meeting of the Missionaries—Death of Mr. Webb—Narrow escape—Murder of a Female—Progress of the war—Proffer of mediation—Siege of Bea—Capitulation of Houma—Favourable results—A memorable service—The capture of Bea—Close of the war—Arrival of a French ship of war—Formal investigation—Acquittal of the Christian party—Peace and progress—A wreck at Hihifo—Californian gold-diggers—A boat trip to Haabai—Strange histories—Removal to the Haabai Islands. 000

As the design of these pages is not so much to dwell upon ordinary instances of individual conversion, as it is to present a broad view of the occurrences which affected the general condition of the Tonguese people, and by which heathenism was finally and everywhere destroyed in the country; we shall restrict our details of facts to such only as were peculiar in their character, and important in their bearing upon the public mind. 128

One who was thoroughly conversant with the state of the island in 1850, wrote officially from Vavau, in the following terms:—"A mighty move is going on. A better day seems to have dawned upon Tongatabu. Many have been the prayers which have been offered for that island, that Christianity might there become mighty to the supplanting of heathenism and the counteraction of the errors of Popery. Many who have desired to see these days, have died without the sight; and some 797

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797 others have been removed to different fields of labour. The east end of the island, where Satan has his stronghold, has at length begun to quake under the preaching of the Gospel; and all the heathen are convinced that theirs is a system of lies, which must soon wax old and vanish away."*

797 159 In this year, the conversion of Tugi, the son of Fatu, the chief of Mua, (with whom the Rev. W. Lawry formerly lived,) led to extensive results. The way had been preparing for these over a series of years. Successive Missionaries had sown precious seed, the fruit of which, in addition to that resulting from his own indefatigable labours, was reaped by the Rev. George Daniel.

Tugi, from his youth up, had been well-informed in regard to Gospel truth. He had been a reader of the Bible for many years, and was a man of great intelligence. For a long time he clung to heathenism, not because he had any real faith in its absurd teachings and priestcraft, but because he liked the unrestrained licence it afforded him, in common with others of his own age and class, for the gratification of pride and passion. At length, however, there appeared in his conduct a change, which showed that he was abandoning the system of his fathers. He was in the habit of attending to the preaching of the word; after which he frequently visited the Missionary to make inquiries, and would bear with patience the closest application of Scripture truth to himself. Perceiving all this, and knowing full well that if Tugi became a Christian, their cause would be ruined, the heathen party redoubled their attentions to him, and im-

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* Letter from the Rev. Peter Turner to the General Secretaries, London, dated June, 1850.

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plored him not to forsake them. A great struggle evidently was going on within his mind; and, for a while, it was doubtful how it would terminate. At times, he seemed determined to declare himself a Christian; and then again would appear drawn toward the heathen. At last the period of decision came. He had been observed by some of his attendants to leave his house, on several occasions, at the midnight hour; and, upon being followed, it was found that he went to the Christian place of worship, where, in the dark, and alone, he was in the habit of secretly bowing his knee to God, and pouring out his heart in prayer. This, of course, became known, and he then, throwing off all reserve or concealment, made a bold and resolute stand against heathenism. He was next assailed both by the heathen and the Popish priests; but his mind was made up, to embrace the Christian Protestant faith, in which course he was followed, at the same time, by above two hundred of his people. Most of these persons were already well informed on religious subjects, and had only been waiting for this occasion to give expression to an abandonment of idolatry. The Romish priest now waited upon Tugi, with many professions of love, and great concern for his welfare and safety. He did all in his power to dissuade him from destroying his own "happiness," and spoke, in no measured terms, of the sin and follies of Protestants and of Protestantism; but both the arts and the tears of the Jesuit were alike in vain. Tugi had fully counted the cost, and having read his Bible to good purpose, he now bade fair to be an important acquisition to the cause of God in Tongatabu. The almost immediate effect of his conversion was that

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797 [159] the whole of the eastern part of the island was thrown open to the free preaching of the Missionary, to the residence of native teachers, and for the establishment of Christian schools.

It was at first thought that the example of the Mua people would lead to the speedy overthrow of heathenism in its remaining strongholds of Bea and Houma: such, however, was not to be our happiness. Mr. Webb and Mr. Amos redoubled their visits to Bea, and had frequent interviews with the leading chiefs, Maafu and Lavaka. But although these men were still heathens, they were under the influence and evil guidance of the French priests, who dissuaded them from granting any permission to introduce Protestant preaching.

797 123 Houma also received additional attention from myself. I frequently visited its chief Vaea, and particularly pressed upon his notice the example of Tugi. His invariable reply was "Tugi has done well; but he is too great a chief for me to follow." Vaea always received my visits with courtesy, and would patiently listen to any conversation on religious subjects. He would not, however, grant permission for public preaching in his town, nor would he tolerate the residence of any Christian among his people. Still, jealous as he was, we were never molested while visiting the people at their own houses for religious conversation. Many of the heathen were also in the habit of attending some of the more popular feasts, held in connexion with the public examination of schools, in various places, on which occasions they must have received a considerable amount of religious information, while mingling with Christian relations and friends.

797 Not long after the heavy shock given to hea-

thenism by the conversion of Tugi, another conversion, from Houma, made a deep impression on the heathen mind. The subject of it, although a very respectable chief of the place, was not of such high station or influence as Tugi, yet his conversion greatly loosened the foundations of heathenism in Houma, and prepared the way for its overthrow. The writer has already embodied the remarkable history of this man's conversion, in a little work, to which the reader is referred for fuller particulars; but a brief outline of it will be necessary here to sustain the connexion of our narrative.* 797

Hafoka, the chief concerned, had been long known as a firm and persecuting opponent of the Christians in the neighbourhood of Houma; but, in the course of the year 1851, his mind was brought directly under the influence of the Divine Spirit, and without the advice or counsel of any human being, he was inwardly constrained to flee from Houma, leaving his wife, family, lands, and friends, with the determination of becoming a Christian. In the village of Neiafu he sought and found rest for his troubled soul, under the instruction of Samuela Moala, the head teacher, and chief of the place. He could not have fallen into better hands, for Moala was one of the choicest converts in the whole of Tonga; a man of prayer, "and full of faith and of the Holy Ghost." To him, Hafoka was distantly related, and from him he received an hospitable welcome, with daily entertainment, while alienated from his heathen family and people. Food, raiment, and lodging, were all supplied, 797 159 [798]

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* "Hafoka: a Missionary Tale of the South Sea Islands," p. 117. London: Mason. 1860. [113]

797 159 without any thought of either present or future remuneration. But, what was better still, Hafoka breathed in the atmosphere of a truly Christian family, where he could closely observe their mode of life day after day. Here he heard many Christian phrases and allusions, in ordinary conversation, to which he had never before listened, and which he could not understand, until he received explanations from his friend Moala, who was not slow to answer the inquiries of his visitor. At length, the Christian conversation of his new companions, and, above all, a few visits to the school of the village, where he had begun to learn his alphabet, although more than forty years of age, decided him to make a formal surrender of himself to God's people. The Sabbath day was at hand, when Hafoka resolved to enter the house of prayer, for the first time in his life, as an avowed worshipper of the living God.

797 346 Few of the numerous places of worship in Tongatabu could excel, or even equal, the little chaste and picturesque chapel at Neiafu. It stood in the midst of a dense mass of trees, some of which were of gigantic proportions, and all covered with the richest foliage. It had been recently built under our own inspection; and, shortly after it was opened for Divine worship, certain strange appearances in the interior of the building, made a deep impression on the minds of the people. I state the facts as they were related to myself, without venturing any opinion as to an explanation of the phenomena described.

797 346 781 A series of evening prayer-meetings was held in the chapel, not long after its dedication; and, on one such occasion, an aged couple were the first to approach the building, carrying with them, as

usual, their own lights. What, however, was their 797
great dismay, on perceiving, as they supposed, that 346
the interior of the building was on fire! They 781
raised an alarm, and, joined by several other persons, rushed into the building; which, strange to say, was found without any indications whatever of light or fire. Instant and vigorous search was made, but nothing could be discovered to explain the remarkable appearance. On several subsequent occasions, a similar light was witnessed, by many respectable and credible persons. After the fullest inquiry, and especially after the testimony borne by Samuel Moala, I could have no doubt of the reality of the phenomenon itself, however it may be explained or understood. It is most likely that it had a natural explanation; but, we need scarcely say, that the sight was regarded, by the natives themselves, as supernatural in the highest degree. We suggested that it might have been the clever freak of some one intending to alarm the coming worshippers, or that a number of fire-flies might have got into the building; but, those who had seen the appearance, scouted all such explanations as insufficient.

In this very place, the writer of these pages was 797
preaching, on the Sabbath morning on which 123
Hafoka crossed the threshold, knelt down in the 159
humblest attitude of prayer, and breathed out his desires to God; a heathen no longer, but a humble disciple of the Lord Jesus Christ. That sight was worth a life-time of Missionary toil and sacrifice. Many examples of the triumph of Gospel truth over heathen unbelief and prejudice, were afforded to all the Missionaries who have laboured in the Friendly Islands, and to ourselves among the number; but,

this case was surrounded with peculiar interest, 797
and its ultimate results were uncommon. Imme- 123
diately at the close of the service, I went to the 159
house of Moala, where the following conversation ensued between myself and the new believer :—

"Hafoka, I am very glad to see you here, and to find that you have resolved to abandon heathenism. But, tell me all about it. How is it you have come to this place?"

"It is true," replied he, "here I am; and I have come to be a Christian. I have been a wicked man. I have been a persecutor. But, now I have bowed the knee to Jehovah. I have forsaken all I possessed, so that I may serve God. I had many friends in Houma. My wife and children, lands and property, are there; but, I have forsaken them all, that I might come and worship God here!"

"Well," continued I, "what led you to leave 797
them, and so suddenly too?" 123

"I can scarcely tell you," was his reply. "For 787
weeks I heard, as it were, a voice within me, say- 159
ing, 'Hafoka, rise, and leave this place; go to the Christians.' Day and night that voice seemed to speak to me: I became very uneasy and unhappy. At length, I could bear it no longer; and resolved, if possible, to know what it meant. And, now, I understand it all: it was the voice of God; and I am sure that He has led me amongst this people. Once I was dead, but now I am a living man. I cannot return to heathenism; and, if my wife and children will not come to me, then I am even content to lose all for the sake of Jesus Christ."

In the mean time, the absence of Hafoka from 797
Houma, and then the discovered fact of his con- 159
version, created a great commotion among the

heathen. A council of chiefs was held, who determined, in the first instance, to send a friendly message, entreating his return. Hafoka's answer, however, was firm and decided. "Allow me," said he, "to practise my religion in Houma, and I will return at once. If this be not done, I will never go back. My love for you and for my family is as great as ever, and I fear to offend Vaea, and the other chiefs; but, unless I can return upon the conditions I have named, I will not go back." 797 159

Irritated by this firm answer, the ruling chief of Houma sent a party of armed men to take Hafoka by force from Neiafu. He, however, having received timely notice of their approach, made his escape into the bush, where he evaded the pursuers until the strength of their rage was past. After a little while he was left undisturbed; and, by diligent application, he improved rapidly in knowledge, and was soon able to read the holy Scriptures with tolerable fluency.

About this time, King George visited Hihifo, and I then brought Hafoka's conversion and circumstances under his notice, with a request that he would take some interest in his welfare. This resulted in Hafoka receiving a grant of land from the king, upon which he desired Hafoka to settle by himself, and there to await the coming of any of his own family, or his heathen friends, who might be willing to join him from Houma. After considerable hesitation, Hafoka accepted the king's offer. Having cleared a small portion of bush, and having erected a temporary hut, he waited in solitude for three weeks, at the end of which time, he was visited by his heathen wife from Houma, who had heard of his new location. Soon after that, other 797 159 423 643 797 159

797 relations, and former companions, forsook Houma,
159 and settled with Hafoka upon this new locality in
Fatai. Temporary houses were built, in one of
[794] which I preached the first sermon to a congregation
of eighteen persons, eight of whom were new
converts from heathenism. Before a year had
gone by, there were at Fatai thirty-five church
members, a good chapel, a school, and a resident
native teacher. There was also a fair prospect of a
regular accession of converts from Houma.

797 While this was going on, Vaea, the old Houman
chief, died. I visited him during his last sickness,
123 and was with him only a few hours before his
763 decease. I talked to him very faithfully about his
soul. As on many former occasions, so now, he
expressed his thanks for my visit and advice; but
he intimated his unalterable resolve to die as he
had lived, a heathen. But, notwithstanding this,
he called his children and friends around him,
after I had left, for the purpose of urging them to
live at peace with their Christian neighbours; and
he even advised them all to become Christians
themselves. Shortly after he had done this he
expired.

565 Another chief was installed with barbaric
honours, who assumed the title of his predecessor
without any consultation of the wishes of
the king. This new ruler became an easy tool in
[662] the hands of designing men, both in Houma and
Bea, in bidding defiance to the government of the
[669] king, and in the attempt which was finally made
to overthrow his power altogether.

798 Early in the year 1851, the fortress of Bea was
669 put into a state of warlike defence, without the
712 slightest provocation from any quarter. For
721

several months, stores of provision were accumulated, 798
and every opportunity was embraced by the 669
heathen for obtaining supplies of ammunition from 721
foreign vessels touching at the island. Information [712]
of these proceedings was sent to the king at 798
Haabai; and the governor, Junia Haumono, 669
requested his majesty's presence in Nukualofa. 643
Accordingly, the king removed his residence from 721
Lifuka to that place in July. This, however, did
not alter the conduct of the heathen and Roman
Catholic party. The king forbade, and then protested
against, the fortification of Bea and Houma;
but without avail. He also adopted various conciliatory
measures to maintain peace, but in other
respects remained perfectly passive and patient.
Toward the close of the year, many of the heathen 798
constantly carried arms. Overt acts of rebellion, 669
and seditious speeches, became common. The 721
most defiant language was used toward the Christian
loyalists, and we ourselves, the Missionaries,
were repeatedly insulted.

Attempts were again made by the Romanists to 797
complicate the affairs of the country; two instances 798
of which we may here relate. One of the sons of
the late King of Vavau, Ulukalala, having been [685]
banished to Tonga, on account of an act of incendiarism [682]
and intended murder, took up his residence
at Mua, where he received many attentions
from the resident French priest. Towards
the close of 1850, a canoe arrived at Mua from
Vavau, commanded by an old friend of Matekitoga,
(the late king's son,) on which occasion the priest
waited upon him with a proposal that he should
go off secretly in the canoe of his friend on its
return to Haafuluhao; and, further, that he should

797 be accompanied by a French priest, with whom he
798 should be put on shore on some one of the numerous out-islands surrounding Vavau. To all this Matekitoga agreed; but, as he could not carry out his purpose without the consent of the chief in command of the canoe, he went to him about midnight, and tried his utmost to persuade him to take him on board. The chief, however, would not listen, on any terms, to the jesuitical proposal, but sailed next day for Haabai, where he waited upon the king with information of the whole affair. A
643 few weeks afterwards, King George sailed, with his
798 principal chiefs, from Haabai to Mua. Having
797 sent for the priest, he was charged with the attempt to send back a banished criminal, and with stirring up rebellion against the king's authority, which charges were supported by the necessary proof. The king then handed the priest a copy of the harbour regulations, and laws of the country, stating that if these were violated, either by priests or any other foreigners residing in the islands, they would be dealt with according to the law.

In September, 1851, a Roman Catholic chief
797 arrived from Fiji, with a Frenchman, the lay
648 brother of a priest at Lakemba. This chief, whose name was Sovea, had been long expected in Tonga, in consequence of his frequent boastings at Fiji, that he would establish Popery in Nukualofa, his native place. He had more than once tried to reach Tonga, but the winds were adverse, and he was on each occasion compelled to return to Lakemba. At length his object was gained, so far as to reach Tonga in safety. On arriving, he did not go to the
[643] king, with the accustomed tribute of *kava*, or to
[651] do homage; but, he and the Frenchman attempted
[276]

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to unload the canoe at midnight, and stealthily to 797
effect a landing. A watch, however, was kept, and 648
just as the goods and bedding of the Frenchman 643 [651]
were coming on shore, the king himself interrupted [276]
the proceeding, and ordered both the offenders to appear before him in the morning. When they did so, the king forbad the residence of the Frenchman in Nukualofa; and he also told Sovea that, if he ever resided in the town, he should not be allowed to erect a Popish chapel. After this, the canoe sailed to Bea; from whence Sovea and the French lay-brother effected an entrance into Houma, where Vaea gave them a location.

We have now brought these general statements 128
to a point from which we may carry on the narrative, by transcribing a few extracts from our Missionary Journal. These will afford a sufficiently clear insight to the progress of events:—

Hihifo, Sunday, January 11th, 1852.—The re- 797
turn of my natal day. All glory be to God, who has preserved me hitherto from many dangers, in
these "ends of the earth." I rode to Nukunuku, [763]
and reached the teacher's house just as the cold hand of death was laid upon one of his children. Barnabas had, only recently, lost his wife, who died happy in the Lord; and, as the decease of this child was quite unexpected, it was a time of deep feeling and solemnity. After preaching there, I rode to Teekiu, where I preached again, and met the Society. I then rode home to Hihifo, in time to preach there also in the afternoon.

Monday, 12th.—Rode to Nukunuku, accompanied by Mr. Webb, where we interred the teacher's child. We then visited Fatai. Mr. Webb

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797 was greatly surprised to see the alteration made in this place, by the untiring efforts of its small but increasing population. There are now thirty-five [794] church members, out of about seventy residents, all of whom have forsaken Houma, and heathenism, during the last fifteen months. I arranged to-day for the order and work of their new school. Many of these people are beginning already to read the New Testament. I have no doubt that more of the Houma people will follow their example. There are many persons there whose attachment to Christianity is only kept secret from a fear of the chiefs; and, when these find that they can with safety leave Houma for Fatai, where houses and land will be provided for them, under the king's authority, they are not very likely to remain much longer where they are.

Tuesday, 13th.—Visited Matahau and Fahefa, to examine and arrange the schools. At both these places, I heard a good deal about the agitation among the heathen of Houma. I baptized two old [795] men, who recently came from thence, and who have given evidence of a sincere conversion from heathenism. They tell us that there are many desirous of [798] becoming Christians, but that the chiefs restrain them, by saying, "No, let us wait, and see what Bea does. If they (the Beans) fight, let us fight too."

Saturday, 17th.—A vessel hove in sight, bearing up for Nukualofa, which I at first hoped might be the Mission brig; but, in this we were disappointed. We hope the latter will not be long delayed, seeing we are now miserably short of all kinds of supplies for household use. About seven o'clock this even- [133] ing, we experienced one of the severest earthquakes

I have known in these islands. Every timber and 797
post of our house cracked and shook dreadfully; 133
while the roof and walls seemed likely to fall upon
us. Such would certainly have been the result,
with any other kind of structure than these flexible
native buildings of ours.

Monday, 19th.—Rode to Nukualofa. I left 797
Hihifo at three A.M., and reached Mr. Webb's
house shortly after sunrise, while the family were
at breakfast. In the course of the day we met
M. Caligno, the Romish priest at Bea. He told 797
us, in the presence of a good many people, that 798
the town of Bea was certainly preparing for war. 669
This statement led to a long discussion, or rather,
conversation, on this and other matters of grave
importance; from which it was quite plain that
M. Caligno vindicates the course taken by the Bea
chiefs. The whole conversation was in the Tonguese language, and was held in the presence of
a number of influential natives.

February 20th.—Rumours of disturbances, and of probable war, being on the increase, I had, for some time, determined to seize the first favourable opportunity for visiting the refractory chiefs of Houma and Bea, and of ascertaining the real position of affairs. I mentioned my intention to the king at Nukualofa, and to Ata, our chief here, who both gave me their approval. Certainly no means have been left untried by the king and his Christian chiefs, as well as by all the Missionaries, to calm the existing excitement, and to bear with the heathen and Papists, in their unreasonable and foolish rage.

This day, therefore, I went on my peaceful errand, accompanied by Tevita Hafoka, and Tevita Manu-

797 bagai. When about a mile distant from Houma, 798 we came suddenly upon a large body of armed men, 669 who were marching in single file along a path which crossed the main road a little in advance of our position. I immediately dismounted from my horse, and sat down, *à la* Tonga, between my two companions. In the mean time, the whole band of armed heathens disappeared among the surrounding thickets, leaving only two of their number, who seated themselves at a short distance from us. One of these was an old chief called Fohe, supposed to be more active than even Vaea himself in all the recent doings of the heathen party. After the usual salutations, I explained that we were on our way to Houma, for the purpose of visiting himself, and Vaea, in a friendly manner. He then informed us that Vaea, and himself, with all the principal men of Houma, were now going to the village of Vaotuu, where they were about to celebrate the marriage of Vaea's son; and if we wished an interview, we must follow them thither. This we did with pleasure, being glad to meet them in company with such a large number of the Houma people.

Upon reaching Vaotuu, Vaea received us in a house filled and surrounded by armed men. A considerable time was spent in close and plain conversation upon the state of affairs. It was very evident that Houma was committed to the support of the people of Bea, in the event of hostilities, and that there was no disposition to find a peaceful solution of existing difficulties. Vaea, in the course of our interview, said, "You see us armed, not that we are at war, or wish to fight, but because Tubou" (the hereditary name of the Tongan kings) "is angry with us, and because he is preparing to attack us. He wants to force us to become Christians; but sooner than that shall be, we will fight and die." To this assertion I thought it my duty to make the following reply:—"It is no business of mine to meddle with your political affairs; but I will say this, that King George does not, and never did, wish to compel you to become Christians: he leaves that to your own free choice. He only asks you to keep the general laws of the land, and to abide truthfully by your voluntary oaths of allegiance to his person and government. As the proof of what I say, you may go to the Christian towns all over the country, and you will not find one place fortified for war, or a single man carrying musket or club. Go and visit the king, as is your duty, submit to the laws, and desist from your warlike preparations and conduct, and I pledge my word that all will be well with you."

A Frenchman, a priest's lay brother from Bea, was present during the whole interview. He was the same man who came with Sovea from Fiji a short time ago, and he seemed to be here on no good errand. He was very anxious to enter into discussion with me, but I told him my sole business was with Vaca, and that having been accomplished, I must decline entering into controversy with him.*

My companion, Hafoka, also addressed the chiefs, but with no favourable effect. Indeed, some of the younger chiefs, as we afterwards learnt, were

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* This same individual subsequently went to Fiji, where he was taken with a painful and fatal malady, during the progress of which he was kindly attended, and nursed, by the Rev. R. B. Lyth.

797 inclined to set upon us as we departed from the
798 village; but they could not agree among them-
669 selves what should be done, and so we mercifully
escaped all bodily harm.

We then hastened forward to Bea, which place
[721] we found in a state of complete preparation for
[712] war: ditches cleared and deepened; earthworks
raised and surmounted by stockades and fencing; gateways strongly secured and fortified; and the people all in commotion. We went straight to the house of the chief Maafu. He received us courteously, and entered readily into conversation; but of course he threw all the responsibility of the war preparations upon King George and the loyal people. It was in vain we reasoned with him; and feeling quite assured that no good could come of further discussion, I begged him to meet the king personally if he really wished a peaceful adjustment of affairs: to which his answer was, that if the king chose to come to him, it would be well; but if not, things must just go on! From this it was clear that peace could not be maintained long, as it was not likely that the king would ever consent to visit Bea, or Houma, considering the various outrages upon his authority, of which these places had been guilty, and after the reported plots for his assassination there, at different periods, during the past three or four years.

On arriving in the evening at Nukualofa, I stated what had passed both to my Missionary brethren and to the king. Mr. Webb is making every effort to calm and restrain our own chiefs and people, as well as to bring the Beans to reason. Indeed, we are all doing everything in our power for that purpose.

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798 may, by their representations, secure the aid of
669 France to settle the dispute in their favour.

March 10th.—In the midst of the present excite-
797 ment and uncertainty, our Mission families have
798 been thrown more together of late in Nukualofa;
669 and it so happened that on this day, when we were
all assembled for mutual comfort and consultation, the Mission brig arrived from New Zealand, having on board a goodly band of Missionaries on their way to Fiji. We gave them as hearty a welcome as was possible under our peculiarly trying circumstances. It having been decided that the Annual District Meeting of the Missionaries should be held here, the brig will sail in a few days to Vavau and Haabai to bring our brethren on. We shall thus be better able to take counsel together, as to the course to be pursued, now that war is actually declared. All kinds of rumours are afloat, but no actual collision has yet taken place. Canoes are arriving from Haabai, and Vavau, bringing numbers of the king's fighting men.

797 Thursday, 18th.—My dear brother, Mr. Webb, having been taken seriously ill, I started from Hihifo before daybreak to visit him, and, on arrival, found him in great danger. The intense excitement, and harassing work of the last month or two, seem to have overwhelmed him.

Friday, 19th.—This morning we entertained some hope of our dear brother's recovery from the severe attack of inflammation with which he had been seized; but, as the day wore on, these hopes were doomed to fade away. The sufferer himself became conscious that his end was nigh. Stretching out his pale hand, and laying his finger upon his own pulse, he said, "Ah, William, the Lord

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is indeed bringing you low." He then desired Messrs. Watsford, Amos, and myself, to pray. Grief almost choked our utterances, but his responses were earnest and solemn. Prayer being concluded, he looked toward his weeping wife, the partner of his thirteen years of Missionary toils and trials, and then at his brethren, observing, as he did so, "You look as if you think I am dying. Is it so? Is this death?" He then broke out in prayer, sometimes in English, sometimes in the native tongue. His voice seemed to possess supernatural strength: all within the premises distinctly heard his powerful supplications. He prayed for his family, but most of all for the cause of God. The question of the impending war rested heavily upon his soul, and long and earnestly did he plead with God that its further progress might be arrested. At length, exhausted by the effort, he sank back upon his pillow, and remained silent for some time. When he again rallied, it was to exclaim, "I cannot see you now: my eyes are dim. Where are my children?" Mrs. Webb was standing by, and his two boys were immediately brought. He seemed to gaze long and wistfully at them both, but no tear was in his eye. The sorrow was too profound for even that. Kissing them, he charged them both to live for God, and told them that God would, in that case, be their Father and Friend.

In the mean time we had dispatched messages to summon the other members of the Mission families, —Mrs. West and children from Hihifo, and Mr. and Mrs. Daniel from Mua, to be present on the mournful occasion. In reference to this, Mr. Webb said to me, "Brother West, I should like the sacrament to be administered. Perhaps there is no time to lose, but I would rather wait, if possible, until all our Mission party be here, that we may partake of it together." So calm was his mind in the immediate presence of death, and in the midst of excruciating pain.

The shades of evening had begun to fall, when a large band of warriors, who had landed from canoes just come in from Vavau, set up the wild native war cry, while on their way to the presence of the king, firing as they went several volleys of blank cartridges. These sounds fell strangely upon our ears amid the solemnity and stillness of our dear brother's sick-room. He also was startled, and a shade of sorrow passed over his countenance, as he exclaimed, "Let me have the sacrament at once. There is no time to lose now. O God, prevent the war; prevent the war! These people are preparing to fight, whilst their Missionary is dying. Have mercy upon them! O Lord, have mercy upon them!" We then proceeded to fulfil our dying brother's request. Mr. Daniel had not yet arrived, but it was clear Mr. Webb was fast sinking. Solemnly and sadly the sacramental service was gone through, while a heavenly light seemed to burst upon the soul of the departing servant of Christ. "Ah," said he, "I have been making a mistake. I have been looking too low. Down here all is dark; but there, there, I see the gate of heaven. There all is light, and I shall enter there." A short time after this, he breathed his last, surrounded by his sorrowing family, and all his Missionary colleagues on the island. Our hearts are inexpressibly sad. A few days ago we were all rejoicing in the arrival of the Mission vessel, and none more cheerily than the one who

now lies still in death. What news for the brethren 797
when they return from Vavau and Haabai! Certainly,
what with the war, and this calamitous
visitation, we need Divine aid and counsel. May
we also be ready!

Sunday, 21st.—Arrangements having been made
for the interment of our dear brother's mortal
remains, these were borne to the chapel by a number
of the chiefs, who desired, in this way, to
testify their high respect, and love, for one whom
they had long known as a warm friend and faithful
minister. The King and Queen, with young Prince [643]
George, were among the chief mourners. The [644]
chapel, and chapel hill, were crowded by a multitude
of people plunged in sorrow. I endeavoured to
address them as well as my feelings would admit,
but my own emotions, and those of hundreds before
me, were, at times, quite uncontrollable. From
the chapel we went to the royal burial ground,
where a place had been assigned for the repose of
our brother's honoured dust.

Tuesday, 23rd.—Our minds are somewhat diverted, 798
from our more immediate grief, by the dangers 669
which seem to thicken around us. The heathen 721
are reported to be making excursions from their
forts, in small bands, for predatory and murderous
purposes, into the surrounding country. Indeed,
accounts have reached us that blood has, for the
first time, been shed in an encounter between the
heathen of Houma and the people of Hihifo. One
man has been killed, and several have been wounded.
The Mission ship is now expected, every day, to 797
return from the other groups of islands, with
our brethren; and, as I must visit Hihifo to bring
from thence documents, &c., necessary for the

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● 797 business of our meeting, I shall then hear all particulars of the affray.

Wednesday, 24th.—Having ridden safely to Hihifo, I preached there in the afternoon, after which I met the teachers, and warned them against being carried away, by the war spirit, into a forgetfulness of God, or the loss of their religion.

797 Thursday, 25th.—I returned in safety to Nukua-
798 lofa, although it appears that I narrowly escaped
682 the hands of concealed murderers, who, shortly
after I had passed them, barbarously slew one of
669 our female domestics and Christian leaders, under
721 the following circumstances. This good and pious woman had become greatly attached to Mr. and Mrs. Webb, and upon hearing of Mr. Webb's illness and death, she hastened to Nukualofa to render Mrs. Webb any service of which she was capable under her distressing bereavement. Having returned to Hihifo, to visit her husband and to bring several little articles from the Mission House there, in preparation for Mrs. Webb's expected voyage to England in a few days hence, she put herself under my care for the journey, being anxious to return to Nukualofa as soon as possible. We reached Nukunuku, a fortified village, without accident, where she went to visit her husband, who was there with a portion of the Hihifo troops. Here, whilst resting at the head teacher's house, I heard that the roads were considered dangerous, and that a party of armed men would be proceeding to Nukualofa on the following day. Upon hearing this, I sent a message to Caroline and her friends, to say that, under the circumstances, she had better remain at Nukunuku, and go forward with the armed party on the next day. Never supposing

she would do otherwise, or that her friends would 797
allow her to proceed alone, I then mounted my 798
horse and rode rapidly forward to Nukualofa. 682
A few hours afterwards, whilst I was with 669
the king in his own house, messengers arrived 721
to say that the poor woman had been killed at a very short distance from Nukunuku. It appeared that, upon receiving my message, she laughed at any idea of danger, and her friends could not dissuade her from going forward. They also, very foolishly, permitted her to go alone, thinking that no harm would befall an unarmed woman. We afterwards learnt that, on that afternoon, two heathen rebels, from Houma, had secreted themselves in a dense thicket, close to the roadside, purposing to avenge the death of a Houman who was killed in the skirmish of the twenty-third. Their intention was to waylay and murder the first passer-by. These men were there unknown to me when I passed on horseback. When I appeared in sight, one of them lowered his musket to fire, but the other stopped him by saying, "That is the Missionary, we must not kill him;" and so I mercifully passed on unhurt. Not so, however, poor Caroline. Sometime after I had passed, she was observed coming along the same road, only about a quarter of a mile from Nukunuku. No sooner had she reached the spot, where the two villains lay in ambush, than they sprang upon her, and murdered her instantly by the stroke of an axe, which almost severed her head from her body.
The sad end of this truly good woman, and faithful 797
Missionary domestic, was a source of profound 798
grief to us all, and especially to myself, and it 669
seemed to bring the horrors of the war very near

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797 to our own door. This sad calamity showed that
798 the heathen were determined not to follow the
ordinary usages of Tonguese warfare, by respecting
669 the life of unarmed females, but rather to imitate
[177] the horrid practices of Fiji; and therefore the king
issued an order prohibiting all intercourse between
the different parts of the island, excepting through
the medium of armed escorts.

Sunday, March 28th.—Just as I left the Mission
798 gate for the purpose of preaching at the Nukualofa
669 chapel, a wounded chief, the queen's near relation,
721 and formerly Governor of Nukualofa, Junia
682 Haumono, was carried past. He was shot through
the head. He had been out on patrol duty, and
having ventured with his party too near the fort
of Bea, the enemy fired, and mortally wounded
him. Hearing, when Divine service was over, that
he was still living, I went to see him; he was, however,
totally unconscious from the first, and was
now evidently dying. I could only comfort and
pray with his weeping and wailing family. Junia
was a good man, and we had no doubt of his safety.
But, oh! how sad and distressing such a termination
must be to a good man's earthly career.

797 April 2nd.—I went to Teekiu, intending to meet
the king, and to propose that I should visit the
798 heathen rebels of Houma, with his sanction, and
669 with such terms of peace as he might judge expedient,
so that, if possible, a peace may be brought
about even now. This is the first day in which the
troops have marched upon the place in a body, and
I therefore thought one more effort toward peace
might be attempted. Before, however, I had
[726] reached Teekiu, the king and his warriors had left;
and while I was still there, heavy firing was heard

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in the direction of Houma, which is only some three miles distant.

April 3rd.—The firing, yesterday, was only kept [797] up upon Houma whilst the king's party reconnoitred in different directions; but to-day the heathen have made a sally from the fort. A severe engagement has taken place. The firing was heard very plainly here at Hihifo. Several of the Houmans have been killed, and many wounded; but none of the loyalists have been injured, although the firing from the heathen was heavy and long continued. The death-drum has been beating all the [534) afternoon. We have also heard heavy firing in the direction of the Bea fort, but do not yet know what has been transpiring there. We learn that 797 the Mission ship has arrived from Vavau and Haabai.

April 5th.—The Missionaries began their Annual Meeting this day. The chief subject of conversation was the heartrending condition of the country; and it was resolved that the resident Missionaries should remain at their posts, notwithstanding the danger and risk involved in so doing; because, being on the spot, their influence may be exerted to counteract the evils inseparable from the present state of affairs, and they can watch for any favourable opportunity to secure a peace. A review of the state of our Mission in Tongatabu, up to the period when the war commenced, showed that it had never been in a more encouraging or flourishing condition, whether spiritually or financially considered. Tonga, hitherto last and least, in Missionary successes in these parts, now stood as high as Vavau or Haabai, and, in some respects, even surpassed those groups. With this fact before us, we could not

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797 but weep over the desolation this war is likely to produce. We all heartily prayed that it might speedily terminate.

797 April 6th.—While our meeting was progressing,
798 a severe battle was fought near Bea. Several of
669 the king's choicest men have been slain, and many
726 wounded. Among the mortally wounded I found an old friend of my own, Joseph Toga, a local preacher, and a noted chief of Vavau. He was shot through the lungs. He was still sensible, and could speak when I reached him. Immediately upon seeing me, he said, in the native language, "O, Mr. West, I am dying, dying fast; but my trust is in the Lord Jesus Christ. I could have wished to have died a different death; but I have been doing my duty to my king. I have no fear of death. Jesus is my Saviour, and I shall soon be with Him in heaven. Thanks, thanks!" As nothing could be done to save his life, I prayed with him, and then left to visit others of the wounded. He continued, as long as he could speak, to signify his steadfast trust in Christ; and in about an hour, from the time I saw him, he was released from all his sufferings. Another Vavau chief, called Fagubo, was shot dead; and his body having fallen into the hands of the rebels, they cut off the head, and carried it in triumph into their fortress. Josiah Vugakoto, the king's son, and Joeli Mafileo, the governor of Haabai, were also among the severely wounded. In addition to our spiritual duties, we did our best in a surgical capacity for the comfort and safety of them all.

797 April 14th.—Our brethren left us for Haabai
798 and Vavau. Just as the anchor was weighing for
669 departure, the commandant of the "Henri," a

French vessel from Tahiti, came on board the 797
"John Wesley," to inquire why the brig was going 798
to sea, and leaving Tongatabu in its present distracted state. 669
We explained that the vessel was
taking back the Missionaries to Vavau and Haabai;
and that we, the resident Missionaries of this
island, were not leaving. After the "John Wesley" 797
had sailed, M. Nalliez visited the king, to 648
inform him that he was sent, by the French Governor 798
in Tahiti, to inquire into the state of the 669
Roman Catholic Missions; and if he found any
French priests in danger from the natives, he had
orders to remove them to Tahiti, should they express
such a wish. Upon being informed of the 797
origin of the war, and of the steps which the king 643
had taken in reference to the personal safety of the 648
priests in Bea, he remarked to the king, "If they 798
wish to go away, I can remove them to Tahiti; 669
but if they choose to remain, the consequences are
with themselves. You, as king, have done your
duty in offering them protection; and if they get
shot by accident, they will nobly fall in the performance
of their duty, and no Government in the
world will complain of either you or them." The [726]
"Henri" having on board a Romish bishop from
Samoa, who had come to visit his brethren in the
fortress of Bea, the king offered an escort to conduct
him, under a flag of truce, to the place, which
offer the commandant readily accepted for the following day.

April 15th.—The king had made preparations to conduct the bishop to Bea, when the following letter was handed to me from the commandant, whom we had invited to accept the hospitalities of the Mission House during his stay.

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"SHIP 'HENRI,' *April* 14*th*, 1852.

797 "GENTLEMEN,

643 "I BEG your pardon for not being able to accept
648 your good invitation of yesterday; but, after new
consideration, I take the party to accompany the
798 lord bishop to Bea, *viâ* Mua, in my boat. With
669 many thanks for your kindness, I remain, gentlemen, your most obedient servant. Will you be so good as to give thanks to the king for the escort he had the kindness to offer to me yesterday?

"The Commandant,
"N. J. NALLIEZ."

This polite note made it pretty evident who was master on board the "Henri." Bishop Battallion would rather risk being shot, while seeking a clandestine access to Bea, than he would accept an authority and protection for that purpose from a Protestant ruler. Accordingly, the wishes of the commandant were set aside by his spiritual superior, while the king had to submit to the indignity, cast upon him through the rejection of an escort, and by a secret visit to Bea from those who were leagued with the enemies of his government. In case, however, of any possible collision, between his own men at "the front" and the boat from the "Henri," the king forwarded instructions to those officers who were watching the various land and sea approaches to the Bea fort, to offer no kind of hindrance to the entrance or departure of the bishop and his party.

798 April 21st.—The king, not wishing to sacrifice
669 human life unnecessarily by storming the heathen
fortress, has resolved to invest it, and starve the
726 inmates into submission. For this purpose he has

ordered the erection of a *cordon* of earthworks and 798
strong stockades, commanding all the approaches 669
to Bea. The trenches behind which these works 726
are to stand have already been dug.

May 10th.—The king having decided to make 797
another proposal of peace to the Houman people, I 798
offered to accompany the messenger, and to employ 669
what influence a Missionary might have on such 728
an occasion. Being well known to the Houmans, 643
my offer was gladly accepted. We accordingly 726
marched from Nukualofa to Nukunuku, so as to be in readiness to visit the rebel fort early in the morning. About a thousand men followed the king. As we wound along the narrow paths through the bush, the sight of so many armed men, marching in profound silence, was exceedingly interesting and impressive. A general halt was called at one point of the road, where some of the scouts thought they had discovered indications of an ambush. I had then an opportunity of observing a few of the native tactics. Coming immediately to myself, the king said, "*Misa Uesite, koeha te ke fai ekoe?*" "Mr. West, what will you do?" "Do?" I said; "remain where I am, if you think proper." "Very good," was the answer; and then he issued his orders. A strong party remained, where we were standing in the road, with the king and myself, whilst the remainder of the men spread out on either flank, to beat through the bush, and meet at a point agreed upon, to which the king's party was to advance on a given signal. All this movement was very rapidly accomplished. No ambush was discovered, and we soon reached Nukunuku in the midst of torrents of rain. Leaving the king there, I rode on to sleep at my

797 own house in Hihifo, having arranged to be at
798 Nukunuku shortly after daylight in the morning.

669 May 11th.—I reached Nukunuku during the
728 king's morning assembly with his chiefs. I soon
ascertained that something had happened to stop
643 the intended peaceful mission to Houma. Reports
726 had just been brought to the king, to the effect that
the heathen of Houma had determined to kill any one, whether a Missionary or not, who might visit them on any such errand. The king asked me what I thought, and whether I was disposed to go, notwithstanding this report. I replied that my course would be determined according to the nature of the report. If it were only some ill-founded tale or rumour, I should not be deterred on that account; but if it had a good foundation, and was reliable, I could not feel myself justified in rushing knowingly into danger, and perhaps death. I begged him, therefore, first of all to ascertain the truth, or otherwise, of the report itself. Accordingly, inquiry was made, and the author proved to be a man who had recently deserted from the rebels. Upon being brought before the king for examination, he stated that the young chiefs had solemnly agreed to slay any messenger whom the king might send on a peace mission, even should the messenger be one of the Missionaries. We had every reason to believe the man's statement. Even if I had been willing to go, which, however, I was not, the king would not have allowed it. As it was, he led away his warriors without further delay to Houma, where, during the remainder of the day, an incessant fire was kept up upon the place, whilst I returned to Nukualofa, greatly disappointed that the object of my journey

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798 had not been accomplished. After giving all the
669 information I could to my brethren, Adams and
[728] Amos, I rode home twelve miles to Hihifo.

[643] Sabbath, June 20th.—I preached this morning
[726] at Hihifo, and in the afternoon I went to preach
at Nukunuku, accompanied, as usual, by a bodyguard of armed men. The Missionaries, throughout this war, have felt it to be their duty to visit regularly the few fortified towns, as well as the stockades and camps thrown up around Bea, for preaching and other spiritual purposes; but the king will not allow us to run the risk of travelling about alone. He has therefore ordered a guard of armed men always to go with us on such occasions. After preaching at Nukunuku, I mounted my horse, and, surrounded by my attendants, started for Hihifo. We had not gone more than half a
797 mile when we were alarmed by the sound of a
798 volley of musketry at no great distance behind us.
669 Our first impression was that some one of our
726 number had fallen behind, and had been fired upon
by a concealed foe; but finding this was not the case, we began cautiously to retrace our steps. Another volley, and then the native shouts of triumph were heard, which convinced us that it was a friendly, and not a heathen, band. Hurrying forward, we met them in front of the entrance to
[727] Nukunuku, on their way to the presence of the
chief, one of the band carrying in triumph a human arm dangling on the point of a spear. These men had been on patrol duty, and having fallen upon a small party of heathens, a skirmish had ensued, in which they had killed one man. They were now returning to Nukunuku with the bloody evidence of what had been done. Alas! that the Lord's

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

day should be desecrated by deeds like these. I 797
could not but turn away from the scene with anger 798
and disgust, while longing and praying for the 669
return of blessed peace. 726

June 27th.—After preaching at Hihifo, I went to Teekiu in the afternoon. I had just commenced my sermon there, when we were disturbed by repeated and heavy volleys of musketry, apparently at a very short distance from the town. All the fighting men in the chapel took up their arms, and hurried off. It being impossible to continue preaching, I held a prayer-meeting with the women and old men still remaining. As the firing continued we felt assured that a conflict was progressing. The distance between Teekiu and the heathen fortress of Houma is only about three miles. We had not long concluded the prayer-meeting, when tidings were brought from the battle, by those who came carrying several wounded men into the town. The first I met was a young local preacher, who was shot through the back of the neck, the ball having passed completely through. This young man afterwards recovered, with extreme care and good nursing, no vital part having been touched. Another young man, whom I knew, and afterwards attended, was shot in two places through the back. He also recovered, although he was left somewhat crippled. Another was shot dead, who, I am afraid, was ill-prepared for such a sudden end. I returned to Hihifo shortly after sunset, accompanied by a small party of men. The firing having been heard at Hihifo, I found my dear wife and family all anxiety for my safety. Thank God for His continued protection and blessing in these troublous times; but O!

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that this sad and deplorable war were brought to an end. 798 669 726

These extracts from our Journal will sufficiently indicate the horrors, and daily alarms, through which all the Mission families passed, during several months. But perhaps our state at Hihifo was less enviable than that of our brethren at Nukualofa and Mua. The Mission residences there were enclosed within the fortifications of the towns, whereas ours stood outside, and were therefore exposed to the secret approach of any bold prowling heathen, who might fancy to burn down the place, in the dead of night. Of such an intention we received many warnings; and were kept by these in a state of continual alarm and watchfulness. When, however, the Hihifo people had so matured their plans as to cut off the Houmans from all outward communications, and from all intercourse with their allies at Bea, we then felt comparatively safe. [725]

The Houmans were the first to yield before the king's power. It was known that only one thing had, for a long time, sustained their courage and hopes. They had heard that one of the Romish priests at Bea had sailed in a ship bound for Tahiti, with the avowed purpose of obtaining the interference and assistance of a French ship of war, on behalf of the heathen and Roman Catholic rebels, under the cloak, of course, of rendering protection to the French priests and their property. As might have been expected, the departure of the officious priest only hurried matters to a speedier conclusion. Although aware of the priest's purpose, the king offered no objection to his depar- 798 669 648 797

798 ture; but he sternly resolved to push the war to a
669 close before any foreign power could interfere.

[797] As weeks rolled past, the Houmans, closely
[648] invested by the loyalists of Hihifo, began to suffer
798 from long confinement, and from the want of
669 proper and sufficient food. They were wearied out,
726 by the harassing fire of small arms poured upon
them, and by their necessarily ceaseless watchfulness
at night. Their counsels became divided,
[728] their courage began to flag; and, finally, they
became willing to entertain any proposals for
peace which the king might see fit to offer. They
yielded just in time to save themselves from a great
798 calamity. Finding that, without the aid of additional
669 numbers, Bea could not be completely invested,
726 the king had concluded to bring the siege
728 of Houma to a close, by storming it, so that the
whole of the troops hitherto engaged there might
be concentrated upon Bea. Some intimation of
this intention reached the Houmans, who immediately
opened private negotiations with the loyalists,
through Tuivakano, the chief of Nukunuku.
Upon hearing this, the king sent our old friend
Hafoka, and two other chiefs, with a flag of truce
to the enemy, demanding, for the last time, an
unconditional surrender of the place, with the
promise that no life should be taken. These terms
were accepted by Vaea and Fohe, the two leading
chiefs of the town, whereupon orders were issued
for the total suspension of hostilities; and an hour
on the following day was appointed, when the
vanquished chiefs were to be brought before the
king at his camp near Bea.

798 On the 12th of July, the camp of the Christians
669 presented a stirring spectacle. Drums were beat-
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798 the men to be detained within his own camp during
669 the night, where they received the most hospitable
728 entertainment. But what formed the crowning
glory of the day was the fact that, when the hour for evening devotions arrived, these pardoned rebels felt themselves constrained, by a strong sense of the truth and excellency of religion, to unite with their friends in bowing the knee in prayer before the great Jehovah.

798 On the following day, Vaea and Fohe returned
669 to Houma, with a proclamation of free pardon for
all the inhabitants, and a promise that none of
727 their property should be destroyed or injured. At
728 the same time, the town was to be held by a party
of the king's men, until his further pleasure should be declared, as to the destruction, or otherwise, of its fortifications.

On the following Sunday, I visited the fort,
797 arrangements having been made for holding a
religious service, at which Vaea and Fohe wished to be present. Before commencing the service, the people had arranged for a grand fusillade in honour of the peace, and in testimony of their joy at abandoning heathenism. Volley after volley
[202] rent the air, for a considerable time; but, at a
given signal, the firing ceased, and the drum, in
[534] the absence of a bell, having been beaten for public worship, I preached to a very large congregation of half-enlightened heathens. At this single service above one hundred persons formally renounced idolatry; and, from that day, regular Christian means of grace were established in Houma.

798 Meanwhile, the Bea fortress was besieged more
669 closely than ever. Had not its inmates been still
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798 to the French priests from the English commander,
669 stating his knowledge of the fact that, should this
728 offer of peace fail, the fortress would be stormed by
the Tonguese, and would most assuredly be taken. In these circumstances, he offered them an asylum on board his ship. This offer the priests declined, signifying at the same time their willingness to abide the result. The fears, however, of the rebel chiefs were now considerably aroused; and their eyes were also opened to see, to some extent, the folly of trusting to French intervention. They accordingly determined to surrender at discretion. Maafu and Lavaka, the two leading chiefs, then came from Bea to meet the king, and to arrange the mode of submission. They intended to return immediately when the business was completed; but the king desired them to remain in his camp for the night, as a precaution against any treachery.

On the following morning, Sir Everard Home,
798 Mr. Adams, and myself, visited Bea. When about
669 halfway to the king's encampment, we met mes-
727 sengers posting down to Nukualofa, with the news
797 that Bea was then being sacked. Upon hearing
this, we rode forward with all speed, fearing lest the Christian party might be hurried into excesses, over which we should have to mourn. We resolved at all hazards to do our best to prevent bloodshed. Within half an hour after the king's army had taken possession of Bea, we entered it, and imme-
[643] diately sought for the king. We found him busy
repressing the excitement of his men, and engaged in placing a guard for the protection of the property and houses of the French priests. There was great commotion, and already the town was set on
798 fire in several localities. It appeared that early in
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797 We praised God for what the Gospel had done, in the
798 restraint of evil passions, which formerly, on such
669 an occasion, would have rioted in deeds of violence
727 and blood.

798 On the following day, a speech was made by the
669 king, in which he ordered the demolition of the
727 fortifications of Bea, as the only punishment to be
inflicted upon the vanquished, and as a pledge that war should no more desolate the land, if he could prevent it. All were commanded to return to their various homes as speedily as possible, and to resume the ordinary pursuits of peaceful times.

Thus closed, without further bloodshed, a struggle that had been begun with the design of overturning civil authority and order in the Friendly Islands; but which, under the over-ruling providence of God, was destined to prove a death-blow to heathenism. The wisdom and clemency of the
(643) king, both during the war and at its happy conclusion, won for him the respect and love of even his bitterest foes. Bright days of peace and prosperity once more dawned upon Tongatabu. The wild passions that had been aroused in the heat of conflict speedily subsided. Deserted villages were filled again with the hum of busy life. The quiet pursuits of home life and industry were resumed; and a new and promising start was made by the Tonguese in national progress, such as they had never made before. The idols were now utterly
[797] abolished. Not one heathen temple remained; and, not many months after the war terminated, the entire population of the Friendly Islands acknowledged and worshipped the "one living and true God, and Jesus Christ whom He hath sent."

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794 It could not be expected that five months of

political agitation, and of actual civil war, should 797
pass away without inflicting serious damage upon 794
the spiritual character,. and interests, of our infant churches. The evil effects were painfully shown in the impaired tone of piety in many, the unsettledness of others, and the drifting away from the church of those who had more of the form than of the power of godliness. Diminution of numbers,—not so much, however, in Tongatabu itself as in the other groups of islands,—and of local finances, were the natural results of such a state of things, for a season. These serious evils were also aggravated by scarcity of provisions, and prevailing sickness, caused by the exposure and toil to which so many thousands of the male inhabitants had
been subjected. The return of peace was hailed, 797
therefore, by all with unfeigned delight; and we [728]
rejoiced, most of all, because the whole country was now open to receive Christian instruction. There
was only one cause of anxiety still remaining. The 797
French Priests were restless, and were openly bent 798
upon further mischief. The priest who went away during the war to seek French aid, returned in a small trading vessel from Samoa; and when he found the war ended, declared that he would
have ample reparation in due time. He subse- [648]
quently departed for Tahiti, where he lodged certain charges and claims, against the Tonguese, before the French Governor.

Accordingly, on the 12th of November, 1852, a 798
French ship of war, "La Moselle," commanded by 648
Captain Belland, anchored off Nukualofa. The same priest who had gone to Tahiti was on board. We were told, by one of the respectable officers of the ship that this priest had been careful, during the

798 648 voyage, to impress the commander with the conviction that stubborn resistance might be expected from the Tonguese. On approaching the land, he also drew the attention of the officers to a number of people, scattered along the reef skirting the shore, assuring them that he had no doubt these were armed men waiting to resist any attempt at landing. This led the captain to beat the men to quarters, and to shot all his guns. When, however, they had approached sufficiently near, they discovered that the people lining the reef were only some old women quietly seeking for shell-fish! The captain was both angry and mortified that he should have lent himself to such idle tales; and the priest, poor man, hardly knew where to hide himself from the bantering of the midshipmen and others, who, but for his clerical garb, would have criticized his conduct rather more freely than he would have relished.

On Tuesday, the 16th, a formal investigation of all the circumstances attending the origin, conduct, and close of the war took place. Captain Belland had been specially commissioned by the Governor of Tahiti to conduct the inquiry, and to take such steps as he might deem proper in reference to the claims advanced by the French priests for pecuniary damages, &c. Mr. Adams, not having been in [799] Tonga when the war began, desired me to be present on behalf of the Missionaries, and by the request of the king. The whole conference occupied nearly five hours. Every particular in relation to the war was rigidly examined, especially in regard to the course the king had pursued toward the French priests. On every point Captain Belland seemed satisfied. The king was armed [643] with abundant documentary evidence, and proved

798 648 George that, although he held in his possession a documentary claim for heavy pecuniary compensation, on behalf of the Roman Catholic Missionaries, for damages to their property, he never submitted this claim to the king, nor did he ask for a single farthing on their behalf.

797 Thus being freed, for a time at least, from the fear of foreign interference in Tonguese affairs, the Gospel ministered by the Missionaries had free course among the people, and was glorified. New villages sprung up in different localities, where chapels were dedicated to the worship of God. The inhabitants of Bea itself, who, for the most part, had before embraced Popery, as well as the remnant who were still heathen, formed part of our regular congregations, while many of them became sincere seekers of salvation by faith in the Lord Jesus Christ.

In the eastern end of the island access was obtained for preaching purposes to every place, excepting the Popish village of Kotoga, and another over which the heathen brother of Tugi had authority. In my own district, including Houma, the profession of Christianity was universal, and there were numerous instances of true conversion. Tonga alone had now 37 chapels, 2,035 church members, 60 day schools, containing 2,204 scholars, and a training institution for native Teachers and Assistant Missionaries, from which, shortly after the close of the war, seventeen students were appointed to schools in various islands, after completing a three years' course of study, while fourteen new students were admitted.

The above numbers, however, include those connected with the islands of Atata, Eueiki, and Eua.

[Eua]

Of the two former, nothing need be said here, as 797
they were small and unimportant; but a passing
notice of Eua may complete our view of the Tonga
group.

Several visits to this island, at different periods, 241
enabled us to form a good opinion of its physical
character and capabilities. Having been styled the
"granary of Tonga," we expected to see it in a
very high state of cultivation, but we found nothing
peculiar in it in this respect. At present it [177]
has but a very small number of people upon it; [504]
and these, being cut off from foreign intercourse
through the want of a harbour, have no inducement
to cultivate the soil beyond the necessities
arising for their own support. The beauties of the [134]
island are great, and its richness of soil for agricul- [311]
tural purposes unquestionable, but these lie undeveloped.
In former days, when the population of 174
the country was greater, large supplies of produce 438
may have been carried to the adjoining main island 731
of Tongatabu, especially in seasons of famine
caused by drought or hurricanes. From the
effects of the one the snug and lovely valleys and [133]
ravines of Eua would be sheltered; while its flowing
rivulets and streams would counteract the evil
consequences of the other, at times when Tongatabu
itself might be lying in temporary desolation.
Hence the dependence of the Tongans upon Eua,
at such times, for food; and hence, probably, the
reason why it was styled, magniloquently, their
"granary."

One of the pleasantest Missionary trips I ever 797
had was to this island, in company with the Rev.
George Daniel, in the year 1851. We each took
our own boat and boat's crew. The wind being

[Eua]

797 favourable, we soon ran past the eastern point of Tongatabu, and crossed the twelve miles of deep and troubled ocean rolling between the two islands. We were welcomed on shore with every mark of respect and kindness, and we were most favourably impressed with the religious tone of the people, at that time under the able and judicious care of our assistant native Missionary, Bita Vi. Before our various preaching services and school examinations were ended, a storm came on, which rendered it impossible for us to leave when we intended. We therefore occupied part of our time in a journey of exploration through the island.

133 Next to Tongatabu itself, Eua is the largest island of the Tonga group. It is about ten miles in length, and three in width. The coast is high and rocky, with a fringing reef close in shore. The (137) interior is extremely variegated by hill and dale, beautifully covered by extensive patches of tropical forests, between which stretch open prairie grounds that would be well adapted for grazing purposes, were there any cattle on the island. During our rambles we struck upon the course of a small stream, meandering through, and under, the most lovely vegetation and overhanging shrubbery, leaping here and there over moss-covered rocks in diminutive cascades. Not having seen a flowing rivulet, or heard the murmur of a brook, for years, we were, perhaps, somewhat too enthusiastic in our praises of this one, over which we could almost leap, even at its broadest part; but, for all that, the scenery was exquisite and enchanting.

797 The wind having somewhat subsided, we prepared our boats at day-break for a return to Tonga. Some of the more weather-wise tried to dissuade us,

[Eua]

by declaring their belief that the wind would rise 797 again with the sun; but of this we were incredulous, and, having been detained several days already, we determined to make a venture. With some little risk we cleared safely through the surf of the shore reef, and bore away; but we had not gone far before the warnings we had received became realities. The wind began to blow furiously, the sea ran very high, and, what was worse, before we had run more than half the distance, the wind drew ahead, so that it became impossible to weather the eastern point of Tongatabu. To have returned to Eua would have been to seek destruction amidst its now foaming breakers, and we had, therefore, no help for it but to stand on, and double the end of Tongatabu by tacking. We were in extreme danger of being swamped in the broken sea; but after great efforts and repeated tacks, the point of reef was passed, immediately after which the mast of Mr. Daniel's boat was carried away. Had the accident taken place a few minutes earlier, nothing could have saved the boat from destruction on the adjoining reef. After nine hours of exposure and labour we were safely housed at Mr. Daniel's residence in Mua. Two of my boatmen were ill for several weeks from the effects of this trip; one of whom lost his hearing for a long time through the sea constantly breaking over him in the bow of the boat. We were very thankful, however, that nothing worse happened, and we wisely agreed to be more careful to follow, for the future, the advice of Tonguese weather sages.

A few months before we bade adieu to Tongatabu, 000 a calamity occurred near our station at Hihifo, which threw us into the company of a strange set

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tude, he wept bitterly, and poured his sorrows and his prayers before the Most High. He expressed to me a belief that he did then, on that mountain side, find peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ.

Such were the strange vicissitudes of human life through which some of these Californians had gone in the course of even a few years. There were other remarkable incidents, and strange phases of character and experience, in that band of wanderers and desperadoes; but before I could become acquainted with them all, several ships providentially called at Tongatabu, and afforded the shipwrecked passengers and crew the happy opportunity of reaching their "desired haven." Indeed, even before they had all quitted the island, I myself left the Hihifo station for the purpose of taking sole charge of the Mission in the interesting, but widely scattered, group of Haabai.

We left Tongatabu, and especially did we leave our own district of Hihifo, with sincere sorrow. Great had been the events transpiring during our four years' residence there. We had been permitted to witness unusual spiritual successes, and, before the gradual advance of Christianity, we had seen heathenism extinguished altogether. The Christian churches of Hihifo were prosperous; the schools were well attended, and in full activity, under the care of able and trained native teachers. Poignant was our grief on leaving the kind chiefs and people among whom we had lived so long in harmony; but greater, above all, was the sense of obligation we felt to a gracious Providence for the preservation of our lives, through troublous and dangerous times.

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CHAPTER XIII.

000 Rise of Christianity in Haabai—Novel School and Schoolmaster—Native Agency—First Tonguese Preacher—Peter Vi's Narrative—Conversion—Sent to Haabai—Imminent Danger of the Christians—Decision of Taufa-ahau—Attack upon the god Haehaetahi—Dismay of Heathen deities—Plan to murder the Christians—Public profession of the king—Arrival of Mr. Thomas—Illness of the king—Rapid Christian progress—Opposition in Uiha—Roll of Missionaries—Journal—Sunday at Haano—Uiha and Felemea—Among the reefs—Arrival of a Vavau Fleet—Training of Native Teachers—Tour through Haabai—Reminiscences of Tugua—Voyage to Tofua—A storm—Visit to the volcano—A night on the sea-shore—Revival at Fotuhaa—Boat in danger—Visit of the "John Wesley"—Native Agents—Evil Tidings from Vavau—Night voyage to Tonga—Interview with the king—Return to Haabai—Voyage to Vavau—Arrival of the king—Doings of the French—French Treaty—Intended visit of King George to Fiji—Departure of his fleet—War in Fiji—Arrival of the "Wesley"—Departure for England—Liberal contributions of Haabai.

797 To complete the sketch of Christian progress throughout the Friendly Islands, it only remains now to show how those of Haabai received a knowledge of the Gospel. We have already stated that the abandonment of idolatry in Vavau resulted through the visit of the king of Haabai and some of his converted people, in the year 1831; and that the distant dependencies of Tonga were in turn converted from heathenism through native instrumentality. Haabai, therefore, is thus invested with peculiar interest as a centre from which the truth radiated to distant points; but, above all, because it was there that one was enlightened and converted, who was designed, under Divine providence, to exercise a vast influence over the political, social, and religious destiny of the Tonguese people. That

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man was Taufa-ahau, now known to the reader as "King George." Let us see, then, how his mind became enlightened and convinced at the very outset of his notable career. 797 643

At the time when the Tahitian teachers and the first English Missionaries arrived in Tongatabu, Taufa-ahau was in the habit of making frequent visits of state and courtesy to the old king, Josiah Tubou; and on these occasions he did not fail to make many inquiries about the new religion that had been brought to the country. He heard and saw for himself much that made a deep impression upon his naturally keen and powerful intellect. He perceived the infinite superiority of the simple yet sublime doctrines of the Bible, and the purity, as well as the simplicity, of its worship, when contrasted with the enslaving and absurd puerilities of heathen priestcraft. So early, indeed, as the beginning of 1828, he had earnestly expressed a desire for the presence of a Missionary in Haabai. But, even before then, he had taken the most solemn oath of which, as a heathen, he was capable, declaring that he would cast away his idols, and no longer listen to the lying priests. Nor was this done in secret; because, from that time, he voluntarily abandoned various heathen amusements to which he had been addicted; and he began to observe, in some measure, the sanctity of the Sabbath day, by ceasing from all his ordinary occupations. So anxious was he to make a beginning in the service of God, and to initiate the instruction of the people under him, after the example of the Missionaries in Tongatabu, that he employed the services of a rough, ungodly sailor, then residing under his protection, to trace the letters of the [182] [875]

797 643 [875] alphabet upon the sands of the sea-shore, for the benefit of those who wished to learn; and he ordered the same man to conduct prayers to the God of the foreigners, in a house which he devoted to that purpose. Strange sight! A poor, graceless wanderer, from the land and the religion of his fathers, compelled, by the imperious will of a heathen chieftain, to do homage to the God whom he, the *baptized* heathen, had disowned and disobeyed, but after whom the unbaptized heathen himself was now seeking, if haply He might be found. As yet Taufa-ahau had not bowed the knee to Jehovah; but he was always present as an onlooker, with a few of his people, when the poor sailor "said his prayers." Amid this fitful glimmering of light upon Taufa-ahau's mind and character, there were sufficient indications of a mighty struggle within his breast, and evidences also of the moral courage, force of will, and fixedness of purpose, which have ever been the attributes of the great and good.

[484] In 1829, Taufa-ahau undertook another voyage to Tongatabu to beg for a Missionary. No one could be spared, at that time, from the work in Tongatabu itself; but the Missionaries proposed that he should take back with him a young native teacher. This, however, he peremptorily declined. The very man who was content to listen to the words, and prayers, of a poor castaway white sailor, rejected with scorn the proffered service of one of his own race. But what was the issue? Was this a case for which *native agency* was inapplicable? If nothing but native teaching could be had, would Christianity be rejected? Far otherwise. Taufa-ahau was soon taught to esteem and value even native aid: and we have seen, in our previous pages, how

he himself, in his high sphere as a king, became a 797
Christian evangelist, and how largely and effectively 643
he employed the labour of his own subjects
in the vineyard of the Lord. But how was he
taught this great lesson? How did his proud and
haughty mind become docile, and submissive, to
instruction and spiritual guidance, even from an
inferior among his own subjects? Let us consider
how this change was brought about.

After rejecting the offer of a native teacher, Taufa-ahau,
like Naaman of old, went back to his home
greatly disappointed, if not wroth, and saying in his
heart concerning the Missionary for whom he had
sought, "Behold, I thought, he would surely come
out to me, and stand, and call on the name of the
Lord his God." In this chafed spirit he sailed for 797
Haabai; himself, or, at all events, his heathen crew, 643
still invoking the propitious aid of heathen deities for 484
the voyage. A storm, however, arose, of no ordinary 132
description, and, for two days, it was doubtful
whether the canoe would ever reach the land
in safety. That outer storm produced another of a
different sort, and of even greater moment, within
the soul of Taufa-ahau. He set it down as a Divine [787]
judgment upon himself for rejecting the offer made
by the Missionaries of a native teacher. Having
reached Haabai after great exertions, it was not
long before he revisited Tongatabu, chiefly for the
purpose of asking for the very man whom he had
formerly rejected. With him he returned to
Haabai,—a heathen still, but an earnest and humble
inquirer after truth.

Peter Vi was the honoured man whom the Missionaries 797
employed as the very first native herald 643
of salvation among his own people; and he it was

797 [643] whom they selected as sufficiently enlightened, even at that early period, to become the elementary instructor of Taufa-ahau himself. Let us now hear Peter's own account of his mission to Haabai, up to that time when Mr. Thomas, the first English Missionary, landed there. We give the following [128] as a free translation of what Peter Vi wrote for us with his own hand, in Tonguese, only introducing, in brackets, what may be necessary to elucidate the meaning of the text where obscure to an English reader.

PETER VI'S NARRATIVE.

539 797 "THIS is written by me, Peter Vi, as a record of my conversion to Christianity. Nukualofa was the place where I first began to pray. At that time Josiah Tubou, Tuikanokubolu, was king, and the Missionaries were Mr. Turner, and Mr. Cross. Mr. Turner, (Nathaniel Turner,) was the Missionary whom the Lord employed for my conversion. I was his instructor in the Tonguese language, and assisted him to translate. The first portion of a book which he translated, and from which he preached, was the Gospel of Matthew. When I heard the preaching about Jesus, it instantly pierced my mind, and a love for Him sprang up within my soul, such as led me to meet in a class with six others who thought and felt the same. After a little time we were all baptized. During the sermon, Mr. Turner told us about a certain Missionary who had been preaching to some black heathen people, among whom there was one man in great distress of mind. In the course of his sermon, the Missionary had said that 'his hearers

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ought to cry out, and pray much to God.' Accordingly, the man in distress went home, and, upon the roof of his house, he cried long and loudly upon the Lord. But, on going down from thence, he found that he had not received, by that means, the pardon of his sins. The Missionary had also said in his sermon that 'the word of God was true food for the soul,' and that it must be eaten. The poor man then thought he would try and find peace in that way, and so he set himself to eat literally a portion of the Bible; but he found that even that did not bring the pardon of his sins. Afterwards, the Missionary preached again, and told his hearers to 'believe on the Lord Jesus Christ.' Then the man immediately believed, and obtained a full forgiveness. When I heard this story, I too began to pray much to Jesus, that he would pardon my sin. And when the Lord answered my prayer by forgiving all my iniquity, I set myself to trust always in Jesus as my Saviour. He also called me to preach His Sacred Majesty, (*a ene afio*, a term of profound reverence applied to sacred persons,) in different small villages near Nukualofa, such as Havelu, Faga, and Hofoa. I was the first Tonguese preacher in all the Friendly Islands, because I was very quick in learning to read the Bible.

"Then it was that canoes came on a visit from Haabai, at which time Tuihaateiho, (the chief of the island of Tugua,) begged the Missionaries to let me go back in the canoes to Haabai, to teach the people. To this request of Tuihaateiho, the Missionaries gave a ready consent, but the proposal was hindered by Taufa-ahau, who said, 'No, indeed. He shall not go. He is only a Tonga

(643)

539 man; and who will say that the people of Haabai
797 will be content to imitate him, or pay heed to
643 his religion? He shall not go.' In consequence
of this, I remained, at that time, in Tonga. But after the canoes sailed for Haabai, a storm arose, by which the canoes were almost wrecked. They were driven about for two days, before they were able to reach Haabai. Very soon after that Taufaahau returned again to Tonga, and that time he himself went to the Missionaries to beg that I might be allowed to return with him to Haabai. It was, therefore, arranged that I should go. I did not, however, go in the king's own canoe, but in that of the chiefs Tufui and Mafileo. On the voyage, the king's canoe went straight forward to the island of Uiha; but our canoe stopped at Mago, where we slept.

539 "While at Mago, it was reported that the great
797 chiefs of Haabai were much troubled at what Taufa-
ahau had done; and that they were very angry
578 against the chiefs Tufui and Mafileo for bringing
me in their vessel. Upon hearing this report, Tufui was afraid, and wished us not to go forward to Lifuka, but to make our escape to Fiji. But I said to him, 'Don't do anything like that; let us rather pray to the Lord to lead us.' We then sailed for Lifuka; but, when we had gone as far as Haafeva, Tufui once more wished us to sail away to Fiji, and again I hindered him by saying, 'No;
539 but let us first pray to the Lord.' Nevertheless,
797 the chiefs and crew of the *kalia*, being heathens,
578 agreed to perform a divination, by which to ascertain
whether there would be much danger to us if we
787 went to Lifuka. The sign obtained from the divi-
nation was this: if our danger was great, we were

to see, on our approaching the shore, a chief 539
called Tuuhetoka sitting in the act of reverent 797
worship by the seaside. When, therefore, we drew 578
near to Lifuka, so it happened. Tuuhetoka *was* [787]
there on the shore, doing lowly reverence. Upon
seeing him, the heathens said among themselves,
'Alas! it is true; we shall have to fly.' But when 539
the canoe had reached the land, I told them all to 797
remain on board, while Tufui, Mafileo, and 643
myself, went to see the king, Taufa-ahau. As
soon as he saw us approaching, he smiled upon us,
and I said within myself, 'Thanks! the Lord has
given me favour.' After some conversation, he
said to us, 'It is said, friends, that the chiefs here [578]
are angry; but never mind them; let us go and
seek for a house where Peter may lodge.'

"On the first Sabbath day, while going to
preach, two women mocked me in the road, and
said many evil things about me. Many and great
were my trials and the false reports that were spread
about me at that time; but the Lord filled the
mind of the King Taufa-ahau with great love to
me. He took lessons from me in reading; but he
had not yet begun to worship God. After I had 539
been living with him some little time, he said to 797
me one day, 'Come, Peter, let us go and seek the 643
god Haehaetahi, that I may talk with him, and 771
make him a present of *kava*.' Accordingly, we 776
went on our journey to Foa, where the god's priestess
dwelt. As we went along, the king told me he
was going to do the god some mischief. He then
pulled up a young banana tree; and, after cutting
it into the shape of a club, he said, 'I will strike
the devil-god with this.' I then said, 'Don't
strike with the root, lest you kill the old woman,'

539 (the god's attendant priestess, or shrine.) He then
797 cut off the hard portion of the root, and said, at
643 the same time holding up the stem, 'There, then,
771 I will strike only with this.'

776 "When we arrived at the place to present the *kava* of the god, the old priestess said, 'Haehaetahi is not here:' upon which Taufa-ahau replied, 'Perhaps the god is vexed with me because of this great garland of flowers;' (referring to some upon his own person;) 'but let him forgive, and return hither, that we may drink *kava* together.' Hereupon the
[787] old priestess became inspired by Haehaetahi; and, in the meanwhile, Taufa-ahau had prepared a great drinking-cup, large enough for four persons to drink from; for he knew, he said, that 'Haehaetahi was a god fond of drink.' The cup was then filled and handed by Taufa-ahau to the priestess; but, while her face was turned upwards, in the act of drinking off its contents, Taufa-ahau struck her a great blow on the forehead, which sent the god (or priestess) rolling on the ground. He then gave another blow, and, raising a shout of victory, cried out that the god was slain. Owing to this act, no god was again willing to appear openly throughout Haabai. The whole fraternity of gods were afraid lest they should be beaten like Haehaetahi; for, from that time, Taufa-ahau became very mischievous to them all.

539 "But the following was the manner, and the occa-
797 sion, of the king's first open profession of Christianity.
There came a request to me, from a certain chief,
643 that I would go and burn a sacred tree, that so he
[778] might be at liberty to cut it up, and use it in building his canoe. As I went along, some women asked, 'Where is the man of prayer going?' So

they were told I was going to burn the sacred tree. 539 797
They then said, 'O, let these worshippers alone. 643
They will soon know the evil that will come of it. 539
Taufa, the chief of Nomuka, has come to Malubo, 797
that they may agree with Tuita and Lolohea, to 798
sieze Taufa-ahau, while they slay the Christians.' 643
The women also told this to Samuela Toto, who
brought the report to me, that we were to be murdered,
while the king was held a prisoner. I then
instantly wrote a letter to the king. This happened [527]
on a great heathen feast-day, when all the people were [541]
assembled to witness games of boxing and wrestling, and other heathen practices. Upon receiving the letter, the king sent a message to those who were considered Christians, requesting their presence without delay. When all had come, he addressed them thus: 'This letter tells me, forsooth, that I am to be taken and bound fast, by order of the chiefs, while you are to be slain because you have begun to pray. Now, then, I tell you, let every man among you go and kill each his pig, and feast himself, and cut up his *gatu*, (or native cloth,) and put on his best dress. And let none of you be mischievous or evil-disposed; but come all of you together this afternoon, and I will join with you in prayer.' With this understanding we separated, and I went away to the village of Holobeka. But I had not been long there, when a man came running in to order me back to Lifuka. The chiefs had been informed of the king's speech, and of his intention to join the Christians; and they were now met to find out who had told the king what they intended to do to himself and to the Christians. Suspicion fell on me. When I got back, I found the investigation was concluded. Some of the

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chiefs had already left; but others were still sitting talking over the whole affair. When they saw me approach, one said, 'Well, you have come, have you? It must, then, be nothing but a bag of old wives' tales.' But another said, 'Not so. Why do we stand idly by talking nonsense? This fellow is the mischief-maker. Had he been a foreigner, we might have borne with him; but as he is only a Tonga man, who will be contented to endure this thing that is done? He is a rogue.' Turning to the last speaker, I said, 'Hear me! Axes and knives are things which foreigners have to give us; but religion is the gift of Jehovah, the God of heaven and earth.' Upon this, Taufa-ahau also spoke, and began to tell about Jesus Christ, when the chief rose in anger, and left the company. Thus, there and then, did Taufa-ahau publicly declare his Christianity; after which he went straight away and destroyed many idols, and idol-houses, in Lifuka, and in several of the other islands of Haabai. At the same time, also, he commanded Mafileo to sail for Tonga, to bring Mr. Thomas, the Missionary, who was now leaving Hihifo.

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"Accordingly, I went with Mafileo to Tonga, to carry the good news, and to bring Mr. Thomas to Haabai. We sailed from Haano in a *kalia* called the 'Tausala.' Having embarked Mr. Thomas from Tonga, we started on our return to Haabai; but the wind was so strong we had to turn aside, and anchor at Atata. Here the heathen who were on board became very angry, exclaiming that the wind was bad, because we were on board, and because we had forsaken the worship of the god Laukite. After being detained a long time in Tonga, we at length sailed, and arrived in Haabai.

"While we prayed, and Christianity was spreading, the mind of all Haabai was full of evil toward me. But, after a while, Ulukalala, and all Vavau came to Haabai, to be present at the marriage of Taufa-ahau, about to be celebrated, at which time also all the heathen chiefs of Haabai were met together. Then was Taufa-ahau taken suddenly with a great sickness which seemed to be unto death, and the heathen had almost taken him away by force to Uiha, to perform heathen ceremonies, in anticipation of his decease. But we received help from the Lord; for just at that time a canoe came from Tonga, bringing William Ulakai, the uncle of Taufa-ahau, who was a Christian, and proved a hindrance in their way. 539 797 643 539 797 643 763

"However, on the day when Taufa-ahau was at the worst, I heard the sound of a canoe preparing to sail; and, on going to the door, I saw all the chiefs of Uiha coming in a body, headed by one of the sons of Malubo, flourishing a club before them. I then bethought me that they were now coming to remove the king; so I went and sat down by the door of his apartment. They also drew near, and began to explain to Taufa-ahau the object of their coming. But, whilst they were talking, I kept secretly and earnestly praying to the Lord, that he would make their persuasions of no effect. And so it was, for the king looked out upon them with a face of fury, and bade them begone. I then ran to see Mr. Thomas; but found he was engaged with Ulukalala, the king of Vavau. I then wrote upon a slate, and sent it in to Mr. Thomas, telling him that the king was dying, upon hearing which he accompanied me immediately to the patient. We found that he had in the mean

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We found that he had in the mean

539 797 643 763 [682] time been drinking a Fijian medicine given him by a chief, who was one of the Tuitoga's party, and who had formerly fought against Taufa-ahau. We had good reason to suspect that the medicine contained poison. Mr. Thomas and Mr. Cross, therefore, administered something, that made him vomit all the Fijian drug. That night, however, the king was apparently dying; but all the Christian chiefs, and ourselves, met especially to pray for the king. We continued so to do, all night, even until the break of day. No Christian slept that night. As daylight appeared, a wailing cry was heard. At first we thought the king was gone; but we soon learnt that it was a cry of joy from the king's sister, because the king was better. Thus the Lord heard our prayer, and blessed the medicine to the king's recovery. Our king lived, and therefore we rejoiced in the Lord. From that time Christianity (the *lotu*) spread and increased in strength, while the kingdom of the devil became weaker and weaker."

797 643 At this point we must leave Peter's narrative; nor dare we venture to expatiate upon the many suggestive portions of his simple tale. The Divine influence that must have been operating upon the heart of such a man as Taufa-ahau, leading him to countenance Peter, and to protect him from the malice of the great chiefs; his bold and opportune avowal of Christianity, at the particular time when its interests were in greatest danger; the subsequent decision of his character and proceedings, and his probable escape from being secretly murdered; all these things mark the power of heavenly grace, and the operation of an all-wise Providence, preparing

Taufa-ahau for a life of no ordinary incident and 797 [643]
usefulness.

The very rapidity and completeness with which the Gospel spread through the Haabai islands deprives its history of those striking incidents always attendant upon success achieved under difficulty, or upon religious progress accomplished in the face of persecution. But, on the other hand, what Christian mind can consider the scene presented here, without emotions of wonder and holy joy. Through the weakest instrumentality results the most extraordinary were brought about.

With the exception of three out of eighteen 797
inhabited islands in the Haabai group, all had 794
made a renunciation of heathenism before Mr.
Thomas landed at Lifuka, in January, 1830; and
when he left the group, on his return to Tonga, in
December, 1831, a short period of less than two
years, there were then five hundred and fifty
church members. Being succeeded by the Rev.
Peter Turner, that number was nearly doubled,
within a few months. In addition to the resi- 797
dence of the Missionaries at Lifuka, native teachers
occupied five of the principal islands: Haano, Foa,
Nomuka, Oua, and Mougaone, were all under the
care and instruction of these men, even at that
early period. Idolatry, except in part of one 797
island, was entirely abandoned. Houses of prayer 177
to the true God had superseded the temples of
demons previously worshipped. The Lord's day
was observed with scrupulous attention, while
crowds assembled, on every occasion of worship, to
hear words whereby many of them were savingly
converted. The establishment of schools also kept 797
pace with the spread of religious fervour. At the 871
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797 close of 1832, there were fourteen in operation, in
871 which the inhabitants were taught to read and
177 write. In these schools, there were more than two
thousand persons under instruction, of every age
and from all classes of the community, from the
child of three years to the man of grey hairs, and
from the king himself to the meanest of his serfs.

The island of Uiha was the only place where any
797 serious opposition was met. Containing, as it did,
798 the burial grounds of the kings and chiefs of the
[764] group, this place was the stronghold of heathen
worship, and, for a time, the fear and respect which
[643] its chiefs had for Taufa-ahau, did not deter them
from clinging to it. They even thought that he
[669] had betrayed his country by leaving heathenism
for Christ, and they, therefore, took up arms to
resist his authority. Some of these opponents
[602] were the king's near kinsmen, and had been, up to
that time, his closest friends. By prudent but firm
and necessary measures, Uiha was at last brought
back to its allegiance to the king; and, shortly
afterwards, the whole range of the Haabai archipelago
lay, a peaceful and glorious trophy, at the
Saviour's feet.

Passing over all the intervening years, during
797 which the advancement of religion in Haabai was
simultaneous with that of the Friendly Islands at
large, there were in that particular group, when
we arrived in 1853,—22 chapels, 1,850 church
members, 55 day schools, 2,075 scholars. These
results had not been attained without immense and
untiring labour on the part of my predecessors.
The names of Messrs. John Thomas, Peter Turner,
William Cross, John Watkin, Richard B. Lyth,
Stephen Rabone, Charles Tucker, William Webb,

and Matthew Wilson, deserve the most honourable mention. During periods of varying length, each of these devoted men laboured successfully among the Haabai islands, and many will be the crown of their rejoicing in the great day of the Lord.

At the time of our appointment thither, death, and successive removals of valuable men through failure of health and other causes, had greatly lessened the Missionary staff; so that the entire charge of these scattered islands devolved upon myself, aided by two native assistant Missionaries, one of whom, David Kata, was stationed at Haano, and the other, Peter Vi, at Tugua. The one was the oldest and first native minister, the other the youngest; and better assistants and colleagues no Missionary could have desired. The character of the work in Haabai, and the efficiency of these native colleagues, will be best understood by extracting from our personal journal the record of those events which will carry the reader to the close of our Tonguese experiences, and will likewise complete the general history of the people up to that time.

Sabbath, June 19th, 1853.—I spent this day at Haano. I left Lifuka yesterday afternoon, at three P.M., and with a favourable breeze reached Haano a little after six P.M. The people generally, and my old Vavau friend, David Kata, gave me a hearty welcome. The services to-day were of the most cheering kind. There were overflowing congregations, and a heavenly influence in our midst. I was occupied throughout the interval of public worship in the examination of eight classes of church members. At four P.M. preached to a large congrega-

797 tion, and in the evening conducted a public prayer-meeting, which was well attended.

Monday, 20th.—After visiting some sick people, and dispensing medicines, sailed about nine A.M. for Lifuka. The wind fell light, and becoming contrary as well, we did not arrive at home until four P.M. I have been greatly pleased with what I saw at Haano. The people have built David Kata a good and substantial house. The ground attached to it has been neatly fenced in. They have also built similar premises for the teacher who manages the school. They are evidently a willing people, and I have no doubt the Lord will visit them with "showers of blessing."

July 2nd.—Left Lifuka about two P.M., with a steady breeze for Uiha, which island we reached at sunset. We were met on the beach with much
[574] cordiality by the old chief Malubo, and by the teachers, who had provided for us a huge repast, in the shape of *three* large baked pigs, with vegetables in proportion. Having supplied our own wants, we distributed the remainder, according to Tonguese custom. Uiha is one of the best of the
[137] Haabai islands. It is particularly remarkable for its immense numbers of cocoa-nut trees. The chapel is a large building, and is situated in the midst of a cluster of large and graceful iron-wood trees.

Sunday, 3rd.—Held a prayer-meeting at sunrise, and preached at nine A.M. to an overflowing congregation. Baptized a large number of little chil-
[795] dren as well as two adults, the lingering remnants of Tongan heathenism. At one P.M., I walked to a village called Felemea, two miles distant from Uiha. Here I met and examined ten classes of members,

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each being met separately. This over, I obtained an interval for refreshment, and then preached, until a little after the sun had set gloriously in the western sky. Even his last departing rays fell brightly over the sweep of ocean full in view of the congregation, giving peculiar beauty and solemnity to the scene. After service, returned to Uiha, where I held an evening prayer-meeting, at which a numerous company was present.

Monday, 4th.—Assembled the children's school at sunrise, and examined the little ones in reading, writing, and arithmetic. Very small advance has been made, as yet, in the two latter branches. After this, married several couples. Breakfast over, met the members of Society. There being no fewer than twenty classes, I was occupied in this duty until one o'clock P.M. At half past one P.M. sailed to Felemea, where I examined the children's school, and then departed for Lifuka at four P.M. The wind, however, was strong, and against us. We did not, therefore, get even to the nearest point of Lifuka, until about ten P.M. We were threading our way among the most dangerous reefs during about four hours in the dark.

Tuesday, 5th.—A fleet of eight large *kalias* has arrived from Vavau, and seven more are yet to come. These, with a fleet of the same description from Haabai, are on the way to Tongatabu, carrying the voyagers to the marriage of King George's adopted daughter to Tugi, the chief of Mua, who was converted to Christianity twelve months ago. [501] [505]

13th.—The Rev. George Daniel, with Mrs. Daniel, and their two children, embarked this morning at Foa, in a small schooner of nineteen tons, on their return to Vavau. We have greatly enjoyed their sojourn with us of seven weeks. The day, however, has been stormy; and they must have suffered greatly in such a small and unsuitable vessel. Our assistant Missionary, Benjamin Latuselu, has been in charge of Vavau during their necessary absence. 797

August 10th.—Held to-day the quarterly meeting of leaders and local preachers from all parts of Haabai. We have, in this circuit, upwards of one hundred lay-preachers. From the lack of proper instruction and training, the knowledge and ability of many of these men are necessarily very limited. The scattered character of this group of islands will always be a considerable barrier to improvement in this department of our work; but I am convinced that a much higher standard of excellence might be attained, were our lay-agents more intent upon acquiring the best gifts. I have, therefore, made arrangements to commence at Lifuka a training-school for all those who can conveniently attend once a week, for a few hours' instruction. This will be better than doing nothing. But what is really wanted, is a training-school where resident students may receive *daily* tuition for a given period of time, as in Mr. Amos's institution at Tonga. Until each of the Friendly groups has such an institution, the absolute necessities of our churches here will not have been met.

15th and 16th.—I occupied these two entire days in visiting the schools of Lifuka, and in making sundry alterations and arrangements for their better management. The interest in them has been flagging for some time past; but I hope things will now go on a little more pleasantly. There are eleven schools on this island alone; and what can one Missionary do for so many, even if he had all the necessary school apparatus? Of slates, pencils, maps, &c., we are exceedingly deficient. I have prepared scores of the latter myself, and many of the children use the spines of the sea-urchin, instead of slate pencil.

18th.—Having arranged for a tour to the distant islands of the circuit, we sailed this morning for Tugua. This island is distant from Lifuka about thirty-eight miles, and is under the immediate care of Peter Vi. He visits, from it, as a central spot, all the southern part of the group. Standing on as far as a reef called Kito, we tacked from thence, and reached Tugua one hour after sunset. The visit was unexpected; but our reception was warm and hearty. Tugua will ever be associated in my mind with many pleasing and painful remembrances. It was here I first began my Missionary labours in the native tongue. It was here, also, that my late and beloved Missionary brother, William Webb, resided alone, and far removed from his other brethren, for seven years. It was likewise in the vicinity of this island, where we were both mercifully, and wonderfully, delivered from a watery grave. When I again viewed the spot, where he had laboured so long and so effectively, I felt more than pen can express; what, in fact, only a Missionary can know, who, far from the presence of kindred and friends, has had a well-beloved fellow-Missionary cut down by his side.

Before landing, we were overtaken by a heavy squall of wind and rain; and being also late, we could hold no religious service. Peter thought it

797 would be better to leave in the morning for Tofua, and do the work at Tugua on our return from thence. Tofua is the most distant island of the group, lying about fifty miles due west from Lifuka.

19th.—Before the sun had risen, we were skirting along the coral reefs of Tugua. The breeze, however, was light, and we did not reach Tofua until one P.M. The island is about two thousand [133] feet high, and the whole coast rocky and precipitous. On that side where we landed, there are but [504] two small patches of sandy beach, with narrow openings through the fringing shore reef. These are the only spots where, even in the finest weather, a landing can be effected. The one is called Haamatua, the other Manaka. We steered for the latter. It is usual, when the natives of the island see any canoe or boat approaching, to send a number of men to assist in getting the visitors, and their canoe or boat, safely on shore. Our approach, however, having been undiscovered, we were left to shift for ourselves. Peter Vi being the only one conversant with the narrow and crooked channel, acted as pilot, while I steered. After entering the passage, our boat was well nigh lost. One of the long rollers threw it broadside upon a sunken patch of reef, in the middle of the channel, of which we were not aware; and, had not the crew jumped into the surf, thus easing the boat of their weight, and also bearing it up, as each succeeding wave came, until it floated again in deep water, we should certainly have been both swamped and smashed. By the time we had got over our difficulties, several of the islanders came, offering many apologies for their late appearance. I was puzzled to know where the boat could be secured. The 797 enormous cliffs rose abruptly from the shore, leaving [133] only a strip of black sand, beyond high-water [504] mark, not many inches wider than the boat itself. On my expressing a fear that even a little extra sea would probably float her away into the roaring surf, not fifty yards distant, they only laughed, and said, "It is possible, should there be a hurricane." Their unconcern somewhat reassured me; so placing one side of the boat against the cliff, and propping up the other with a few sticks, we set off for the village.

After dinner, and a little rest, I preached at sunset, and arranged for the examination of the schools, and for religious conversation with the church members, on the next day.

20th.—Breakfasted at daybreak, and afterwards met the classes. There seems to have been much ill-feeling and party-spirit here; but I hope things will now assume a happier aspect. The wind has been freshening ever since we landed, and now it blows hard; the sea is breaking right across the reef channel, so that, as a matter of necessity, I must remain here for the Sabbath. Met and [871] examined the schools in the afternoon: when, considering the remoteness of the island from all the others in Haabai, and particularly from the Mission Station at Lifuka, I found the school in a very fair state of efficiency. The reading and writing performances of both young and old were very creditable.

Sunday, 21st.—Prayer-meeting at sunrise. Preached twice during the day. Another prayer-meeting in the evening. The whole of these services were well attended and greatly blessed. The day has been tempestuous. Wind and sea still increasing.

22nd.—No possibility of getting away. The surf grand and impassable. Spent some time in exploring the mountain, and viewing the active volcano. Peter preached this afternoon a capital sermon.

23nd.—This morning the sea was still very high, but the natives thought we might venture, provided we would take some extra hands to paddle through the surf. Accordingly, ten men assisted us to dash through. It was exciting work; but, after watching some time for a fair chance, the men bent to their paddles with a will; and, having only shipped the crest of one wave, we cleared the reef. While our sails were loosening, the ten men sprang overboard, and swam to the shore, shouting and laughing all the way, now cresting the billows and now lost to sight amid the foam of the breakers. We got back to Tugua about two P.M., where we obtained some refreshment, and sailed again for Oua. Night coming on, and the tide being low, we could not get through the reefs; we therefore anchored at an adjoining small island, where we kindled a fire on the beach, and waited for the tide to flow. The night was cold. We did not reach the teacher's house at Oua until one A.M. We had been exposed for nine hours during the day to the excessive heat of the sun in the open boat, and then to several hours of dew and cold on the beach. Hence we were glad enough to rest, even on the bare mats provided for our use, under the shelter of a good thatch roof.

24th.—Preached at daybreak, and, after breakfast, examined the three schools on this island. The teacher we found to be an earnest and energetic man.

His schools do him great credit. At noon we sailed 797
for Tefoa, a small island, inhabited by some fishermen. We found it almost deserted. Held no service, but went on to Matuku, which we reached after tacking three or four times. Here I did not preach, but met and examined the school. From Matuku, we sailed to Haafeva, arriving there shortly after the sun had set. Preached to a large congregation by lamplight.

25th.—This morning examined two of the [871)
schools. The children's school, under the charge of David Jiale, reflects great credit upon his industry and ability. The singing was excellent. Jiale [875)
is one of the best men sent out from the Training Institution at Tonga; and this case shows the value of a regular training for our schoolmasters.

From Haafeva we sailed for Fotuhaa, an island very seldom visited by a Missionary, owing to its isolated position and inaccessibility. Arrived
there about two P M. There is only one small 797
and dangerous opening on the shore of this rocky 504
and precipitous island. There is not even a fringing reef; but the full force of the open ocean sweeps against the cliffs. The usual landing place being impracticable, owing to the prevailing wind, we made for the lee side, in search of some favourable spot. At one place we discovered a number of men descending the rocks, who signalled us to land there. We therefore stood in as near as possible, took in sail, and let go the anchor. Upon this one of the men on shore sprang from a cliff twenty feet high, and swam off to the boat. By his directions, we altered our position a little, dropped the anchor again, abreast a ledge of rock, where a number of men were by this time congregated to give us help.

797 We then allowed the boat to go slowly astern, and, 504 when close in shore, the natives swarmed about it like bees, to fend it off the rocks, whilst we made our exit to the shore the best way we could, leaving the boat in charge of three of the islanders, who undertook to manage it in our absence. Such was the difficulty of landing, and the danger of getting the boat injured, that I had no intention to sleep on shore. The people, however, were so gratified by 797 our coming, and they so urgently requested us to stay the night, while assuring us that the boat would be quite safe in the hands of the three skilful men who had taken charge of it, we could not but consent. The preaching service was one to be remembered. Not a few were bathed in tears. Several wild-looking young men, heathens in appearance, if not really so in life, were awakened, and, before morning, they had shorn off their immense locks of tangled and plaited hair, as an evidence of their sincerity. They looked like new creatures, even with that small outward change of costume, and I believe their hearts were still more affected and spiritually changed.

26th.—Early this morning I met the church members, after which I examined the school, and was well satisfied with its condition. Considering the remote and solitary position of the island, the attainments of the scholars were very fair. When [574 our work was completed, this kind people brought us presents of several baked pigs, yams, bananas, fish, fowls, and cocoa-nuts. We then went in search of the boat to the spot where we landed, the previous night; but could see nothing of her. As it had been a squally night, we thought it not unlikely that she had been drifted out to sea. How-

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ever, on sending several men to different points round the coast, it was soon discovered that those in charge had been compelled to take shelter, during the squalls of the night, in another locality than that where we landed. With considerable difficulty, and even danger, we got on board, and gladly bore away for Lifuka, where we arrived before dark, but thoroughly exhausted by the day's exposure to a vertical sun.

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November 7th, 1854.—The Mission brig, after returning from Fiji, remained here about three weeks, taking in cargo for Sydney. The shipment consisted, in part, of native Missionary contributions, in cocoa-nut oil, to the value of several hundred pounds. She sailed to-day, having on board the Rev. R. B. Lyth, Mrs. Lyth, and family. Mr. and Mrs. Lyth have laboured for eighteen years in this part of the world; the first years of their Mission life having been spent on this island of Lifuka, and the remainder in Fiji. The day has been wet and stormy. We are now left again to our usual loneliness, after three weeks of pleasant and profitable intercourse with our friends. I have had a good deal of important conversation with Mr. Lyth on the present state and prospects of our work, both here and at Fiji. We are of one opinion on the question of native agency. We consider that this ought to be the engrossing subject, in relation to these Missions, at the present time. We are not likely ever to have such a number of European Missionaries, as would be required for the churches of these numerous islands. Nor would it be desirable, even if possible, to exclude the purely native element from the ministry of this or any other country. But if even the less important districts, 797 where we have churches and congregations, are to be well trained and governed, our native teachers and ministers must receive an amount of education and care, such as has never yet been bestowed upon them.

14th.—Visited Haano. Left Lifuka at seven A.M.; but, owing to the lightness of the breeze, did not reach our destination until two P.M. The day was distressingly hot. Soon after landing, I met the leaders and local preachers. Our Assistant Missionary has lately been conducting a class for their better instruction; and I was much gratified to find a marked improvement among them. At lamp-light we held a public prayer-meeting, which was well attended. The chapel was well filled. The singing was excellent and hearty.

15th.—Shortly after sunrise, preached to a large congregation. We sailed for Lifuka, immediately after the service. The heat was intense; and both the natives and myself were completely prostrated. We arrived at Lifuka about noon. I intended preaching at three P.M., but was unable to do so. Peter Vi, therefore, took the pulpit, and preached a most telling and evangelical sermon, from the words, "Prepare to meet thy God."

797 484 643 December 4th.—To day a canoe arrived from Vavau, with several of the most influential chiefs, who are on their way to visit the king at Tongatabu, in relation to certain recent transactions in Vavau, which have given rise to serious misunderstanding between themselves and the Missionaries. The canoe sailed again at four P.M. Thinking that 797 mischief might be done should only *ex parte* statements be laid before the king, I resolved to start for Tonga, so as to secure a personal interview

with his majesty. I judged that the Vavau canoe would anchor before dark at one of the more southern Haabai islands, from whence they would continue their voyage on the morrow. I, therefore, hurriedly called my boatmen together, and told them we must be under sail for Tonga in two hours' time, and that we should sail all night, so as to be with the king before the Vavauans could possibly arrive at Tonga. It is a venture to go a hundred miles of ocean navigation in an open boat: and, moreover, domestic circumstances make my absence from home unadvisable at present; but I think the exigencies of God's work require the risk and sacrifice.

The night was beautifully fine, and by midnight we were abreast of Nomuka, having passed, without accident, through the dangerous reefs lying between that island and Lifuka, to the eastward.

5th.—At seven A.M. we sighted Huga Haabai and Huga Tonga; and, by eleven o'clock, we were snugly anchored in front of Nukualofa. We were most kindly received by Mr. and Mrs. Davis. At three P.M. I preached at the principal chapel. The king and queen were present, and a tolerably good congregation. I had already seen his majesty in reference to Vavau affairs. About five o'clock the Vavau canoe arrived, and the chiefs were not a little mortified to find that I had arrived before them.

6th.—The wind is adverse and blowing hard. There is quite a fleet of Haabai and Vavau *kalias* windbound, and, probably, we shall start in company; but I am all anxiety to get back to my family, and perhaps may venture when they will not.

6797 7th.—About two A.M. one of my boatmen came to tell me that there was a somewhat favourable change in the wind. Although rather dubious about the appearance of things, we nevertheless prepared the boat for our return. Mr. and Mrs. Davis were roused from their slumbers, and they kindly prepared some refreshment at that early hour. About an hour before daybreak we left Nukualofa, and, as the sun rose, we had just cleared the outermost reef of Tonga, at Malinoa. Here the wind began to blow very hard, and one of our sails was carried away. The men then wished to return; but, having once started, I felt no inclination to return, excepting there had been extreme danger. We, therefore, carried on, although the wind blew strongly the whole day, and there was a heavy sea running. We reached Nomuka about four P.M., where we were most heartily welcomed by the teacher and the people.

8th.—Sailed early this morning for Lifuka. Tacked several times, so as to get to the eastward of Nomuka, after which we stood on to Lekeleka, where there is an opening through the great barrier reef of this portion of Haabai; but we could not fetch it. To beat up to the opening would have consumed too much time; and it was of the utmost importance that we should secure daylight, when near Lifuka, on account of the numerous reefs there. Our only other chance for this was by pushing through the surf at some favourable spot. It being high water, we made the attempt successfully, and were overtaken by a heavy squall a few minutes after the breakers were passed. Another squall struck us about two P.M., when abreast of Uiha, where our boat was nearly upset;

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but, by the blessing of God, no harm happened, and we landed at home about five P.M.

Sunday, 9th.—Preached this morning; but, being exceedingly worn out, I gave the afternoon service to David Kata, the Assistant Missionary, from Haano. I conducted the prayer-meeting in the evening. A good attendance, and most profitable meeting.

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10th.—Circumstances being such that a visit to Vavau as well as Tonga is indispensable, I warned my men to be ready to sail at any hour this evening. Among other things, it has been reported here, on good authority, that some of our people at Vavau have been slandering the character of the Missionaries. A Mr. Van Kamp, an American commercial agent, or consul, residing at Samoa, has publicly denounced us as a "set of thieves," in the presence of the British consul, and other foreign residents. Our consul challenged the statement on the spot, upon which Mr. Van Kamp declared that he had his information from some Vavau men, who informed him that the Missionaries had stolen property belonging to the wreck of an American whaler, called the "Sally Ann," that had been lost at Vavau during 1853. This malicious and vile falsehood must be sifted. As for Mr. Van Kamp, we have known some of his discreditable doings before. About a year ago he visited Vavau, and threatened to raise the American flag on that island. He proposed to take possession on behalf of his government, for no other apparent reason than that there was some chance, just at that particular time, that the French might be coming, to make free with King George's territory. He wanted most generously to shield the poor

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

797 648 natives from such a dire fate! This gentleman, upon being told that he was not dealing with a set of rough savages, but with a people having a king, and a responsible government, made sail soon after, in very bad temper; and hence perhaps his attack upon the character of the Missionaries.

797 11th.—Sailed at three A.M. for Vavau. A very fine day; but the wind was light. We sighted Vavau about one P.M., but did not get within the "heads" till sunset; from which hour we were occupied till midnight in beating up to the sandy beach at Utulei. Being unwilling to alarm the Mission families at that hour, we slept in the boat.

12th.—Beat up to Neiafu, and got to the Mission house in time for breakfast. Our friends were all surprised, and greatly pleased by the visit. Had a long conversation with Messrs. Daniel and Amos, on the present state of Vavau. At three P.M. I preached to a poor congregation, from Rev. ii. 2, 4. I hope the sermon aroused and alarmed some who were present. I was painfully convinced that, both in matters political and religious, Vavau is now in a very bad state,—very different from the palmy days of gracious revival in 1846 47.

13th.—There being a fair wind for Haabai, we sailed this afternoon; but at sunset were not more than twenty miles from the entrance to the harbour. The island of Late, with its smoking volcano, loomed high against the horizon on our right.

14th.—Discovered this morning that we had fallen considerably to leeward of the proper course; but the breeze freshening up as the morning advanced, we sighted Haabai about nine A.M. About three hours more took us in all well to Lifuka. Thus, 797 although I have visited both Tonga and Vavau, in an open boat, within the last ten days, having sailed over at least four hundred miles of open sea, yet I have not missed my regular duties at home on the Lord's day. God be praised for all His goodness to myself and boatmen, both by sea and land.

20th.—Held our native quarterly-meeting of teachers and local preachers. Among other things, I urged upon our Tonguese teachers the claims of Fiji for help. Two of our younger and best men willingly offered themselves, and they will proceed thither, as soon as an opportunity presents itself.

January 13th, 1855.—The king arrived to-day 797 from Tonga, bringing us very important news. On 648 Friday, the 5th inst., he was visited at Nukualofa (643) by his Excellency M. Du Bouzet, governor of the French colony in Tahiti. A great sensation was created by the circumstance that the frigate conveying his Excellency was heralded by the arrival of a war steamer, on the previous day; and by the fact that he was bringing back M. Calignon, the priest whom Captain Belland had taken to Tahiti. The proceedings of the French in Tahiti, in the Marquesas Islands, and more recently still in the Isle of Pines, and New Caledonia, were well known to the Tonguese people, and many of them now thought that M. Du Bouzet was come on no very peaceful mission to themselves. But beyond endeavouring to take some exception to the decisions of his subordinate, Captain Belland, who last year investigated all the questions arising out of the late war, and also requiring King George to

797 648 [643] sign a treaty, which he laid before him, the governor's visit and conduct were friendly enough. In regard to the war question, re-opened by M. Du Bouzet, the king answered all inquiries to his entire satisfaction, and that subject then dropped. The following is the text of the Convention, in respect to which the king put many verbal questions, and received many verbal replies and explanations. Although by no means satisfied on some points, the king was required to sign the document without any alteration of its terms.

797 648 539 643 "CONVENTION between Tubou, King of the Tonga Islands, on the one part, and M. Du Bouzet, Commander-in-chief and Governor of the French establishments in Oceanie, in the name of His Majesty Napoleon III., Emperor of the French, on the other part.

I.

"There shall be perpetual peace and friendship between Tubou, King of the Tonga Islands, and His Majesty Napoleon III., Emperor of the French.

II.

"The Catholic religion is declared free in all the islands under the King of the Tonga Islands. The members of that communion shall have all the privileges accorded to Protestants.

III.

"All natives of the Tonga Islands banished or deprived of their property on account of religion, shall be at liberty to return to their homes, and their land shall be restored to them, and they shall be allowed to cultivate it with all freedom.

IV.

"The French, of whatever profession they may be, located within the Tonga Islands, or who shall

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come to reside there, shall be protected in an effectual manner by Tubou, in their persons and property.

V.

"This protection shall be extended to French ships and their crews; the assistance of pilots shall never be refused; and, in case of wreck, the chiefs and inhabitants of the districts shall take them succour, and protect them from pillage. The salvage indemnity shall be regulated amicably; and, in disputed cases, by arbitrators chosen by the two parties.

VI.

"French ships shall not in any case be liable to higher anchorage, and pilot dues, or other charges, than other nations.

VII.

"The subjects of Tubou shall have a right in all French possessions to the advantages accorded to the French in the Tonga Islands.

VIII.

"The present convention shall be communicated to the chiefs and people of the Tonga Islands, and published in all the islands.

"Drawn up and signed in four despatches at Tongatabu, in the two languages, by the contractants, January 9th, 1855." *

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* "CONVENTION entre le Tubou, Roi des Iles Tonga; d'une part, et au nom de sa Majesté Napoléon III., Empereur des Français, M. Du Bouzet, Chef de division, Gouverneur des Etablissements Français de l'Océanie, d'autre part.

"I. Il y aura paix et amitié perpetuelles entre le Tubou, Roi des Iles Tonga, et sa Majesté Napoléon III., Empereur des Français.

"II. La religion Catholique est déclarée libre dans toutes les îles soumises au Roi des Iles Tonga. Les membres de cette communion auront tous les privilèges accordés aux Protestants.

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It may be observed, in reference to the terms of Article III., that the king strongly objected, on the ground that none of his subjects or chiefs ever had been banished, or deprived of their property, on any religious ground whatever. He challenged the production of any case in which he had taken such action on religious grounds. No instance could be given; but the king was told that he must sign the convention just as it stood; and, in the presence of French power, what else could he do?

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It was evident that what the priests could not induce Captain Belland to do by powder and shot, a few months before, in sustaining their unjust claims and extending their influence, they were

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"III. Tous les indigènes des Iles Tonga exilés ou dépouillés de leurs biens pour cause de religion, seront libres de rentrer dans leurs foyers, leurs biens leur seront rendus, et ils pourront exercer leur culte en toute liberté.

"IV. Les Français, quelle que soit leur profession, établis dans les Isles Tonga, ou qui viendront s'y fixer, seront protégés d'une manière efficace par le Tubou dans leurs personnes et leurs propriétés.

"V. Cette protection s'étendra aux navires Français et à leurs équipages, l'assistance des pilotes ne leur sera jamais refusée, et en cas de naufrage les chefs et les habitants des districts leur porteront secours et les garantiront du pillage. Des indemnités de sauvetage seront réglées a l'amiable; et, en cas de difficultés, par des arbitres élus par les deux parties.

"VI. Les navires Français ne seront, en aucun cas, assujettis à des droits d'ancrage, et de pilotage, ou tous autres droits, plus élevés que ceux des autres nations.

"VII. Les sujets du Tubou auront droit, dans toutes les possessions Français, aux avantages accordés aux Français aux Iles Tonga.

"VIII. La présente convention sera communiquée aux chefs et au peuple des Iles Tonga, et publiée dans toutes les îles.

"Fait en quadruple expéditions et rédigé à Tongatabu dans les deux langues par les contractants, le 9 Janvier, 1855."

now accomplishing by the more peaceful, but not less dangerous, means of written guarantees. If the writer is not much mistaken, M. Du Bouzet had aforetime materially advanced the interests of Popery by similar means in the Sandwich Islands; and he was now disposed to do the same sort of service for the Popish Mission in Tonga that he had done there. 797 648

There can be no doubt that every advantage will be taken of the wide terms of the convention in Article II. to advance Romanism in all parts of these islands; but we hope that the knowledge of God's word, so generally diffused among the people, will prove an effectual bar to any great progress in the way of conversions to Popery.

It seems well, upon the whole, that the French Government have now acknowledged the sovereignty and independence of these islands, in this formal manner. Even the present brief convention may save King George and his people from many petty annoyances and threats to which they have sometimes been subjected by blustering naval commanders, who have too readily lent themselves to the false representations and schemes of the Popish priests. I have, however, urged upon the king the adoption of the measures necessary to obtain a still more direct and complete recognition of Tonguese independence from the home governments of France, England, and America, such as was obtained by the Sandwich Islanders in 1843.

January 14th.—To-day I had an interview, and held a long conversation, with the king, in reference to his approaching visit to the Fiji Islands. He intends to sail thither, with about thirty canoes, 648 643

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643 sea-shore presents quite a lively scene. Here some
484 are sail-making, others spinning ropes, others plait-
[293] ing *kafa*, or the cocoa fibre sinnet, and others again
[396] are employed in scouring or repairing the hulls of
the various large sea-going canoes.

January 31st.—The Haabai portion of the king's Fijian fleet sailed for Tonga to-day. They have been waiting impatiently for several days for those that are coming from Vavau. The departure of so many large *kalias* was an imposing sight. Many tears, however, were shed by the friends of those who have gone; it being very probable that numbers of these voyagers will never return.

● 797 The subject of this expedition to Fiji, and of
its results, requires a more extended and consecu-
648 tive view of it than our journal would afford. It
was the last event of moment that occurred during
our remaining residence in the Friendly Islands;
but inasmuch as the scene of Tonguese movements
lay in Fiji, we must be pardoned for entering into
certain details that have already appeared substan-
tially in another work.* We also feel this to be
[114] very necessary, because in a still more recent
publication of considerable note, some of the facts
connected with the history have been misrepre-
sented and distorted, to the manifest prejudice of
the Tonguese people, and more particularly to the
injury of King George.

648 In a work we have already named in former
643 pages it is said, "that King George, the present
669 ruler of Tonga, having subdued a rebellion in which
114 Maafu, a leading Tonguese chief in Fiji, took part,

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[*] "Fiji and the Fijians," vol. ii., pp. 189-196. London: Heylin. 1858.

a large canoe; and King George then promised to visit Fiji at some convenient time after his return from Australia, for the purpose of removing the canoe to the Friendly Islands. 3. When King George visited Thakombau in the "John Wesley," in 1853, that chief was still a heathen, which is proved by the fact that King George wrote a letter to Thakombau, some time after his return to Tonga from Australia, imploring him to become a Christian.* That letter, in fact, decided Thakombau to become a Christian on April 30th, 1854; and it was not till March, 1855, that King George sailed from Tonga with his own fleet of canoes to fulfil his promised visit to the Fijian chief. We totally deny that the king went on account of any previous promise or arrangement, to render assistance to Thakombau in his wars. But, it may be said, if King George's mission to Fiji were a peaceful one, why did he go there with more than thirty large canoes? 643 648 114

Intelligence having been carried to Fiji that the king intended going there with a large retinue, I received a communication from the Rev. James Calvert, requesting me to wait upon the king, and persuade him, if possible, to reduce the number of his fleet to eight or ten canoes, lest any alarm might be created, in the then distracted state of Fijian parties. With this communication I waited upon the king. During the course of conversation he distinctly declared that his intended visit was solely one of friendship and peace. He expressed also the pleasure it would have given him to go with a fewer number of canoes and people; "but," he said, "we know what Fiji is. I feel bound to make good my 797 648 643

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* "Fiji and the Fijians," vol. ii., p. 334.

797 promised visit to Thakombau; but it would not be
648 safe for me or mine to go with only a few canoes.
In the present state of Fiji, a weak appearance
643 would be the signal for our destruction. I take a large number of canoes, not as a demonstration against Fiji, nor with the design of taking part in their quarrels, but for the safety of myself and people." These were the king's words to myself in reply to the suggestion that he should go to Fiji with not more than ten canoes. That the answer he gave, and the course he took, were prudent and wise, the sequel of the history will show. But I think these facts ought to put the king's conduct in a very different light from that in which it is made to appear in Dr. Seemann's statements.

648 Let us now pursue our narrative of King
George's proceedings. The fleet sailed from Tonga
643 at the close of February; and after touching at
484 Mote, Lakemba, Kabala, Totea, Moala, and Gau, the Tonguese arrived at the island of Moturiki, twenty miles from Bau, on March 21st, 1855. Here King George was desired to remain till Monday, the 26th, so that the Bau chiefs and people might make due preparation for his reception; but a melancholy event led to the sudden and unexpected arrival of the Tonguese fleet at Bau on Saturday, the 24th.

On Friday, the 23rd, the king sent a small canoe from Moturiki to Ovalau, to pay his respects to the Chief of Levuka on that island, and to carry certain letters to the Romish priests from their friends in Tonga. In prospect of this visit to Fiji, the French Governor of Tahiti, M. Du Bouzet, had requested the king to pay any attention and courtesy he could to the French priests there,

commence a conflict with the Tonguese. They in- 648
quired why the Tonguese delayed, and said that the 721
firewood they had cut for cooking them was getting rotten.

Before taking any further steps, King George 797
waited upon the Missionaries for their advice, in 643
reference to joining his forces with those of Tha- 648
kombau. They told him that they could not take 721
upon themselves the responsibility of tendering any advice; and that he and his chiefs, with Thakombau, must act on their own judgment and responsibility. King George then decided to become Thakombau's ally.

Accordingly the Fijian and Tonguese fleets, and 648
fighting men, assembled at a place called Kiuva, 726
and from thence advanced upon Kamba, on Saturday, the 7th of April. Although met by a brisk fire from Mara and his men, the forces of the combined fleet effected a landing. This accomplished, King George headed a large party of his own people, who went to cut down trees for the construction of stockades round the enemy's town and fortifications. While he was absent on this work, some of the remaining Tonguese went towards the enemy's works, and were shot. The Fijians managed to club two or three of them, and dragged their bodies into the town to be cooked. This infuriated the Tonguese, who, notwithstanding the king's absence, rushed upon the place and took it by storm. The first intimation King George had of the fact, was from the smoke of the burning town. The Tonguese took many prisoners, and protected all they could; but the Fijians acted very differently. They destroyed not less than one hundred and fifty persons, including men, women, and even children. The attack and conquest of the

648 the Tonguese in Fiji were valuable in a political point of view to Thakombau; but they were still more memorable, on account of the vast impetus given to the spread of religious knowledge, and influence, among the Fijians at large. It was impossible that such a large body of Christian men, hundreds of whom were really converted and pious, could move amongst the Fijians without exhibiting such evidences of the power of religion as would carry conviction to many a heart, that the idols of Fiji were vanity and lies, and that its debasing cannibalism, and other heathen enormities, were unworthy the practice of rational beings. There can be no doubt that the religious example of the Tonguese tended to hasten that rapid development of Christian progress in Fiji, which has been the wonder of modern times in connexion with the Missionary enterprises of the church of Christ.

797 While these notable events were transpiring in Fiji, the period of our Missionary residence was rapidly drawing to a close in the Friendly Islands. Failing health compelled me to look for a timely departure to a more temperate clime; and, accordingly, I embarked with my family on board the "John Wesley," in the month of August, 1855, bound for Fiji, and from thence to Sydney. The parting with our dear people at Haabai was painful. They loaded us with marks of their affection; and when we weighed anchor, and the islands of Tonga receded from our sight, perhaps for ever, we felt an assurance within that we should meet with very many of its inhabitants among "the spirits of the just made perfect," who will form the "general assembly and church of the first-born in heaven."

[pp. 405-500 not processed]

The existence in Haapai of inanimate representatives 778
of gods, shaped in human form, is established by the 532
documentary evidence of the missionary, John Williams, 127
who visited the Tongan group in 1830. At that time, Haapai 631
was subject to the authority of Taufaahau, who afterward 643
became ruler of the whole Tongan group with the title
of George Tupou I. Taufaahau, according to Williams,[6] 643
had despised the Tongan system of worship from his youth 797
and, coming in contact with missionaries during a visit
to Tongatabu, he resolved to abandon the gods of his
ancestors. On his return to Haapai, he "commenced the [798]
work of destruction upon the gods and maraes." Williams 114
had come to Tonga after work carried on in the Society
and Cook groups and by "marae" he meant the Tongan 346
house temple. His misuse of the term "marae" must not
be regarded as evidence that the *marae* form of religious
structure was present in Tonga. An opposing faction 798
determined to celebrate a religious festival in honour of 643
the gods whom Taufaahau was desecrating. Williams[7]
wrote as follows:

> "Taufaahau, resolving to anticipate and neutralize this movement, [778]
> drove a large herd of pigs into the sacred enclosure, converted a
> most beautiful little temple, which stood in the middle of it, into
> a sleeping appartment for his female servants, and suspended the
> gods by the neck to the rafters of the house in which they had
> been adored. The idolators, ignorant of his proceedings, came, with 798
> great ceremony, attended by their priests, to present their offerings, 778
> and found, to their astonishment, a number of voracious pigs, ready
> to devour anything they had to offer; and the gods, disrobed of
> their apparel, hanging in degradation, like so many condemned
> criminals."

The worshippers retired in indignation but evidently
did not attempt to cut down the gods from their elevated
position. Taufaahau conducted Williams to the building 798
and Williams[8] continues: 643

> "On observing five goddesses hanging by the neck, I requested 778
> this intrepid chief to give me one of them, which he immediately
> cut down and presented to me. I have brought it to England, with
> the very string around its neck by which it was hung."

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[6] Williams, John, *Missionary Enterprises*, London, 1839, p. 273. [113]

[7] Williams, *Opt. cit.*, pp. 273, 274.

[8] Williams, *Opt. cit.*, p. 275.

dread, as to make life wretched. There were many tabus, but some 784
of them resulted from the mistaken premisses of primitive science, and however ineffective their observance may have been they imposed no more toil on the laborer than a due regard to scientific agriculture entails on the white farmer. Rather less toilsome perhaps were they, but less useful. Again, in the matter of social relations the Tongan enjoyed in some respects a greater liberty than did his Christian contemporary, whilst the duties imposed by religion proper were neither oft recurring nor excessively burdensome. The fear of hell which many a primitive man has exchanged for his heathenism would seem a motive for more harrowing dread than any supplied by his discarded beliefs. A mild climate, abundant rainfall, and fertile soil, in the fruits of which all might share, went far to assure physical contentment, and, though the modern tendency is certainly not to underrate the importance of economic factors in national and cultural development, their potency in promoting material well-being is not likely to be overstated.

In passing it may be remarked that Christianization frequently 784
means for primitive man the carrying over to a new set of objects 797
much of the old manner of thought. Thus Sunday, called in Tongan by the Jewish name Sabbath, "Sabate," is the tabu day. The prohibitions against labor in the Fourth Commandment are naturally and properly rendered in the Tongan version of the Bible (which by the way is called the Tabu Book) as labor being tabu on the seventh day, and this idea of the tabu day is more easily assimilated and more strictly enforced than many of the more positive precepts of Christian teaching. A Tongan will not so much as pluck a flower or break a branch from a shrub on that day. Again, church buildings are tabu. 778
The practice, not infrequent in white countries, especially in rural 784 797
districts, of holding social gatherings in church buildings at which food and drink are served would be entirely repugnant to Tongan thought. From regard to sacredness, also, water from church roofs is not stored or used. It is said that a few years ago a child died in one of the Haapai Islands through drinking water which had dripped from a church roof into an empty tin placed under the eaves.

probably puzzle most natives to draw the exact line at which the class 764 of the soul-bearers ends and that of the soulless begins. Chiefs were 565 buried in cemeteries (to which amongst other names that of *malae* 775 is applied), whilst the lower orders were interred in some convenient place close to the dwelling. A man living alone would perhaps be buried inside his house and the house then deserted or even burned down. The members of a more numerous household would be buried [768] round about the house, and when say half a dozen had been thus disposed of the survivors would seek a fresh site for their habitation. Christianity has endowed the common folk with souls, and promoted [797] their mortal remains to the dignity of as careful interment in cemeteries as that enjoyed by their "betters." In speaking of a very high dead chief it is not uncommon to refer to him as "the chief in such a burial ground, or malae." The highest chiefs are often said to be "away," or "at a distance," when their death is spoken of.

After the death of the late King George II, in 1918, the body lay 643 in state for several days (not an ancient custom), and every night 764 during the lying in state multitudes of lanterns were burnt about the 565 palace, and little fires completely surrounded the compound. These were tended in silence during the night, and might not be extinguished until the first had been put out by one of the very few persons—one at least of whom was a woman—of sufficiently high rank to give this signal. In this, as in other matters, foreigners are exempted from the tabus which bind the natives. One morning when a native able to extinguish the first flame was not at hand the services of an Indian cook were requisitioned, or were just about to be when a native appeared who was entitled to perform this ceremony. In the case [767] of the kings the tasks connected with their burial are largely in the hands of the craftsman class or hereditary guild (*haa tufunga*). The tombs of the old Tongan kings stand in inviolate sanctity in 643 places almost untrodden by human foot, and the gloom of forest and 764 thicket enshrouds these abodes of supernatural dread. In modern times the Christian care of the resting places of the dead has overcome the old avoidance of burial-places. The present kings of Tonga, moreover, are buried in the town of Nukualofa, the capital, and the necessity of keeping such a site clear is modifying the old tabus.

“And what then?” 226

“When it does not come there is nothing to do but return to shore, 784
because that is the proof that someone has violated the tabu of the 825 [828]
closed house, or perhaps that one of us has some grudge or anger in
his heart. So we must go and correct what is amiss, and then the
fishing may recommence.”[1]

The shark indeed is a great searcher of the heart, and the man [776]
who attempts to approach the cavern where resides the great shark- [828]
god of the island of Eua will find himself unable to reach the spot
should his heart be not as it should be. Although particularly notable
in the case of the shark the same type of idea is found in fishing gen-
erally. Persistent ill-luck gets a boat a bad reputation which reflects [828]
more on the ethical qualities of crew and owners, and of the boat
herself, than on their skill as fishermen. “The fishing is accursed;
let us go ashore.”

Gardens were protected by tabus. Frequently a coconut-leaf rep- 784
resentation of the shark was put up on the trunk of a tree, which was 825
as effective as turning the shark-god Taufa loose in the garden. It is [241]
stated that Taufaahau, better known to Europeans as King George I— [643]
under whom, after many years of strife, Tonga became a homo- [797]
geneous kingdom with Christianity universally and firmly established [776]
throughout the group—experimented with some of these tabu signs
to assure himself of the impotency of the old gods, and also made the
more daring test of swimming out to the opening in the reef of the
island of Lifuka in Haapai and shouting defiance to the sharks.

SIN

A general idea of the sort of conduct that was ethically right is 673
obtained by attention to the words which indicate wrong-doing. This [682]
is too lengthy an inquiry to be entered on in any detail in this place, [684]
but to inquiries as to what conduct would be formerly included under
the word *hia*, which is commonly translated “sin” but is today too
much mixed up with the modern machinery of law-courts to afford a
clear idea of its ancient significance, it was answered murder and
connection with the wife of a man of superior rank to the offender.

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[1] Op. cit., pages 59 and 60.

of true love, errant fancy may have been attracted by some other 588
charmer. In all cases the procedure is the same. Recourse is had [797]
to a white missionary or native pastor to dissolve the oath. In the [793]
cases that have come to my own notice the clergy, European and Tongan, have refused to be parties to this superstitious use of the Bible, and have sent the suitors away with a little healthy advice.

In reference to murder Mariner remarks, "An old mataboole used 682
to say, that useless and unprovoked murder was highly offensive to 776
the gods, and that he never remembered a man guilty of it but who either lived unhappily, or came to an untimely end." The gods sometimes turned peevish for less weighty reasons than wanton homicide. Soon after the introduction of Christianity into Tongatabu, and be- 776
fore it had spread throughout the whole island, Boiboi, the chief of 753
a still heathen district, became very ill, and was carried on a stretcher 787
to the priest of his god. After a time the priest was seized by the 793
convulsive movements which indicated his possession by the deity, and then informed the waiting assembly that the god had been away in a different part of the island at a single-stick match, but had now returned. He had been very angry with Boiboi because the latter used to make an insulting gesture with his eyes, but he was now reconciled to him, and the chief would recover. Boiboi honored the declaration by an immediate recovery, and rising from the stretcher he went off quite well.

MANA

GENERAL REMARKS

Another important conception, shared by the Tongans with their 778
neighbors of the Pacific, is that of mana. Whilst tabu inculcates the duty of man towards the occult, mana indicates the mysterious forces in operation. The range covered by this idea is very wide, and there has sometimes been a tendency to dogmatize too positively on the inability of peoples at the Tongan level of culture to conceive abstractions. Mana is rendered in English as a wonder or miracle, and is employed in this sense in the vernacular version of the Bible. It is [821]
a common word for thunder. An adjective (*mana'ia*) containing [832]
this root is used of a man who is especially attractive to women. It

the omen were good or evil. The portent was of bad tidings, and 787
Bunga returned to shore with all possible speed to find that his harem 825
had been ravished (success in the feats of love, as in those of war, 539
being here as elsewhere a mark of the legendary hero), and two great kava plants which had stood near his house torn up and carried away. Bunga pursued Muni, but in the contest which followed he was defeated though not slain.

Old travelers mention a wooden bowl used for divination. The 787
Introduction of the *Voyage of the Duff* in referring to Tasman's
visit says, "An elderly chief who seems at that time to have had
sovereign authority . . . was highly gratified by the presents made
him. Among them was a wooden bowl, probably the same that long [695]
afterwards was used by the sovereigns of Tongataboo as a divining
cup to convict persons accused of crimes; and the same homage which
is rendered to the sovereign when present was paid during his absence
to the bowl, as his representative." Later on in the same Introduction 643
it is stated that the king, dining with Captain Cook on board the lat- 784
ter's vessel, was presented by him with a pewter plate, which he said he would substitute for the bowl "which had before sustained the offices of chief justice and viceroy." This pewter plate was still in use at the time of Mariner's residence in Tonga, and Mariner speaks of it as used to remove the tabu from those who had come in contact with the Tui Tonga. "If anyone is tabooed by touching the person or garments of Tooitonga, there is no other chief can relieve him from his taboo, because no chief is equal to him in rank; and, to avoid the inconvenience arising from his absence, a consecrated bowl (or some such thing), belonging to Tooitonga, is applied to and touched, instead of his feet. In Mr. Mariner's time, Tooitonga always left a pewter dish for this purpose, which dish was given to his father by Captain Cook." Probably the account of the bowl or dish representing the Tui Tonga in other affairs besides the removal of tabu is correct. It should in any case be fairly easy to avoid incurring tabu by contact with the Tui Tonga's person during his absence.

Augury of an informal sort was often resorted to much as it is 787
by some Europeans. The first native Christian teachers on their way 797
from Tongatabu to Haapai, which was still heathen, set themselves

as a sign that if they met a certain man wearing a ragged loin-cloth 787
they would know that they had to expect opposition. During the 797
time when Taufaahau (King George I) was hesitating between Chris- 643
tianity and heathenism a shark came alongside the boat in which he 787
was one day sailing. He seized his spear and made his throw an 797
augury. If he missed, the shark was the god Taufa-tahi (Taufa of
the Sea), but if his aim went true then it was just a shark. He
missed, and thereupon threw into the sea two native Christians who
were with him. The ancient Tui Tonga, Kauulufonua, in the midst 787
of his victorious career, declared on the eve of battle that in the com-
ing fight his followers should know whether his prowess were the
effect of his own might or of the protection of a god. If he were
wounded in front he owed his victories to the god, but, if behind, to
himself. The event showed that he owed his successes to his own
courage and skill.

Mariner relates that the spinning of a coconut and observing its position when again at rest was a common method of interrogating the unknown, particularly as to the fate of sick persons. An instance of this has already been mentioned.

WITCHCRAFT

Something has been said of magic when speaking of tabu, but a 789
few further notes may be added. A non-malevolent but extremely 755
disgusting example of sympathetic magic was related to me by a
friend. On one occasion whilst he was at sea and exceedingly sea-
sick an old native, unable any longer to endure the sight of his dis-
tress, begged to be allowed to drink his vomit as a sure way of check-
ing his sufferings. In my friend's case the mere suggestion threat-
ened to be effective by depriving him once and for all of all the
organs by virtue of which a man can be sea-sick.

But given magic there naturally follows man's effort to gain magi- 754
cal control over his fellows. The usual terms applied to the black art 755
in Tonga are *hangatamaki* and *fakalouakau*. An excellent note on 241
the former term is contained in Mr. Murley's manuscript. He points
out that the word hangatamaki, which is very freely used in descrip-
tions of illness, covers a large range of disorders, principally of the

538 In addition, Tongan art included oral traditions, for a vital part of the early Tongan educational system was the careful memorization and oral transmission of legends and lineages. In fact, just as important as the techniques and skills that each master craftsman passed on to his successor were the prayers, myths and geneologies which had to be imparted as well.

537 [726] As oratory has long been an art, it is significant to note that Tongans have always been eloquent people. Skilled orators were necessary for inspiring people to perform community projects and, in time of war, for exciting the zeal of warriors[4]—such as the way that the dauntless leader, Finau 'Ulukalala II, roused his soldiers' enthusiasm when he said forcefully in a speech at Vava'u: "Be brave in battle; fear not death. It is better to die fighting in the field than to live to be assassinated at home, or to perish by a lingering illness."[5]

304 [177] [237] Tattooing became popular for a time in Tonga, most probably as a result of frequent contacts with Samoa (where the highly-perfected art of tattooing is still practiced today). According to Mariner in the early 1800's, Tongan men were elaborately tattooed from waist to knees by use of a small-tooth comb made from the wild duck's wing-bone, which was dipped in a mixture of soot and water and then tapped with a green branch to puncture the skin. The esteem with which tattooing was held was no doubt because of the intense pain which had to be borne in order for the intricate designs to be permanently imprinted on the skin. Mariner remarked: "It is considered very unmanly not to be tattowed, so that there is nobody but what submits to it as soon as he is grown up."[6] Women also, as Captain Cook had observed some years earlier, were tattooed in smaller, less extensive patterns on the [797] [178] arms, hands and fingers. Largely due to the missionaries' strong opposition to it as an evil and unhealthy practice, tattooing died out in Tonga sometime later in the 1800's.

532 177 The coming of the westerners generally had a detrimental effect upon art in Tonga. Many valuable artifacts were destroyed because they were seen as

[p. 13-A]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 16A]

782 by a murder there), a chief's male child by an
783 inferior female attendant might be strangled in
atonement.[23] Both the rite of *tutunima* and of
[797] *no'osia* gradually became discontinued with the
introduction and spread of Christianity.

764 Funerals *(putu)*, which have long been matters of
great formality and importance in Tonga, have
always been accompanied by rather extensive
[178] mourning ceremonies. Some ancient funeral rituals
having religious implications have fallen into disuse
with the passing of the "old order"; these involved
the mourners torturing themselves with self-inflicted
wounds as a sign of anguish, of respect for the

[p. 43-B]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 458]

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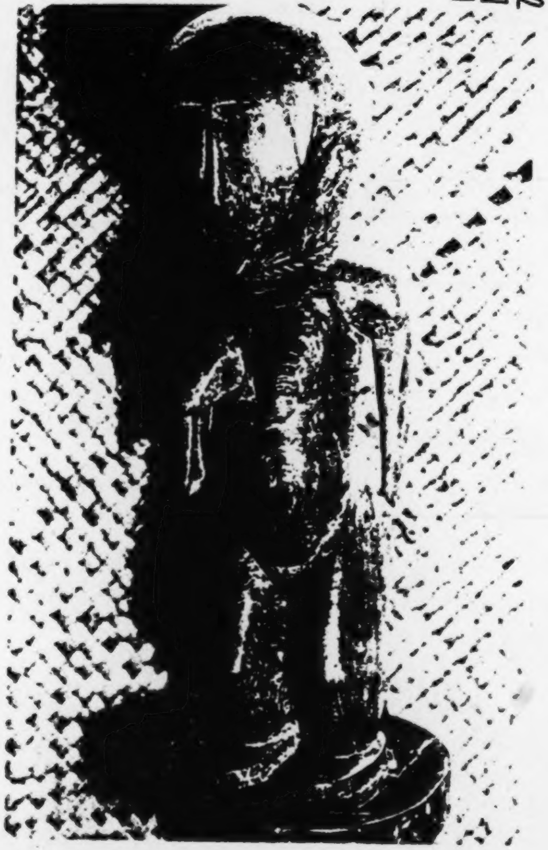
797

The traditional gods were renounced in Tonga as Christianity spread. Carved recently by a chief in Ha'ano, this wooden image of a goddess was modeled after a statue sketch in the journal of the missionary Williams who, in 1830, witnessed a desecrating hanging scene of five such images.

'I he mafola 'a e Lotu Kalisitiane 'i Tonga, na'e tafoki leva e kakai tokolahi mei honau ngaahi 'otua motu'a. Ko e ta eni 'o ha 'otua fefine 'aia ko e 'imisi 'o ha ta fakatata na'e ha 'i he tohi 'a e tangata faifekau ko Williams. Na'e mamata 'a e tangata ni 'i hano tautau 'o ha ngaahi 'imisi pehe ni 'e nima 'i he 1830.

[P.49-A]



177 With the progressive infusion of western thoughts,
values and attitudes into Tonga beginning about 200
years ago, the prevailing religious, social, cultural
and political organization did gradually change, and
[181] significantly so. It has been noted that the
Polynesians have always been, in general, an
open-minded, forward-looking people, eager to
adopt new ideas[26]—and it was this way of thinking
(Tongans being no exception to the rule) which
encouraged many changes within the Tongan
society.

One very apparent change came in the realm of
177 religion. With the spread of Christianity and its
797 doctrine of monotheism, Tonga's basis of social
[784] control had to be totally revamped, for she found
herself devoid of the supernatural sanctions (fear of
[671] the gods) and system of taboos which had formerly
maintained the balance between good and evil in the
polytheistic society of early Tonga.

643 In 1830, the recently-converted chief Taufa'ahau
(later to become King George Taufa'ahau Tupou I),
798 a crusader for the cause of Christianity, went about
[797] desecrating the gods and gods' houses. John Williams
of the London Missionary Society witnessed young
Taufa'ahau contemptuously hang some wooden
god-images (see accompanying photo) in Ha'apai out

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972)
1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

177 influx of western civilization. And by 1875, all of
[642] Tonga was united as a constitutional monarchy and
a Christian nation under the authority of King
● [797] George Taufa'ahau Tupou I, whose brilliance and
[643] astuteness contributed greatly to the establishment
of modern Tonga, and whose successors still reign in
Tonga today.

[p. 51-B]

42: Walsh K-4,5 (no date) 1970 OU9 Tonga OU9

over a hundred years later, wrote: "There are no towns or villages, 175
most of the houses are built in the plantations, with no order other 361
than what convenience requires."[4] Kennedy has argued:

> These apparently dispersed dwellings may have virtually been in groups covering a proportion of the land held by each chief . . . This being a comparatively small area, the settlement pattern would in effect represent a village, though quite different in form from its modern counterpart.[5]

Maude concedes only a "district (which) appears to have had a centre,
in and around which the chief, his family and his immediate attendants
and followers were settled."[6] Cook called Mu'a, the permanent residence
of the *tu'i tonga,* a "village" and Gifford claimed Nuku'alofa to have
been a seasonal or temporary residence of the *tu'i kanokupolu.*[7] But
it is clear that these places were quite atypical of settlement as a
whole. While it is not unreasonable to suppose that "groupings" and
"centres", permanent and temporary existed, it seems arbitrary to
attempt a precise definition: the evidence is slight and open to various
interpretations. What is clear is that villages as we now know them 175
appeared only with the outbreak of civil war in 1799, when Tongans in 361
the southern group congregated into palisaded villages, or *kolo.* As 669
the war spread to other parts of the group, large village forts appeared
in all the main islands and when peace returned these often became
the sites of the first modern villages. It has been assumed that Tongans, 361
after half a century of living in village forts, immediately forsook the 178
chance to return to the old dispersed settlement pattern. This would
appear to be an oversimplification of a more gradual process, for as
late as 1830 Orlebar noted: "the huts of the natives, scattered irregularly
over the country in groups of three and four. . . ."[8] It seems that diverse
factors working unevenly throughout the group may have persuaded
some people of the advantages of village life, while others only came
to live in villages at a later date. Maude claims:

> "Mission influence was probably a major factor, for compact villages were [797]
> almost essential for regular church and school attendance and at the same time facilitated the closer supervision of the people and their activities; religious enthusiasms, too, helped to bind the members of new settlements together. For the Tongans the major attractions were the churches and schools and, later, water tanks and stores, and the greater opportunities for social life and community activities."[9]

Another factor of major significance for the evolution of the settle- [565]
ment pattern was the establishment of constitutional government by [622]

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[4] Cited by Maude (1965): 28.

[5] Kennedy, op. cit.

[6] Maude, op. cit.

[7] Gifford (1929): 101.

[8] Cited by Maude, op. cit.

[9] Maude: 61.

42: Walsh K-4,5 (no date) 1970 OU9 Tonga OU9

161 McArthur has recalled in some detail evidence of loss of life during
this period.[13]

161 Such contemporary observations as were made were not always
731 supported by other evidence, but it can be assumed that the ravages
165 of war and disease affected the various islands unevenly and at different
163 times, epidemics probably having fewer widespread effects than in the
582 larger islands of the Pacific; there was a high mortality rate, especially
797 of infants; and, with few in the reproductive age groups, a sex imbalance, and later marriages (induced partly because of the "grim social code of the missionaries"), the population declined considerably.

I

161 162 Distribution of Population by Island Groups (percentages)

	Pre-contact[1]	1840[2]	1891[3]	1921[4]	1939[5]	1956[6]	1966[7]
Tongatapu	43.9	43.2	—	—	—	55.0	61.9
'Eua	2.0	0.8	—	—	—	3.4	4.4
Tongatapu and 'Eua	45.9	44.0	36.6	42.6	46.2	58.4	66.3
Ha'apai	21.9	21.6	28.2	25.2	21.9	17.5	13.7
Vava'u	21.9	21.6	26.5	24.4	24.0	22.0	17.5
Other[8]	10.4	12.4	8.7	7.8	7.9	2.2	2.6
Total population	29,700	18,500	19,968	24,935	34,130	56,838	77,429

[1] Estimated by Maude (1965): 27.
[2] Wilkes, cited by Maude: ibid.
[3] Missionary account. Census 1956: 17.
[4] Wood (1952) Appendix 6.
[5] Census 1956: 41.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Census 1966: 36.
[8] Niuafo'ou and Niuatoputapu. Niuafo'ou had no population in 1956.

161 3. *1852–* : "A phase of adjustment and recovery" dating from
1852 when the civil war ended, but probably having little effect on
[731] growth until the 1890s. From this date the population grew "slowly
but irregularly" from some 20,000 in 1891 to about 24,000 in 1918,
[165] with occasional epidemics still taking a large toll of life. The increased
[751] growth rate in recent years, due largely to improved health measures
[731] and the absence of epidemics, has produced a population at least
double the most generous estimates given for the pre-contact period.
Thus between 1891 and 1931, the annual rate of increase was 1.1
percent; between 1931 and 1956, 3.1 percent, and between 1956 and
[166] 1966, 3.6 percent. This increase, together with the marked movement
of population to Tongatapu referred to below, suggests that Tonga has
now entered a phase of dynamic growth. Tupouniua's phase of "adjustment and recovery" can be said to have ended in the 1940s.[14]

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[13] McArthur (1956): 202-206; and (1967): 68-75.

[164] [165] [14] —— (1967): 96. An epidemic of measles in 1893 is reported to have killed a twentieth of the population, and an influenza epidemic in 1918 a tenth of the population of some islands.

existence in 1882, but it is rooted in the system of
political authority, whose history goes back over one 423
thousand years. Knowledge of Tonga's history before the 173
eighteenth century is based primarily on oral tradition,
consisting mainly of a listing of the sacred rulers, the
Tu'i Tonga, and tales about them and their followers
(Wood 1932, Gifford 1929, Collocott 1924). This history,
scanty though it is, depicts the steady accretion of power
and territorial expansion from a center on the main island
of Tongatapu. In the course of events, two positions were
created to accomodate the expansion of the ruler's power.
First, the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua title was created, around
1450, and the person occupying that title took over many
of the secular responsibilities of the Tu'i Tonga. Later,
with the increase in dominion, the Tu'i Kanokupolu title
was created, early in the seventeenth century.

It was at about this time that Europeans first visited 175
the Tonga Islands, beginning with the Dutch navigators 177
Schouten and Le Maire in 1616, but in the following century
and a half there were only two further visits. Next, in
1773, Captain James Cook visited Tonga in the course of his
second voyage around the world, and from then on Europe and
Tonga were in fairly continual contact. The first Christian [797]
missionaries came to Tonga in 1797, although it was not
until 1826 that a permanent mission was established.

Shortly before the end of the eighteenth century, 175
669

361 Motulahi forms a major part of the tofia associated
[565] with the noble title Haveatungua, one of the most ancient
and high-ranking titles in the land. Since the village is
favorably located in the middle part of Tongatapu, where
the distance between the lagoon shore and the sea coast
is at its narrowest, it is probable that the area has been
[172] settled since quite ancient times. Burial sites excavated
in the neighborhood of the village have yielded a Carbon-14
determination of 700 +/-200 years before 1950 (Davidson
1969).

A settlement at Motulahi is mentioned by the early
175
361 Christian missionaries who were in Tonga at the end of the
● [797] eighteenth century. Then there is little mention of
175 Motulahi in nineteenth century missionary writings. During
361
669 the civil war, Motulahi was overshadowed by the nearby
settlement of Kolotau, which was one of the centers of
rebel activity during the final period of the civil war and
was the last stronghold to be subdued by Tāufa'āhau.
According to several people whose families have been longest
at Motulahi, the people of the area who favored the rebels
lived in the fortress of Kolotau during the fighting. It
is not clear who these people were, although the names of
175 some of their leaders are known. None of the families that
361 have been longest in Motulahi have any tradition of
565
residence at Motulahi before the civil war, and the seat of

554 especially for men, their status is largely dependent on
794 their standing in the local church congregation and their
554 participation in congregational activities. The reason
771 this is so lies in the major emphasis on church-related activities in the daily lives of Tongan villagers. The Beagleholes' description of village life in the late 1930s includes a section on 'religion' (1941: 124-135) that clearly portrays Tongans' absorption with matters relating to church membership and the infusion of everyday life with elements that reflect the prominence of religion in Tongan society, and this portrayal is still valid today.

● 797 Christianity has long been existent in Tonga. The first missionaries to Tonga were sponsored by the London Missionary Society as part of the Society's earliest venture in the Pacific, in 1797. This mission lasted only three years. The next mission effort, which was sponsored by the British Wesleyan Conference, was not until 1822 and it lasted only one year. While both these missions may be regarded as failures, they provided both the Tongans and the missionary groups with some experience of mission effort. Finally, a permanent mission in Tonga was established
797 by the Wesleyans in 1826. What has been in question in
795 Tonga for more than a century has not been whether Christianity would be accepted, but which denomination or denominations would prevail. The Wesleyans who came in

797 1826 gained an early champion in the young warrior chief
795 Tāufa'āhau, who later became King George Tupou I. With
Tāufa'āhau's support, they managed for more than a decade
to exclude other denominations that sought to establish
a mission in Tonga. This came to an end, however, in 1842,
when the first Roman Catholic mass was celebrated on Tongan
795 soil. The next denomination to be established after that
came about through a conflict between the King of Tonga
and the Australian Wesleyan Conference. This resulted in
the founding in 1885 of the Siasi Tonga Tau'ataina (the
Free Church of Tonga). Some thirty-eight years later,
in the early 1920s, there was a further upheaval among the
Wesleyans in Tonga. One outcome of this was the founding
of a third Wesleyan denomination, the Siasi 'o Tonga
[797] ('Church of Tonga'). With the exception of the Anglican
Church, which entered the field before the end of the
nineteenth century, all the other denominations in Tonga
have been established only within the past fifty years, and
the majority have been established since World War II.[4]

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[4] Two excellent studies of relations between church and state in Tonga--by Lātūkefu (1974) and by Rutherford (1971) --encompass the history of missionization in Tonga up to the end of the nineteenth century. Between them they cover the abortive early missions, the establishment of the Wesleyan mission, the establishment of the Roman Catholic mission, and the establishment of the Free Church of Tonga. The Beagleholes give a brief account of the circumstances associated with the inception of the Church of Tonga (1941: 127). Also see Marcus (1976: 171-173).

795 In the most recently reported census, held in 1966, adherents of nineteen different denominations were enumerated (Fiefia 1968: 70). However, only seven denominations each had a membership of more than one percent of the total population, and together the members of these denominations comprised ninety-nine percent of the population. The percentage of adherents of the major denominations is set out in Table 17, showing changes in the distribution of adherents as reflected in the national census over a period of some twenty-five years.

The seven major denominations in Tonga, in the order of the size of their followings in the 1966 census, are as follows: the Free Wesleyan Church (which, until 1972, was a member of the General Conference of the Wesleyan Church in Australia and is now independent), the Roman Catholic Church, the Free Church of Tonga, the Church of Tonga, the Mormon Church (Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter-Day Saints), the Church of the Seventh Day Adventists, and the Anglican Church. Each of these denominations was [797] established in Tonga before World War II. With the exception of the three Wesleyan denominations, all are foreign missions in the sense that they are centrally administered in Tonga by senior personnel who are sent or appointed from abroad. The exceptions are the Free Wesleyan Church, which is internally autonomous although linked to

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 175]

TABLE 17

Adherents of the Major Denominations, 1931-1966

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Denomination	Percentage of total population			
	1931	1939	1956	1966
Free Wesleyan Church	58	53.9	49.6	49.9
Roman Catholic Church	12	13.6	14.7	16.0
Free Church of Tonga	16	17.1	17.5	14.3
Church of Tonga	10	10.5	9.9	9.0
Mormon Church	4	2.9	5.1	7.1
Seventh Day Adventist		0.8	1.5	1.8
Anglican Church		0.8	0.9	1.0
All other denominations	0	0.1	0.3	0.8
Denomination unknown	0	0.3	0.5	0.1
TOTAL	100	100.0	100.0	100.0

Sources: 1931 - Beaglehole (1941: 126)
1939 - Tupouniua (1958: 30-31)
1956 - Tupouniua (1958: 30-31)
1966 - Fiefia (1968: 23).

575 the Tongan Women's Association (Langa Fonua 'o Fefine Tonga), which is famous throughout the South Pacific, has had notable participation from village women on a regular basis only in the tourist shop run by the Association for the sale of members' handicrafts. At least as of the time of my fieldwork, few village women attended the talks or participated in the other activities regularly sponsored by the Association.

It should not be concluded from these materials on voluntary associations that Tongans do not cooperate to support goals that lie beyond their selfish interests.
575 An example that refutes this conclusion is the fact that
797 every year thousands of dollars are collected by members
794 of the various churches to support the activities of their church.[16] In the Free Wesleyan Church, the members of each congregation are divided every year into a number of groups called kalasi misionale ('mission classes'), each group consisting of from five to seven malanga and their wives. These groups--also a kind of kautaha--are mobilized at irregular intervals during the year on occasions when contributions of goods and/or labor are required. For example, while I was in Tonga there was a feast held in Nukua'lofa to bid farewell to a church

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[16] Bollard's M.A. thesis (1974) is probably the best source on this, but the findings have not yet been published.

575 797 794 offical who was returning to Australia upon his retirement after serving many years as a missionary in Tonga. Each congregation on Tongatapu contributed at least one pola to the feast, and this was arranged by the local steward assigning certain specific contributions to be made by each kalasi. Besides these occasional contributions, the efforts of the kalasi are directed at raising money through various fund-raising activities over the course of the year. (In this respect, the kalasi misionale functions as a form of kautaha lī pa'anga.) The money that is collected by each kalasi is handed over in public at a special meeting of the congregation that is held at the end of the year (and which is conducted with considerable fanfare), and the total amount is submitted by the steward to the central authorities of the Church. After this, as might be predicted on the basis of my analysis of kautaha, the steward re-allocates the members of the congregation in new kalasi for the new year.

Summary

571 The data presented in this chapter indicate the considerable flexibility that Tongans have in varying and manipulating their affiliations. Tongans clearly prefer to avoid long-term arrangements and do not engage in membership in groups that require them to take on indefinite [572] commitments. (In this regard, it is interesting to note

Cook's voyages are many—44 either have definite non-Cook provenances 534
or no collection information[21] and this is dramatically different
from the situation with panpipes. The placement of the holes in the
19th and 20th century noseflutes is also different—there are often five
holes nearly equally spaced on the upper surface and one at the middle
of the lower surface—and usually there is little or no decoration (fig.
17). This relative abundance and lack of decoration suggests that noseflutes 534
became more widely available in the post-European era. The political 178
intrigues and the changing status of lineages in the 19th century [797]
went hand in hand with the introduction of Christianity, and items of [565]
material culture which had traditionally been used mainly by high chiefs [554]
were taken over by lines of lesser chiefs in an attempt to legitimize
themselves and demonstrate their status. One is tempted to speculate
that the panpipe is an example of this process and reflects the changing
social system of Tonga. The hypothesized introduction of panpipes in 534
late prehistoric times from Fiji and use as a lower status replacement of 178
the chiefly noseflute may reflect dissatisfaction with a social order that 554
was beginning to be oppressive and a spreading desire for goods which 565
had been mainly restricted to chiefs. A subsequent substitution of the
real noseflute for a lesser status variant may indicate a wider availability
of previously socially restricted scarce goods to a broader stratum
of society.

The substitution of European goods for their socially restricted 534
indigenous counterparts is well known, but Tongan panpipes suggest 177
that similar acculturative processes were operative in Tonga long before
the coming of Europeans. We conclude that studies of Tongan material [121]
culture (both prehistoric and historic) must take into consideration not
only the ramifications of social stratification, but also layers of acculturation
that recognize at least a post-Lapita Fijian acculturative
horizon, as well as European acculturation.

This paper is an attempt to interpret a certain amount of data which [121]
cannot be illuminated by ethnographic or ethnohistoric research. Tongan
panpipes have been objects of interest since they were first collected on
Cook's second voyage, but neither the musical system nor their origin or
use has been explained to anyone's satisfaction. The interpretations
suggested above should be recognized as tentative and based on conceptual
analogies derived from other facets of Tongan music and society.

643 of his sons, the Tu'i Kanokupolu. The first two royal lines lost status as
175 successive Tu'i Kanokupolu increased their power. Finally, after a period of civil wars during which the Tu'i Tonga and various allied factions of
643 chiefs were defeated in 1852, the Tu'i Kanokupolu, George Tupou I, united all three island groups of Tonga under his rule. The consolidation
[642] of power under Tupou I coincided with his conversion to the Wesleyan
[797] Church and his alliance with foreign missionaries. Tupou I, with the aid
[648] of his European Prime Minister, Shirley Baker, a former Wesleyan missionary, instituted a number of important reforms (see Rutherford, 1971). The following transformations have occurred in Tonga during and since the rise of the dynasty of Tupou I:

178 361 1. Before the nineteenth century, Tonga's population was dispersed on the land of the various islands. Only in the first part of the nineteenth century did the present pattern of nucleated village settlement emerge, resulting largely from mission influence and the need for protection during the civil wars (Maude, 1965, p. 61).

178 642 2. The reforms of Tupou I culminated in the Constitution of 1875 which transformed the traditional feudal political system of Tonga into a constitutional monarchy on the English model. In contemporary Tonga,
[565] the nobility still occupies most of the positions of authority in both the co-existing traditional and Western political systems.

178 565 423 3. The end of the period of violence and the reforms of Tupou I considerably limited the powers and prerogatives of chiefs in the traditional social system. Formerly, the Tu'i Tonga bestowed chiefly titles and grants of land upon individuals who had extensive powers to dispose of the land and its inhabitants as they wished. The title of noble was created by the Constitution of 1875, and Tupou I chose a number of both his prominent supporters and opponents to hold titles. Noble titles are associated with legally recognized hereditary estates or *tofi'a*. The remainder of the former chiefs maintained and passed on their titles, but were reduced to
178 565 small landholders just as commoners. In modern Tonga, chiefs without *tofi'a* have only ceremonial status and are otherwise indistinguishable from commoners in terms of class rank. Thus, the reforms of Tupou I essentially froze the boundaries of the class system, not only limiting the possibility of an individual becoming titled, but also limiting the prerogatives and powers that chiefly titles formerly carried with them. There were 33 noble titles in Tonga in 1965, but only 29 actual title-holders, since two men held two titles each and the remaining titles were held

came from the sky or from a foreign land, usually Samoa. Associated with 554
a title are the title holder, his descendants, and descendants of former 565
holders of that title. This group is known as a *ha'a*. *Ha'a* ranking must be 613
distinguished from the chief-commoner division of the society, for chiefs
and commoners alike can trace their relationship to a *ha'a*. To understand
this kind of rank it is necessary to understand the ranking of *ha'a* titles
and the historical events that led to *ha'a* fission.

According to Tongan tradition,[18] the first Tu'i Tonga of the present 173
dynasty was born after the god Tangaloa 'Eitumatupu'a climbed down 554
from the sky on a great casuarina tree and cohabited with a woman of the
earlier Tongan population who had descended from a worm. The child of 565
this union was 'Aho'eitu. When 'Aho'eitu was old enough he went to the 613
sky to visit his father, and returned with several celestial inhabitants who 643
became his *matāpule*. 'Aho'eitu, half-man and half-god, lived over a
thousand years ago (about A.D. 950), and from him the present king
descends from a collateral line. The succeeding Tu'i Tonga who descended
from 'Aho'eitu were born of the daughters of the highest chiefs in the
land. Several Tu'i Tonga were assassinated, and in about the fifteenth century
the incumbent Tu'i Tonga appointed a subsidiary ruler, the Tu'i Ha'a
Takalaua. The first Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua was a younger brother of the
twenty-fourth Tu'i Tonga (see Figure 2). The Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua was
given only temporal power, while the Tu'i Tonga retained for himself
high rank and spiritual status.

The sixth Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua created a similar split in authority, reserving
for himself high rank and giving to one of his sons the title of
Tu'i Kanokupolu and the tasks of ruling and collecting tribute. All three
lines descended from 'Aho'eitu and were further linked by marriage.

Eventually the second line lost in status as the power of the Tu'i Kanokupolu
grew. Rivalries among chiefs brought on a series of civil wars. 554
The Tu'i Kanokupolu, Tāufa'āhau, was baptised in the Wesleyan Church
in 1831 as Siaosi (George) Tupou I, and his wife as Sālote (Charlotte). 565
As Christianity spread, the traditional spiritual power of the Tu'i Tonga 613
was undermined, and he too became a Christian, but joined the Catholic 643
Church. Finally, in the last civil war in 1852, the Tu'i Kanokupolu defeated 669
the Tu'i Tonga, and George I became the supreme ruler in Tonga. Under
his ægis, Wesleyanism became in effect a state religion. The last Tu'i Ha'a 797 ●
Takalaua was slain in battle by the Tu'i Kanokupolu in 1799, and the 173
last Tu'i Tonga died in 1865.

The story does not end here. The office holders of the two higher lines 554
were gone; their descendants, however, lived on, and their *ha'a* rank was
higher than that of the Tu'i Kanokupolu. To solve this dilemma, the 565
ranking descendants of the two lines were appointed to new chiefly titles— 613
Kalanivalu (Kalaniuvalu) and Tungi respectively. There has been frequent 643
intermarriage among the three lines to elevate the "blood" or class rank 173
of Tu'i Kanokupolu. Thus the present King, Tāufa'āhau Tupou IV, is of [581]
the Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua line through his father, the Tu'i Kanokupolu line
through his mother's father, and the Tu'i Tonga line through his mother's

643 The sixth Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua created a similar split in authority,
179 reserving for himself high rank and giving to one of his sons the title
of Tu'i Kanokupolu and the tasks of ruling and collecting tribute. All
three lines descended from Ahoeitu and were further linked by marriage.

Eventually the second line lost status as the power of the Tu'i
[669] Kanokupolu grew. Rivalries among chiefs brought on a series of civil
643 wars. The Tu'i Kanokupolu, Taufa'ahau, was baptised in the Wesleyan
● 797 Church in 1831 as Siaosi (George) Tupou I and his wife as Salote
(Charlotte). The spiritual power of the Tu'i Tonga was undermined and
643 he became a Catholic. Finally, in the last civil war in 1852, the Tu'i
669 Kanokupolu defeated the Tu'i Tonga and George I became the supreme
[795] ruler in Tonga and Wesleyanism in effect a state religion. The last
Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua was slain in battle by the Tu'i Kanokupolu in 1799
and the last Tu'i Tonga died in 1865.

643 The story does not end here. The office holders of the two
554 higher lines were gone, their descendants, however, lived on and their
619 blood rank was higher than that of the Tu'i Kanokupolu. The Tu'i
[795] Tonga line especially was a force to be reckoned with. They were set
apart not only by higher rank by blood, but also because they followed
the Tu'i Tonga and became Catholic. New titles were created for the
chiefs of the two lines, Tungi replacing Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua and
643 Kalaniuvalu replacing Tu'i Tonga. Frequent intermarriage of the three
619 lines has now made them nearly equal. Thus the present King Taufa'ahau
582
[554]

Ngaahi (or *ngaohi*) and *fakahingoa* referred to two concepts of "name giving" in aboriginal Tonga. Neither of these naming processes, however, was an adoption transaction since naming merely involved one individual giving a name to a child other than his or her own. The child so named would continue to live with his or her own biological parents after the naming and parental responsibility for raising the child would still lie with the child's own biological parents. 597 553

Ngaahi did not change the rank of the child named and could not be considered an adoption in aboriginal Tonga, even though the term is currently defined as "to bring up (a child), or to adopt and bring up" (Churchward 1959:385). *Fakahingoa*, on the other hand, if done by a person of higher rank than the child's own biological parents could change the rank of the child so named. Yet this naming process would still not be adoption because the child so named would continue to live with his or her own biological parents and the biological parents would be responsible for the upbringing of the child. Adoption involved more than naming.[3] [554]

The term *pusiaki* stood for "fosterage" in aboriginal Tonga and it involved a child leaving the residence of his or her biological parents and being raised by foster parents, but the child would still have his or her rank in life determined by the biological parents. A fosterage transaction would require the foster parents to give the child a name and be responsible for the child's welfare, but the rank of the child relative to other kin would not be altered. A fostered child would be looked after by kin. The Wesleyan missionary John Thomas (in the archipelago from 1826 to 1850 and again from 1855 to 1859) wrote in his *Journal* in 1835 how he: 597 855 [797]

> baptized a fine female child belonging to Baula Halaevalu calling it Eliza Ann or Ilaisuane. The sister of its mother adopted it (J. Thomas *Journal* entry of February 1, 1835).

This transferral of parental obligations was not "adoption" as Thomas recorded, but *pusiaki* "fosterage" since 'Ilaisane's rank in life came from her actual biological parent Paula Halaevalu. (Halaevalu was a son of 'Ulakai, who was a son of the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* Tuku'aho.) Fosterage did not result in a permanent change in the foster child's rank and was not adoption.[4]

Why Adopt?

Adoption transactions in aboriginal Tonga served to broaden the political base of various individuals. In aboriginal Tonga, kinship and the concomitant adoption transactions were inextricably interwoven into the political structure. Politics in Tonga was the technique of dealing with the activities of the *ha'a*, or corporate land-holding descent groups. The primary purpose of adoption in aboriginal Tonga was to unify the various *ha'a*, and 597 557 613

597 557 613 adoption was a transaction between high ranking individuals of the various *ha'a*.

The political aspects of adoption were not lost to the European observers of nineteenth century Tonga. One individual wrote that it was the "fashion" in Tonga

> for mothers to make presents of their children to particular friends, by way of binding the ties of friendship more closely; there is a sound policy in this, as it unites the great chiefs in different districts together; for Fatua, has Tubou's daughter, and if I mistake not, Ata has Fatu or Tubou's son (Bays 1831:135).

This description indicates connections between Fatu, a non-titled *'eiki* chief of the *Ha'a Takalaua*, the titled *'eiki Ata* of the *Ha'a Ngata Motu'a*, and the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* Aleamotu'a, also known Jiosaia Tupou.[5]

[797] The Wesleyan missionary William Cross (in the archipelago from 1827 to 1833 and again from 1834 to 1835) wrote how a six year old boy, natural son of a *matapule* (a titled non-*'eiki* individual) had died in 1830. Cross wrote how the child "had become a great personage, being the adopted son of Fatu, the chief of Mua" (W. Cross *Journal* entry of October 4, 1830). This description is probably one of *ohi* since Fatu of Mu'a did have sufficient prestige and personal rank to make a child a "great personage" by means of adoption. It could, perhaps, be interpreted as being an instance of *pusiaki* but it is doubtful, since the child would have had the rank of it's own *matapule* father. Instead, the child's prestige and rank was due to his adoption by Fatu of Mu'a.

[161] [581] In aboriginal Tonga, when the population of the archipelago was considerably less than it is today, adoption transactions (along with arranged marriages) were a key part to the overall maintenance of the archipelago by the Tongan chiefs. These aspects of the political purposes of adoption were merely hinted at by Sahlins when he wrote of realignments between "corporate descent groups" which resulted from adoption (1958: pp. 157-158). Likewise, Goldman has barely pointed out the political ramifications of adoptees being introduced into the line of succession (1970:435).

597 114 Part of the problem of interpreting aboriginal adoption patterns (and numerous other aspects of aboriginal Tongan activities) are the erroneous projections into the past based solely on twentieth century field work without incorporating nineteenth century eyewitness accounts. Thus Gifford nearly described the exact aspect of Tongan transactions between kinspeople for adoption and not-adoption situations when he wrote that "adoption may vary from a truly earnest relation in which the child is taken into the bosom of the family, to mere formality" (1929:26). Unfortunately, however, Gifford was "collapsing" everything from *tauhi* to *ngaahi* to *fakahingoa* to *pusiaki* and *ohi* under the one rubric "adoption." Likewise, the Beagleholes

were in error when they glossed *tauhi* together with *ohi* as "adoption" 597
(1941:70).[6] 114

It must be pointed out that in aboriginal Tonga, non-*ohi* transactions 557
could be used for political maneuverings; this would be in an instance of 553
fakahingoa, or when an individual of high rank gave a name to a lower 597
ranking individual. The French navigator Dumont D'Urville reported how he met an individual named Fae in 1828 who

> brought his two little boys to us: the younger had been adopted by the dowager queen which conferred important privileges upon him. It was thought that his ambitious father wanted to take advantage of this circumstance to secure for him one day the sovereignty of the island
> [of Tongatapu]. In order to accustom the other chief[s] little by little [576]
> to looking upon this child as their superior, this artful nobleman never approached him without submitting to the humiliating ceremony of moe-moe, that is without prostrating himself before him and pretending to place his head on the child's feet, a ritual imposed on every Tongan chief in the presence of the Toui-Tonga (MS. p. 3).

The "dowager queen" in this account was the *Tamaha* Amelia, an extremely [644]
important and high-ranking individual in aboriginal Tonga. The description is not one of adoption, however, but of *fakahingoa*, or naming, since the younger child did not live with the *Tamaha*. Archival and genealogical research further revealed that the individual Fae was not the biological father of the young child named by the Tamaha, but related to the child through his own sister who was married to the boy's father: the aforementioned Fatu of Mu'a.[7]

The *Tamaha* gave the son of Fatu the name of Tungi, after her own 557
great grandfather Tungimana'ia. Tungi's rank was changed as a result of this 553
naming transaction, and he did go on in life to play an extremely important [644]
part in Tongan politics, but he continued to live with Fatu in the area on
Tongatapu known as the Mu'a. The Wesleyan missionary Stephen Rabone (in [797]
the archipelago from 1836 to 1850) wrote at one point in his *Journal* that "Tugi is the son & successor of Fatu from Mua the east part of Tonga" (*Journal* entry of January 8, 1845), and the Wesleyan missionary Thomas West (in the archipelago from 1846 to 1855) wrote on the occasion of Tungi's marriage to 'Anaseini Tupouveihola (his fourth wife):

> A fleet of eight large canoes has arrived from Vavau and Seven more are to come. These together with a large fleet of the same sort from Haabai are on their way to Tonga[tapu] to be present at the marriage of the King's adopted daughter to Tugi the chief at Mua who embraced Christianity two years ago (T. West *Journal* entry of July 5, 1853).

Adoption in aboriginal Tonga involved more than a mere naming 597
process (which could or could not increase the rank of the child so named, 553
557

597 855 protector" or "to protect to provide for" (S. Rabone 1845:182; *vide* S. Baker 1897:175).

597 553 114 3. Baker also has *gaohi* erroneously defined as "adopt" (1897:2), along with *ohi* properly defined as "adopt" (*ibid*., p. 2 and p. 15). In his 1845 work, Rabone does not have the term *gaohi* nor any variation on it, but he does have *ohi* as "to adopt" (1845:19). For *fakahingoa* see Baker (1897:50), Churchward (1959:44) and Rabone (1845:59).

597 855 4. Churchward has defined *pusiaki* as "to tear (a child or a young animal) away from its mother" and states that one should compare it to *ohi* (1959:424). In the orthography of the nineteenth century, Rabone has *bujiaki* defined as "a pet; anything petted" or "to pet; to feed by hand" (1845:34). Baker's work, based on Rabone, also has the same but adds "foster" as *"ke bujiaki"* (1897:28). Churchward also utilizes *pusiaki* in the context of "foster-child" and "foster-parents" (1959:656).

597 557 613 554 565 5. The concept *'eiki* was one of "noble birth" in aboriginal Tonga and the term *'eiki* is not immediately synonymous with the term "chief." A title was given to an individual because of some special aspect of the individual and there were titled *'eiki* as well as titled non-*'eiki;* to finish out the simple 2x2 analysis, there were also non-titled *'eiki* and non-titled non-*'eiki* individuals (the last category being the bulk of the Tongan populace in the past and in the twentieth century). For further particulars see Urbanowicz (1973 and 1973/74).

597 114 6. The only way a researcher can attempt a reconstruction of aboriginal (or early contacted) culture is for that researcher to examine the earliest extant documentation pertaining to that culture and then make comparisons both internally and externally, comparing documented statements to documented statements and then comparing the "old" information with "new" information gathered by contemporary field work (see Urbanowicz [1972] for a detailed explication of the methodology of the documentary research). [797] The manuscript accounts of the missionaries can be suggestive, without providing any real information, as when the Wesleyan missionary James Watkin (in the archipelago from 1831 to 1837) wrote "this people much in the habit of adopting children" (*Journal* entry of April 9, 1834). However, the missionary statements are useful when they can be compared internally and with external, and known, reputable information. Thomas' following statements can be checked: he wrote of a Tongan girl in 1834 that she was "the reputed daughter of Ulakai" (*Journal* entry of March 9, 1834) when she died in 1841 he wrote that "she was the adopted daughter of the late chief Ulakai and the real daughter of the Tui Tonga" (*Journal* entry of July 13, 1841). In Australia, I examined the genealogical information in the E.E.V. Collocott Manuscript collection pertaining to Tonga and compared those genealogies to information recorded in Tonga – particularly the *Koe Tohi Hohoko Eni 'A Kingi Siaosi Tupou II* held by the Tongan Traditions Committee. The name of the girl proved to be Fatafehi and she was a child of the *Tu'i Tonga* Laufilitonga by his third wife Siulolovao.

557 553 597 609 7. Fatu, whose full name was Fatukimotulalo, was an important and powerful non-titled *'eiki*. He was the son of Mulikiha'amea and that individual's fifth wife, Ikatonga. Fatu is well reported in the literature: one European, non-missionary, who was living in Tonga wrote how he was "patronized by a chief called Fatou, who has adopted me as his son, married me to his daughter, and given me a house to live in and land to cultivate" (J. Read in Orlebar 1833:69); another European observor wrote that Read had become the "adopted son of the most powerful Pagan chief in the island" (Orlebar 1833:48). Dumont D'Urville remarked that "Palou or Fatou and Tahofa [also called Fae] were without doubt the two most powerful chiefs of Tonga, although inferior to many others by birth" (MS. pp. 7-8). Fatu died on January 10, 1842 (J. Thomas

written on the incorporation of Europeans (both male and female) into Tongan society, such as Read, or Vason, who wrote how he was regarded by Mulikiha'amea

"with parental affection" (1810:111), or Mariner, who reported that Finau 557
Ulukalala was considered to be his own "father and protector" (1817:I: p.90 and p. 553
310). A later paper is planned. 597

8. Adoptions and arranged marriages for political reasons had always existed in the 609
indigenous system and with the arrival of the Wesleyan missionaries this did not
change. The missionaries knew about the arranged marriages but they could not do 597
anything to stop them (or would not do anything to stop them) for they were too 581
much a part of Tongan life. One missionary, on a visit in 1850 (he had also been in 797
the archipelago from 1822-1823) wrote that such "state unions" were made
"merely to promote caste" and that this was a "thing which ought to be destroyed"
(W. Lawry *Journal* entry of June 15, 1850), but it was not.
9. Additional research might reveal further forms of aboriginal adoption transactions. 597
Collocott refers to Tungimana'ia as being "fakatakatuu" to a particular *Tu'i* 554
Ha'ateiho (Collocott n.d. p. 258) or *fakatakaua* which is "like or pertaining to a
constant companion" (Churchward 1959:102). The record suggests that this may 428
have been a "more intense" form of *ohi* since a son of an adopted son succeeded to
a title – that is, the title did not revert as in an *ohi* transaction (compare Gifford
[1929:137]). Companionship, group membership, or group enlargement, are all
subject to further research and debate in the context of adoption and the *ha'a*.
10. Unfortunately, this important distinction of pre-1875 Tonga and post-1875 is often 642
overlooked in the literature (see, for example, Kaeppler 1971). For specific 571
statements on changes in rank and status acquisition procedures due to the 554
Constitution of 1875 see Urbanowicz (1973/74). 178
11. The Constitution also resulted in other problems concerning titles: prior to the Constitution no man could hold more than one title, since the title holder was responsible to (and for) a particular group of people; now, as a result of the Constitution, there are men holding two titles. Most notable of these is the Honorable *Kalaniuvalu-Fotofili*. (The double title of *Ulukalala-Ata* is currently vacant). What the holding of double titles means is that a further gulf has been injected into the relationship between titled and non-titled individuals. A person with two titles has to divide his time (and obligations) between two different groups of people. This would not have been so prior to 1875.

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14

Tongans and Europeans

276 When the Wesleyan Missionaries first arrived in Tonga in the early
nineteenth century the role (and fate) of the Christians was often a topic of
574 heated discussion at various *kava* sessions. The following example from a
521 missionary in the islands from August 16, 1822, to October 3, 1823, makes
797 this quite clear:

> 829 At the Cava Ring this morning [Nov. 29, 1822] there were several speeches delivered very prejudicial to our peace. Mafee [making the] Malanga [speech] said that the white people were come as spies and would soon [be] followed by others from England who would take away all Tonga from them. "See, said he, "These people are always praying to their Atuas [*'otua*], as the other Missionaries [of the London Missionary Society in Tonga from 1797 to 1800] were; and what was the consequence of their praying? Why, the wars broke out and all the old chiefs were killed." Malabow one of the Matabolles related his dream, the burden of which was that the old chiefs came back from Boolotoo last night, and seeing the fencing of our garden, said, "What is that?" They were answered, "It is the white people's Ahey [*'api*], or place of abode." Upon which, they became much displeased, and said, "The white people will pray you all dead." Much more to the same purpose was said in the Cava ring party. The multitude believed all and are much dissatisfied with us (Walter: November 29, 1822).

In the nineteenth century, *kava* drinking sessions were a way of
276 discussing current affairs and maintaining Tongan unity in the face of
574 missionary influence on Tongan life. One European non-missionary observer
797 of nineteenth century Tongan life wrote:

> [521] [186] The practise of kava-drinking seems to be falling much into disuse, particularly among the Christians, who are not encouraged to continue it by the [Wesleyan] missionaries (Erskine 1853:149).

The missionaries were opposed to *kava* drinking yet the Tongans continued drinking. The *kava* ceremonies clarified the basic cultural problems (and rules) of Tongan society and, as such, the ceremonies were difficult to
276 eliminate. John Thomas, a Wesleyan missionary in the islands from 1826 to
574 1850 and again from 1855 to 1859, also provides us with some information
797 concerning the discussions at the *kava* ceremonies regarding the missionaries:

> 521 The King was not at school this morning. Several others were [also] kept away at a cava party. I learned from an Englishman at this place that various things are talked about [at the kava parties] of an unfavourable nature respecting us, calculated to grieve us if we were strangers to the devices of Satan and the fallen state of the heathen [or non-Wesleyan Tongans]. But we leave these things to the Lord who will give us strength (1830:Letter-Journal).

114 in numerous respects, are not superior to reputable eye-witness descriptions of aboriginal Tonga.[1]

CONTACT AND DESCRIPTIONS

175 Part of the Tongan archipelago was first contacted by the Dutch naviga-
177 tors Schouten and Le Maire in 1616, and various contacts with Europeans
followed: 1643 (Tasman), 1767 (Wallis), 1773, 1774, and 1777 (Cook),
1781 (Maurelle), 1787 (La Perouse), 1789 (Bligh), 1793 (D'Entrecasteaux
and Labillardière), and 1793 (Malaspina) (see Colson 1885; Tudor 1968:
125–127). These contacts between Europeans and Tongans lasted for
periods of a few days to several weeks. The accounts of these men made
Europeans aware of Tonga and placed Tonga on Europe's map. The
accounts spurred Europeans to send men to proselytize the peoples of the
175 Pacific. Tonga, along with Tahiti, was one of the first island groups to be
177 sent European missionaries in the late eighteenth century.

797 The first missionaries were of the Missionary Society of London (form-

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101 [1] Tonga, named by Captain James Cook "The Friendly Islands," is composed of
some 150 to 200 islands and islets with perhaps only 25 percent of those being inhabited.
133 The islands are a form of raised limestone, or volcanic formations and limestone
formations (Anonymous 1944: 16). The most recent work indicates that the total land
131 area of the archipelago is 256.42 square miles, with the Tongatapu Group (the main
island of Tongatapu with surrounding small islands but excluding the island of 'Eua)
having 100.37 square miles of that total or some 39.1 percent (Maude 1965: 218).
161 Tongatapu Island is approximately 99 square miles in area. The estimated population
for the entire archipelago for December 31, 1970 was 86,055 (Tapa 1971: 4).

The territorial boundaries of the Kingdom of Tonga were proclaimed by King
101 George Tupou I to be 15°S and 23°S and 173°W and 177°W (*Tonga Government*
131 *Gazette*, 2: 55, August 24, 1887). The islands of the Kingdom thus fall within a rectangle
of the South Pacific some 596 miles North-South by 264 miles East-West, with the
outer islands of the Kingdom being Niua Fo'ou Island to the North at 15°34'S and
175°40'W, and 'Ata Island to the South at 22°20'S and 176°12'W. 'Ata Island is
approximately 100 miles southeast of the main island of Tongatapu and Niua Fo'ou
Island is approximately 232 miles northwest of the Vava'u group of Islands.

101 Tonga derived its name from the principal island of the group, Tongatapu Island or
'sacred' Tonga. The *tapu* was probably appended to the Tonga because this island
became the residence of the leaders of the archipelago. Tongatapu Island was the focal
point for the political and religious system in the archipelago prior to and after Euro-
133 pean contact. The Polynesians who settled the archipelago appear to have chosen this
relatively flat island because of terrain and climate. The middle, or Ha'apai group of
islands are a series of low islets. The northernmost island group of Vava'u has relatively
high hills, with most of the land being at least one hundred feet above sea level (as
opposed to Tongatapu Island which is no higher than two hundred feet along the
133 southern or *liku* coast). Vava'u was, and is, subject to more destructive hurricanes than
132 Tongatapu during the hurricane season and it was only on Tongatapu that relative
permanency of Tongan culture and continuity of leadership could be maintained for
182 generations.

ed in 1795 and later termed the London Missionary Society, or LMS) 175
and they arrived at Tongatapu on April 10, 1797 (Benson 1960: 113; 177
Wilson 1799: 96). Ten male missionaries landed and some remained until 797
1800, but the attempt at religious conversion ended in a debacle. One
missionary, Vason, married a Tongan woman and was converted to the
anga-faka-Tonga or 'Tongan way of life' (Vason 1810). The Wesleyan 797
Missionary Society established a mission station on Tongatapu in August 177
of 1822 manned by one missionary, Walter Lawry, who was accompanied
by his wife and several servants (including Europeans and a Marquesan
islander) (see Lawry's *Diary* for August, 1822). This attempt at Christian
conversion also ended in failure with Lawry being ordered by London to
be "removed from Tonga to Van Diemen's Land" (Lawry, *Diary*: July
26, 1823). Lawry eventually left the island in October of 1823, and it
wasn't until 1826 that a second Wesleyan mission was attempted in the
archipelago. In June of 1826 the Wesleyan missionaries John Thomas and
John Hutchinson arrived, with their wives, and this mission eventually
proved succesful. From 1826 onwards Tongans entered into sustained
European contact.

The various published accounts of the individuals of this period 114
(1616–1826), combined with twentieth-century field work, have allowed
us to make inferences about aboriginal Tongan culture (Coult 1959, for
example), yet no systematic attempt had ever been made to incorporate
manuscript materials into (1) an aboriginal ethnographic base line, and
(2) an analysis of changing Tongan culture. What were the processes by
which the aboriginal Tongan culture of 1800 developed into the Constitutional
Monarchy of 1875?

The date of 1875 is extremely important in Tongan studies, for in many 178
respects the Tonga of pre-1875 was not the same as the Tonga of post- 177
1875. In 1875 the Tongan Constitution was promulgated by the *Tu'i* 178
Kanokupolu King George Tupou I, with the help of European advice. 177
The Constitution was the result of Western influence on Tonga and the 642
culmination of all of the written Tongan law codes in effect in the
archipelago since 1839. The date of 1850 given in Murdock's *Ethnographic* 177
atlas (1967) for Tonga, for cross-cultural research of a certain type, can 178
be extremely misleading, for by this time two major wars (as a result of
nineteenth-century Western influence) had been fought in the archipelago 114
(1837 and 1840), the Tongan language reduced to a systematic orthography
(c. 1830), and a European-induced codified system of laws had already
been in effect for certain parts of the archipelago for many years (in the
island groups of Vava'u and Ha'apai). Certainly Goldman's most recent 177
work which suggests 1800 as the "terminal date" for aboriginal Polynesian 178

65: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970,1971) 1975 OU9 Tonga OU9

> You must remember that I was conferred with the following two titles during the 643
> meeting that was held in Vava'u, Tu'itonga and Tu'iha'atakalaua together with
> my own title of Tu'ikanokupolu (Hunter 1963:4).

This was the ultimate consolidation of King George's rise to power. A 643
recent assessment by Latukefu of King George, or Taufa'ahau, is worth 177
considering: 797

> It appears, however, that Taufa'ahau's initial acceptance of Christianity was 557
> only a part of his general desire to adopt the ways of the white man, his wealth,
> superior knowledge and weapons of war, and also [incidentally] his religion, to
> achieve his ambitions (Latukefu 1970:61).

With the eventual decline in the rank and status of the *Tu'i Tonga* and 643
the concomitant rise of the *Tu'i Kanokupolu*, the position of the *Tamaha* 644
also suffered a decline. Where the titles of *Tu'i Tonga* and *Tu'i Kanokupolu* 554
meant that the individual so invested was responsible, respectively, for [178]
sacred and secular matters, Thomas has pointed out that in aboriginal
Tonga the *Tamaha* "is more a title of honour than office" (MS. 4: 30).
Although the *Tamaha* was usually held by a female, Thomas also pointed 644
out that "there may, in the absence of a female, be a male *Tamaha* 562
— which thing has been known to occur, but generally it is a female"
(ibid.).

The rank and status associated with that of the *Tamaha* was extremely 644
high in Tongan culture, and early nineteenth-century observers were astute 554
enough to point this out. The French navigator, Dumont D'Urville
reported of his 1827 visit to Tongatapu: 644

> all the people of Tonga, without exception, even the toui-tonga and the toui- 554
> Kana-Kabolo themselves, had to accord the homage of *moe-moe*, while she was 643
> not obliged to honour anyone in this way (n.d.:27).

The *moemoe'i* was the indication of respect that an inferior had to show [576]
to a superior, with the inferior person bowing down to touch the head to
the soles of the superior person's feet.

Dumont D'Urville, however, was also aware of the fact that by showing 644
deferential respect one did not necessarily acknowledge power and
authority, and he pointed out that the *Tamaha* "was reverenced in the [554]
islands although she only had any real authority over her personal
property and her people in Ardeo" (ibid.). She not only had authority
over "Ardeo," or *Ha'ateiho* (an area on Tongatapu), but it also extended
into the Ha'apai islands. Of the person designated the *Tamaha*, Thomas [554]
wrote:

> 644 while it raised the individual in the estimation of all her friends, she was by this
> 554 means brought so near to the gods, as to be a kind of divinity herself to the
> people, and was much sought unto as such (Thomas MS. 5:4).

The Wesleyan missionary Webb was quite correct when he wrote that
"the *Tamaha* is the greatest personage in the whole group of islands"
(Webb, Letter-Journal of March 1, 1843, for the events of August 12,
[643] 1842). Where the *Tu'i Tonga* was the representative of the gods on earth,
the *Tamaha* herself was virtually viewed as a god.

644 Although the Wesleyans made numerous attempts to convert the
● 797 *Tu'i Tonga* Laufilitonga to Wesleyanism, they failed (and the *Tu'i Tonga*
became a Catholic); on the other hand, the *Tamaha* converted to Wes-
177 leyanism and the missionaries scored quite a coup on aboriginal religious
[643] beliefs when this happened. Thomas wrote in his Journal that "Tamma ha
has turned to God — also her brother Fehokohaabai, and all the people
of Tungua have turned" (Thomas, *Journal 5*, December 12, 1832). Gradual-
ly, Tongan culture changed in the nineteenth century under the pressure
of the Wesleyan missionaries.

554 The four titles of *Tu'i Tonga*, *Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua*, *Tu'i Kanokupolu*, and
565 *Tamaha* thus represented the core of titles of aboriginal Tongan culture.
643 644 From these four titles all other titles developed and as Thomas stated
175 (as cited earlier), "formerly there were three ranks of nobles in Tonga"
for whom one would apply the term *'eiki* (Thomas MS. 5: 1). The concept
554 of *'eiki* has changed over time in Tonga, but this change has not always
565 been understood and interpreted by all European observers. Writing of
644 these four core titles in the nineteenth century, one astute eyewitness to
643 changing Tongan culture did comprehend the changes in part:

> 178 It may be noticed that the term Eiki applied to the above chiefs and their
> 175 families almost exclusively in gone by days, and was a very choice word, but of
> later years it has become more common (Thomas MS. A1961: 7).

554 In aboriginal Tonga, individuals closely related to the *Tu'i Tonga* were
565 termed the *Sino'i 'eiki*, literally 'the body of the *'eiki*' (Churchward 1959:
644 430). These included the *Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua*, *Tu'i Kanokupolu*, and the
643 *Tamaha*. In aboriginal Tonga, *'eiki* was a concept of nobility, or noble
175 birth. *'Eiki* is not immediately synonymous with 'chief' as numerous
→114 early European observers recorded.

One of the earliest voyage accounts of Schouten and Le Maire from
554 1616 has *Ariki* for 'King' (Dalrymple 1770–1771: II; n.p.). The various
565 175 vocabularies connected with Cook's voyages have, for the Tongan
114 vocabularies, *'Egee* as 'a chief' (Anderson, in Beaglehole 1967: 956),

Agee as 'chief' (Samwell, in Beaglehole 1967: 1045), and *Eegee* as 'chief' 554
in King's 1821 vocabulary (King 1821: 447). Mariner's 1817 edition has 565
E'gi as 'a chief; a god' (II: n.p.) and with a cross-reference to 'chief' one 175
finds in Mariner "(a noble). Egi; (chief of a district or island) toói; 114
(supreme chief or king) how" (ibid.). By the time of Mariner's 1827 edition, however, some revisions had been made and for *Egi* Mariner has "a chief; a god; the head man of a party" (1827: II, lvi). This final definition roughly approximates the range of variation on the concept of *'eiki* in aboriginal Tongan culture. Not all 'chiefs' as reported by European observers were *'eiki* to the Tongans and not all *'eiki* to the Tongans were chiefs.

At one point in the past the *Tu'i Tonga* divided his lands between his 554
kinsmen, his *'eiki*. The various *'eiki* established and belonged to their own 565
named groups or *'eiki* of *Ha'a*, a corporate descent group. Various *'eiki* 644
of the *Ha'a* were given titles to represent some specific aspect of the *'eiki*. [613]
When the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* Ngata received his title, he gave his own son who was named Leilua the title of *Ve'ehala* which is roughly translated as 'the wrong-footed man.' With the title of *Ve'ehala* went some land on
Tongatapu. It is the title of the *'eiki* which passed on to another individual 554
when the *'eiki* was no longer able to perform his duties. The title would 565
not necessarily go to the oldest natural son of the *'eiki*. The title could be 428
passed to a brother of the *'eiki;* the title could go to a son of a sister's 613
child, or the title could go to an adopted son of the *'eiki*. In aboriginal Tonga, succession to titles (and chieftainship) depended on a variety of factors, including a joint decision of the corporate descent group on the ability of the prospective *'eiki*, as well as his age, number of wives, and the number of supporters the *'eiki* could muster if he wanted to be a chief of the corporate descent group.[a]

It cannot be stressed enough that in aboriginal Tonga consensus 571
and flexibility were key concepts. An *'eiki* who wanted to be a chief of a 554
group of people had to have the consent of the people; and a chief also 565
needed the consent of his fellow chiefs. Even the *Tu'i Tonga* could not be [643]
appointed to the title without the consent and support of either the *Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua* or the *Tu'i Kanokupolu*. Thomas wrote in his *Journal* that "there is a union amongst the Tonga people, especially the chiefs, so that they consult each other before they determine anything" (February
11, 1826). A *Tu'i Kanokupolu* had to have the support of the various *Ha'a* [643]
of Tonga to become *Tu'i Kanokupolu*. Thomas recorded how one in- [613]
dividual had given up the *lotoo* or Wesleyan religion: 571
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[a] See Urbanowicz (n.d. [1973]) for a description and analysis of aboriginal Tongan adoption patterns and the changes in adoption and inheritance procedures as a result of the Tongan Constitution of 1875.

> 571 This evening Hohela came today to say that Tooboo had yielded to give up
> 797 lotoo and to be made the Tooicanacabola. In a few days time all the old people are to meet at this part [Hihifo on Tongatapu] to make him. This is a serious event (Journal entry of December 1, 1827).

571 Other nineteenth-century observers also witnessed this "consensus and
643 flexibility" aspect of Tonga culture: Cross wrote how the "Monarch is only a superior Chief, and is absolute no longer than he is supported by others, many of whom have nearly as much power as himself, and in some instances more" (Hunt 1846: 30). One non-missionary observer of 1850 wrote:

> The government of the islands is despotic, and not hereditary, but elective in the royal family. The eldest son of the king does not necessarily succeed his father, but another may be chosen from the sons of a former king, or a younger son may be elected before an elder if he be thought to have more capacity for government (Brierly 1852: 98).

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554 Thus an *'eiki* who was chosen as a chief had to have the support of the
565 people. He was a titled *'eiki*.

In aboriginal Tonga, there were also those *'eiki*'s who did not have a
554 title: these would be the *Sino'i 'eiki* for whom genealogical position, and
565 not a mere title, was the important criterion. There were also those individuals who did have a title, yet were not *'eiki*. These would be *matapule* titles — titles given to an individual by an *'eiki*, and the *matapule* title-holder would look after a specific spot of land for the *'eiki*. Finally, in aboriginal Tonga, (as well as today), there was the bulk of the populace: non-titled, non-*'eiki* individuals.

In aboriginal Tonga then, *'eiki* stood for a concept of noble birth and Tongans used the term appropriately. The Tongans would be able to distinguish between: titled *'eiki*, such as the *Tu'i Tonga*, non-titled *'eiki*, a kinsman of the *Tu'i Tonga*, titled non-*'eiki*, a *matapule*, and the non-titled, non-*'eiki*, bulk of the populace. In aboriginal Tonga, then, *'eiki* was a concept of noble birth and not synonymous with 'chief.' In the nineteenth century Thomas wrote:

> From this it will be seen that there are very many persons in the Friendly Islands, to whom the term *eiki* applies — persons who have nothing to do with the government of the Islands, but who had to be supported according to their rank, and many of them did receive more than civil respect — they had what may be called divine homage paid them, and some of them appeared to think that that was their proper right and due (Thomas MS. A1961: 16).

This may be how some view the monarchy today, and it would probably be 602
consistent with a statement pertaining to aboriginal Tonga, but it is not [643]
how nineteenth-century (and earlier) Europeans viewed Tonga. Alboriginal [642]
Tonga WAS an extended family, with virtually everyone being able to
trace kinship ties with everyone else. The concept of *'eiki* or noble birth [554]
was a perfectly viable one in aboriginal Tonga, for Tongans knew who [565]
was genealogically related to whom. The fact that only a proven individual 114
could be made a leader of men in aboriginal Tonga also made sense 642
— but this did not make sense to European observers of the time. The 175
Europeans, with European concepts of government, expected to find an
articulating "wholeness" in Tonga; instead, as Wilson's statement makes
clear, to their eyes they found chaos:

> The Government of Tongataboo is so complex in itself, and the natives' account of it so different, each taking a particular pride in exalting his own chief above others, that it is difficult to come to any certainty concerning it (Wilson 1799: 269).

Cook's ealier statement from 1777 is also in keeping with this approach:

> Of the nature of Government we know no more than the general outline, a subordination is established among them that resembles the feudal system; but of its subdivisions of the Constituent parts and in what manner connected to form one body politic I confess myself totally ignorant (In Beaglehole 1967: 174).

Cook was not "totally ignorant" but he was honest in his reporting.

When the missionaries arrived, particularly the Wesleyans in the nine- 177
teenth century, they too were confused — but they did something about 797
it: they did not admit to their confusion and set out to convert a culture! 114
They sent back fantastic reports to Sydney and to London and continued
to receive money and supplies to "convert" the Tongans. It was a fortu- 177
itous moment in 1826 when the Wesleyan missionaries Thomas and 797
Hutchinson arrived on Tongatapu: they brought their own supplies (to
augment those abandoned by Lawry when that missionary left in 1823)
to convert the Tongans, they capitalized on the Europeans who had been
living in the archipelago for numerous years, and they also profitted from
the problems of the Tongans. As Thomas relates in his Journal for 1827: 177

> I learn from a young man here, an Englishman, that Tonga at this time is 797
> principally in the possession of petty chiefs. Some few years ago the great men 643
> departed this life and some were killed — even the King's family now have no 669
> power — but these chiefs fought and defended Tonga and they now possess the
> part they have rescued from their enemies, SO THAT AT THIS TIME THEY SEEM MUCH CONFUSED, HAVING NO HEAD MAN (Thomas, *Journal*, entry of January 30, 1827. Emphasis added.)

177 Because there was no "head man" or secular ruler, there was no Tongan
797 with the authority to order the missionaries to leave. The mission approach
643 was that of "divide-and-conquer" and they turned Tongan against
669 Tongan — chief against chief. The religious wars of the nineteenth
century which resulted from Wesleyan interference in aboriginal Tongan
177 life were notorious for their ferocity. In January of 1837, the Wesleyan
797 missionary Watkin could write of the destruction of the non-Wesleyan-
669 ized-Tongan fortress of Ngeleia and how "one Christian was killed and
three wounded more than 25 heathens perished" (Watkin, Journal entry
for January 11, 1837). Of the 1840 battles, the Wesleyan missionary P.
Turner wrote:

> The heathens seem determined to die in their foolishness. I am told that they have made an oath to do so, before they will yield to the Xtns. (Turner, *Journal*, entry for July 19, 1840).

Of the ferocious 1840 wars, Thomas could write that he told the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* Jiosaia Tupou that "the heathens had acted more kind a great deal than the Christians and that they were less disposed for war" (Thomas, *Journal*, entry for August 4, 1840).

177 Aboriginal Tonga was forcefully pulled into the nineteenth century and
797 more needs to be written on this distasteful period. The demise of
aboriginal Tongan culture was clearly visible in 1840 when the Wesleyan
[114] missionary John Thomas, probably one of the few missionaries who ever
partially "understood" Tongan culture (and who has been ridiculed for
it), wrote in his Journal of August 4, 1840, of the titled *'eiki* Ma'afu of
the *Ha'a Havea*, a staunch non-Wesleyan-induced pro-indigenous Tongan
individual:

> Old Maafu is angry and grieved, saying like one of old, "Ye have taken away my gods, and what have I more."[8]

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797 [8] Thomas gathered a tremendous amount of potential ethnographic data, most of
114 which (if not all of it) still remains in manuscript form. He realized the problems of
data-gathering when he was asking specific questions and the following somewhat
poignant statement from his *Journal* of 1858 is worth re-reading: "conversed with a
few persons, on some little matters connected with the Tonga history. My matter
accumulates — also I hope it is in a way to be corrected before it sees the light — but
whatever case I may take, it is scarcely possible to avoid making some mistakes, the
more so, as various opinions are formed by various persons on the same subject"
(Thomas, *Journal*, entry of February 20, 1858).

68: Cummins H-4 (no date) 1977 OU9 Tonga OU9

Holy War: Peter Dillon and the 1837 Massacres in Tonga

H. G. CUMMINS

THE POSTHUMOUS PUBLICATION OF J. W. DAVIDSON'S BOOK 'PETER DILLON 114
of Vanikoro'[1] raises again the question of the part played by the Wesleyan
missionaries in Tonga's civil conflict of 1837. Davidson's editor, Professor 669
O. H. K. Spate, believed that Davidson had not finished working on the 797
relevant section—that the draft he received for editing 'could be taken as presenting fully only the anti-mission side, which would certainly not have been Davidson's intention'. To overcome this difficulty, Spate presented 'some specific points in the Wesleyan response', but refrained from rewriting the whole section.[2] The book therefore reaches no conclusion on Dillon's allegations that the Wesleyans were deeply implicated in the 1837 war, nor on the Wesleyans' categorical denial of them. A study of the relevant evidence does, however, make it possible to form a judgement on the rights and wrongs of Dillon's charges.

The affair began in November 1837 when Dillon, then a trader-captain 669
of nearly 30 years' experience in the Pacific, paid his third visit to Tonga- 797
tapu. On his earlier visits the Tongans had been friendly and at peace. This
time they were not. There had been bloody fighting earlier in the year and, 114
from what he could ascertain, the Wesleyan missionaries had been involved. Dillon wrote to the chairman of the Tonga mission, the Rev. John Thomas, strongly condemning the missionaries for their action, and he sent a copy of his letter to the Rev. William Ellis, secretary of the London Missionary Society.[3]

Dillon charged, among other things, that the Wesleyans, especially John Thomas, converted the natives 'by setting one part on to murder the other'; that civil war was introduced by the missionaries; that they interfered
with political appointments in 1826 and 1833.[4] But Dillon's most scathing 669
criticisms, which relate specifically to the 1837 war, were that 797

> [King George] was an humble instrument of torture, death, and destruction 669
> in your hands, by whose means and bloody assistance you undertook to propa- 114

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[1] J. W. Davidson, *Peter Dillon of Vanikoro*, ed. O. H. K. Spate (Melbourne 1975). [113]

[2] Ibid., viii-ix.

[3] Peter Dillon to John Thomas, 20 Nov. 1837; Peter Dillon to William Ellis, 20 Nov. 1837. [113] London, Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society Records (hereinafter WMMS) Microfilm Canberra, National Library of Australia (hereinafter ANL), M145.

[4] Ibid.

68: Cummins H-4 (no date) 1977 OU9 Tonga OU9

> 669 gate the mild doctrines of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, at Tonga . . .
> 797 that you are propagating the sacred scriptures by destroying man, woman, and
> child in Tonga . . . causing the assassination of innocent females—ripping
> 648 open their bowels—the mutilating of their tender offspring &c &c

114 and that

> you assured those murderers of success, as they fought in the cause of God, who marched in their ranks, though invisible . . . you assured that monster [Tāufa'āhau, King George] that the true God marched in his ranks with the bloody banditti.

Dillon concluded his letter with the warning: 'Mr Thomas, pray bear in mind that there is a God and such places as the Old Bailey and Execution Dock'.[5]

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This might well have been the end of the matter had not Captain Croker of H.M.S. *Favourite* been killed near Nuku'alofa in 1840 while 'mediating' between King George Tupou and some of his opponents. When Dillon learned of the death of Croker and several of his officers and men, he wrote an introduction to his letter of 1837 and had it published in London.[6] The Wesleyan Missionary Society responded by ordering a committee to inquire into his allegations. The committee, headed by the Rev. John Waterhouse, met in Tonga in 1841 and cleared the missionaries of Dillon's charges against them. Their vindication of Thomas was unequivocal:

> On the whole of this cause, having gone thro' each allegation carefully, and deliberately, this meeting is unanimously of opinion that a more villainous & unfounded attack was never made on the character of any Xtian minister.[7]

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The following year the Missionary Society published David Cargill's refutation of Dillon's 'slanderous attacks'.[8] The matter has rested there ever since, no attempt having been made to investigate the crucial questions: What was the Wesleyan missionaries' attitude to war? Is there any truth in Dillon's accusation that they propagated the gospel 'by destroying man, woman, and child'? Were the Christian warriors assured that the invisible God 'marched in their ranks'? Was Thomas personally involved in the war in any way? Are Dillon's charges to be dismissed as a 'villainous and unfounded attack'?

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[5] Ibid.

[113] [6] [Peter Dillon], *Letter to Richard More O'Farrell, Esq., M.P., Secretary to the Admiralty, Whitehall, London, from the Chevalier Dillon, late French Consul for the Islands in the South Seas, on the defeat of Her Majesty's Ship, Favourite, and the death of Her Commander, Captain Croker, at Tongatapu* . . . (London? 1840?).

[113] [7] WMMS District Minutes, Friendly Islands District Minutes for 1841, Appendix, Dillon Allegations, WMMS (ANL, mf M123).

[113] [8] David Cargill, *A Refutation of Chevalier Dillon's Slanderous Attacks on the Wesleyan Missionaries in the Friendly Islands* (London 1842).

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WHEN the Wesleyan missionaries arrived in Tonga in the 1820s the country 669
was experiencing a period of political instability, a continuation, in fact, of
the civil strife that began in 1797. Within months of Thomas's arrival two 797
of the highest ranking chiefs—Tāufa'āhau and Laufilitonga—became embroiled [643]
in a struggle in Ha'apai which threatened the peace of the whole
group.[9] Confronted with 'wars and rumours of wars', the missionaries felt it a duty to teach the new way—a way of love, mercy and peace. They saw the Tongans as a warlike people, revelling in war, enjoying fighting as a pastime.[10] But as the Christian teaching began to take root they frequently 797
noted in their reports to their superiors in London that one of the most obvious fruits of the gospel was that the Tongans no longer cherished war. Visitors commented on the change. Ransome, log keeper of the whaler *Elizabeth*, observed that the people

> appear to have been much benefitted by the exertions of their . . . missionary Mr. Thomas—at one time they were a very warlike treacherous set, but now their manners are much altered . . . many of them brought their muskets to exchange for calico, that they may appear decently in church.[11]

When a new chapel was opened in Ha'apai in the 30s, the missionary present at the festivities wrote enthusiastically that the king and people desired 'to
learn war no more'. As proof of this change of heart Charles Tucker told [411]
how the king had given a number of clubs and spears from which the [346]
communion rail for the new chapel had been fashioned.[12] Other new chapels
were decorated with former weapons of war, and David Cargill pointed out [782]
that 'walking sticks made from these weapons are very common'.[13]

Two outbreaks of hostilities early in the mission's history, one in 1831 [481]
and the other in 1833, were settled without loss of blood, and the missionaries 797
were quick to point out that the new Christian attitude which was
responsible for the bloodlessness of the fighting stood in marked contrast to 669
the brutality of the former era. Describing the events which followed the
destruction of the rebel fort in Vava'u in 1831, Turner noted: 797

> The captive party were expecting to share the same fate [as the ill-fated fortress], and Finau seemed wishful to make an example of the ring leaders but King Geo. had begun to feel some little of the principles of Christianity

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[9] John Thomas, Journal, 25 Aug. 1826, 26-27 Oct. 1826, WMMS (ANL, mf M159). [113]

[10] James Watkin, draft of article for *Methodist Magazine*, 30 Sept. 1833, Sydney, Mitchell Library (hereinafter ML), James Watkin Papers, A1540. Peter Turner, Journal, 23 June 1833, ML, B301. [113]

[11] H. Ransome, Log Book of the Whaling Ship *Elizabeth*, 26 Feb. 1832, 28 Mar. 1832, ML A1481. [113]

[12] Tucker to Secretaries of the WMMS, 17 Sept. 1835. *Papers Relative to Wesleyan Missions*, LXXV (1838). [113]

[13] David Cargill, Journal, 2 Oct. 1834, ML, A1817. [113]

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797 who loves its enemies—he therefore would not hear of any being put to death.[14]

669 A similar act of clemency was shown after the fall of the rebel stronghold
727 at 'Uiha in 1833, when the resident missionary noted with pride: 'The business of reducing the people who have so long opposed, has been accomplished without loss of life. For which I am thankful.'[15] Thomas, in writing to the Committee about the changed state of affairs in Tonga, used a military image, pointing out that '*now* they are soldiers in the army of Jesus'.[16]

797 Undoubtedly Christian teaching played a significant role in introducing
577 and inculcating the new attitudes and standards of behaviour. In the mission's extensive school system, which catered for adults as well as children,
872 there was a frequent emphasis upon the importance of living in friendship and fellowship. 'Fellowship is a good thing' *Ko e Motua Lea* taught in two
797 of its five lessons; hatred was a bad thing when directed towards other people,
577 but men should hate lies and evil speaking. In this early book the Devil
872 was the only enemy.[17] Other books taught love and forgiveness as part of the
779 Christian ethic.[18] *Koe Tohi Ako* (The School Book), which contained the Lord's Prayer with its teaching on forgiveness, taught that a loving good natured attitude should be adopted 'to all people'.[19] The Catechism (*Fehui moe Tala*) approached this area by asking a question about man's responsibility to his fellows, to which the answer was given: 'Righteousness is to obey my parents, and be respectful to my relatives . . . do good, love and be forgiving to all people'.[20]

Biblical stories which illustrated the forgiving and loving virtues of Christianity were provided in Book 5, which contained the parables of the Good Samaritan, the Prodigal Son, and the Elder Brother.[21] These parables stressed the responsibility of Christians to show love, concern and forgiveness towards those who had wronged them. Book 10, a translation of the *Wesleyan Rules of Society*, urged members of society to avoid fighting, quarrelling and brawling, exhorting them instead to seek to do good to all men, especially those in need of any kind.[22] Above all else there was the constant theme of God's love for all men, made known to the world through

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[113] [14] Peter Turner, Journal, 21 Aug. 1831, ML, B301.
[113] [15] James Watkin, Journal, 26 Mar. 1833, ML, A834.
[113] [16] Thomas to Secretaries, 17 Dec. 1831, WMMS Inward Correspondence (ANL, mf M143).
[113] [17] *Ko e Motua Lea* (Nuku'alofa 1831), p 3, lessons 1, 2 and 5.
[113] [18] See e.g. *Ko e Fehui mo e Tala Mei he Uluaki Folofola a e Otua* (Tongataboo Feb. 1834);
[113] *Ko e Gaahi Lesoni mei he Tohi Tabu* (Tongataboo June 1832).
[113] [19] *Ko e Tohi Ako* (Tongataboo, second ed. 1835), p 4, lesson ix.
[113] [20] *Ko e Fehui mo e Tala* (Tongataboo 1831), Section 5, Question 45.
[113] [21] *Ko e Gaahi lesoni eni mei he Tohi Tabu* (Tongataboo 1832), pp 3-4, 5-9.
[113] [22] *Ko e Akonaki ki he kakai Lotu Fehui* (Tongataboo 1834), p 2-3.

~~the person~~ of Jesus Christ.[23] At least one missionary devised a novel method 797
of teaching against 'some of the prevailing evils and their consequences'. 577
James Watkin's catechism, used on Sundays and almost certainly in the 872
schools, included the following questions and answers: 779

Who are they who love war?
Answer: The true sons of the Devil.
Who are they that seek war?
Answer: Wild beasts thirsting for blood.[24]

Before 1833, therefore, there was nothing in missionary teaching to encourage a warlike spirit. In fact the reverse was true, and almost all the reading material used in school and church was designed to stimulate loving, forgiving, friendly relationships.[25] Cargill's view was that 'the prophecies of the Bible are being fulfilled. The heathen are forgetting the art of war, and learning the gospel of peace.'[26]

And yet the 30s saw a broadening and an intensification of opposition 797
from the Tongatapu chiefs who had resisted the *lotu* (i.e. Christianity) from 798
the beginning. The baptism, in the early 30s, of Tupou of Tonga, 669
Tāufa'āhau of Ha'apai, and 'Ulukālala of Vava'u gave impetus to the anti-
lotu party who began to persecute Christians and to disrupt services of [643]
worship. By January 1834 relations between the two parties became strained [634]
almost to breaking point, and Tāufa'āhau and a large band of warriors
sailed to Tongatapu to support Tupou. Their arrival was awe-inspiring—
some 50 large double canoes sailing to anchor, 'each one beating his lali'.
Thomas was impressed: 'Such a sight has never been witnessed at Tonga
for many years. Indeed I question whether Tonga ever witnessed such a
scene since it was a land.'[27]

For almost a month the contingent from the north made a show of force for Tupou and Christianity and their presence ensured at least a momentary peace, although rumours of war were upon many lips. 'This island is quite a stir', wrote Thomas, 'and all the talk is about fighting with the king of the Vava'u and Haabai islands'.[28] Thomas was at the farewell kava ceremony before Tāufa'āhau sailed back to Ha'apai, and he could not help noticing the open parading of weapons. Tāufa'āhau had 'a large club and a gun'

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[23] See lesson books nos 1-6.

[24] Watkin, Journal, 1 Dec. 1832, ML, A834. [113]

[25] See e.g. Nathaniel Turner, *First Lessons in the Language of Tongataboo* (Sydney 1828); *Ko e Motua Lea* (Tongataboo 1831, 1834, 1840), reading lessons 1, 2 and 3. [113]

[26] Cargill, Journal, 2 Oct. 1834, ML, A1817. [113]

[27] Thomas, Journal, 27 Feb., 3, 30 Mar. 1834, ANL, mf M160. The *lali* referred to is a wooden drum. [113]

[28] Ibid., 10 Mar. 1834. [534]

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797 beside him, and 'many of his people were sitting about, or near him, all [798] armed, and on the lookout for the foe'.[29]

The religious revival which broke out in the northern islands a few [669] months later further inflamed the already excited and tense atmosphere.[30] The revival swept the Ha'apai and Vava'u groups and thousands were deeply affected. All normal activities came to a halt, work ceased, classes were abandoned, and prayer meetings and services were held throughout the day and evening.[31] It was, as one missionary put it, 'a week of Sabbaths'. Of all the islands in the group, only Tongatapu was relatively unaffected. There, although some Christians were caught up in the movement, the heathen majority remained untouched.[32]

The effect of the revival was to cement the northern groups into a solid unity behind King George and the missionaries. In Ha'apai the ~~missionary~~ reported that there was only one heathen in the whole group.[33] The great religious movement also divided the country more clearly into Christians and heathens—the heathens almost without exception residing in Tongatapu. 797 Christians in that group insulted heathens during their most sacred 798 first fruits ceremony, the *Inasi*, and heathens responded by driving Christians from their villages and disturbing Christian worship whenever possible.[34] A crisis developed in 1835 when, at the opening of a new chapel in the village of Nukunuku near Nuku'alofa, the wavering chief of the village came out strongly in favour of Christianity and he and hundreds of [558] his people joined the church.[35] After the opening festivities had subsided the anti-*lotu* party took the chief prisoner, deposed him, gave his title of Tuivakanoa 797 to another man, and drove the Christians from the village. The 798 exiles took refuge at Nuku'alofa and Tupou ordered that work on 669 fortifications begin immediately.[36] Watkin tells us that when services were held at Nuku'alofa on the Sunday after the arrival of the exiles, guards were posted at various parts of the fortified wall of the village. 'All the watchers', he noted at the time, 'had teachers with them, and held religious services at their respective stations'.[37] The next day Watkin decided to leave

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[29] Ibid., 19 Mar. 1834.

[119] [30] The revival began on 22 July 1834 while a Tongan teacher was preaching at the small village of Utui near Neiafu, Vava'u. See *Missionary Notices* (hereinafter *MN*), No. 238 (Oct. 1835); Peter Turner, Journal, 23-7 July 1834, ML, B302.

[119] [31] Tucker to Secretaries, 1 Sept. 1834. *MN*, No. 238 (Oct. 1835).

[119] [32] Thomas to Committee, 10 Sept. 1834, *MN*, No. 238 (Oct. 1835).

[119] [33] Tucker to Committee, 17 Sept. 1835, quoted in *MN*, No. 248 (Aug. 1836).

[119] [34] WMMS Minute Book, Friendly Islands District Minutes, Tonga Station Report for 1834, WMMS, ANL, mf M123; Thomas to Secretaries, 6 Dec. 1834. *MN*, No. 238 (Oct. 1834).

[119] [35] Watkin, Journal, 20-30 Sept. 1835. *MN*, No. 256 (Apr. 1837).

[119] [36] Ibid.

[37] Ibid.

Nuku'alofa for the time being, and retire with his family to the safety of 797
Ha'apai.[38] In the meantime revival continued in the north, bringing 798
thousands into the church.

In this atmosphere of intense political and religious feeling the mis- 669
sionaries, through their schools, classes and sermons, introduced the Old 797
Testament teachings of Jehovah's condemnation of heathens, idol worship- 872
pers and law breakers. These teachings were contained in five small book- 779
lets: one from Isaiah containing prophecies of doom to idol worshippers and
apostates, two from I Samuel containing the story of Saul's battle with the 669
opponents of his rule and the enemies of Jehovah, and two from Psalms, for
the most part a series of Israelite war songs.[39]

The books from Samuel taught that Israelite kinship arose out of a fear that the enemies of Jehovah would over-run and conquer the chosen people.[40] It was to save his people from their enemies that Saul was chosen as Israel's first king. However, as the story of Saul illustrates, kingship was not without its enemies from within. Speaking of the views of opponents, the biblical writer tells how some said 'How shall this man save us?' These rebels, he continues, 'despised him, and brought him no presents'.[41] Apart from enemies within there were also external threats. Saul's solution, we read, was to declare war, with the result that 'he slew the Ammorites until the heat of the day', and as one of the booklets proclaims as its final words: 'The Lord delivered all the enemies into the hand of Israel'.[42]

The extract from Isaiah prophesies doom for the 'sinful nation' because they have 'forsaken the Lord, they have provoked the Holy One of Israel unto anger, they have gone backward . . . the whole head is sick, and the whole heart faint'.[43] Isaiah prophesies that disaster will fall upon those who refuse to be 'willing and obedient', whose land 'is full of idols' and who 'worship the work of their own hands'. These rebellious ones have 'cast away the Law of the Lord', and have 'despised the Holy One of Israel'[44]—a description that could be applied equally well to the heathen of Tonga. The tone of Isaiah is ruthless.

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[38] Ibid.

[39] *Ko e Gaahi Same a Tevita mei he Tohi Tabu*, No. 7 (Tongataboo Apr. 1833); *Ko e Uluaki* [113]
Buka a Samiuela, No. 12 (Tongataboo Apr. 1834); *Ko e Buka a e Balofite Ko Aisea*, No. 13 (Tongataboo May 1834); *I Samiuela*, No. 14 (Tonga Aug. 1834); *Ko e Same*, No. 15 (Tonga Oct. 1834). The decision to prepare these books was made at the District Meeting of 1832. Watkin Papers, ML, A1540.

[40] *I Samiuela*, No. 14, viii, 20; xi, 1-13. [113]

[41] Ibid., x, 27. The biblical references quoted in this article are taken from the King James Version of the bible which was used by the missionaries in their translation work. The Tongan booklets were, almost without exception, literal translations of passages from this version.

[42] Ibid., xi, 11; xiv, 12.

[43] *Ko e Buka a e Balofite Ko Aisea*, i, 4-5.

[44] Ibid., ii, 8; v, 24.

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> Therefore is the anger of the Lord kindled against his people, and he hath stretched forth his hand against them, and hath smitten them . . . and their carcasses were torn in the midst of the streets. For all this his anger is not turned away, but his hand is stretched forth still . . . and in that day they shall roar against them like the roaring of the sea; and if one look unto the land, behold darkness and sorrow, and the light is darkened in the heavens thereof.[45]

Isaiah's message of doom is dramatically presented in his parable of the vineyard where the Lord decrees 'I will take away the hedge thereof, and it shall be eaten up; and break down the wall thereof, and it shall be trodden down: And I will lay it waste . . .'.[46] The teachings of the Isaiah booklet can perhaps best be summed up in some key words from the first chapter:

> If ye will be willing and obedient, ye shall eat the good of the land: but if ye refuse and rebel, ye shall be devoured by the sword: for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it.[47]

It is in the books from the Psalms, however, that the war theme is most explicitly and extensively taught. The two booklets contain the first 31 psalms, all of which follow, to a greater or lesser extent, the theme of destruction by war. The basic teaching is simple. Firstly it is taught that the heathen assume a threatening attitude towards Jehovah and his chosen ones:

> Why do the Heathen rage, and the people imagine a vain thing? The kings of the earth set themselves, and the rulers take counsel together, against the Lord, and his anointed, saying: Let us break their bands asunder, and cast away their cords from us.[48]

Secondly there is the affirmation that although there is a danger for those who follow Jehovah, they will nevertheless ultimately triumph over the heathen. The following extracts from Psalms ii and xviii are typical:

> Thou shalt break them with the rod of iron; thou shalt dash them in pieces like a potters vessel.
>
> It is God that avengeth me, and subdueth the people under me. He delivered me from my enemies; yea, thou liftest me up above those that rise up against me; thou hast delivered me from the violent men.[49]

A third and prominent theme is that victory will come to the followers of Jehovah through the annihilation of the heathen opposition. Psalm xviii illustrates this point of view more explicitly than many others:

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[45] Ibid., v, 25, 30.
[46] Ibid., v, 5-6.
[47] Ibid., i, 19-20.
[48] *Ko e Gaahi Same a Tevita*, ii, 1-3. See also ii, iii, 6-7; v, 4, 10; viii; ix, 3-6.
[49] Ibid., ii, 9; xviii, 47-8. See also iv, 8; v, 11; vii, 1, 25.

> I have pursued mine enemies, and overtaken them: neither did I turn again 797
> until they were consumed. I have wounded them that they were not able to
> rise: they are fallen under my feet. . . . Thou hast given me the necks of 872
> mine enemies: that I might destroy them that hate me.[50] 779

Other elements in the theme are that Jehovah will give strength to the king 669
and people to make war, and that rebellious subjects will be humbled and
forced to submit to the king's rule.[51]

What emphasis the missionaries gave to these teachings in the day to day 797
programme of the church and schools is not easy to determine. It is quite
likely, however, judging from their writings, that they placed a good deal of 779
stress upon them. During the unsettled years of the 30s they frequently chose 669
texts for their sermons from Old Testament stories about war with the
heathen. In December 1836 King George and his close relative and adviser, [643]
Ulakai, visited Thomas at Vava'u to discuss the best policy to be followed in
what appeared to be the inevitable outbreak of war.[52] What passed between the missionary and the King was not recorded at the time, but in the weeks that followed Thomas preached on texts which told of the clash between Jehovah's chosen people and the heathen opposition. In an atmosphere of extreme excitement, becoming more inflamed daily by fresh reports of the determination of the heathen to wipe out the Christian population of Tongatapu, Thomas spent Saturday 7 January reading and expounding II Chronicles xx, 1-30.[53] In the light of subsequent events, the details of this chapter are significant. It tells the story of King Jehosophat and his victory, with the help of Jehovah, over concerted heathen opposition. Three themes emerge clearly from the narrative: the battle is the Lord's, his people do not have to fear, and the destruction of the heathen will be complete.[54]

The next day as a party of warriors was leaving Vava'u to join the forces in Tongatapu Thomas gave the chief supervising the expedition a copy of the sermon to be read or handed to King George on arrival in Tongatapu.[55] The chief and his party arrived in Tongatapu on Sunday, 8 January, and were able to reinforce King George's army for the impending encounter.

While Thomas was preaching victory for God's people in Vava'u the 669
heathens of the fortress of Ngele'ia, little more than a mile from the Chris-

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[50] Ibid., xviii, 34-42.
[51] *Ko e Same*, viii, 37-8.
[52] Thomas, Journal, 20-21 Dec. 1836, WMMS (ANL, mf M160). [113]
[53] The morning service was devoted to reading and explaining verses 1-13 and the afternoon was taken up with an exposition of verses 14-30. See Thomas, Journal, 7 Jan. 1837, WMMS (ANL, mf M160). [113]
[54] Thomas said he spent a lot of time reading and explaining this chapter to the people. See Thomas, ibid.
[55] Thomas, Journal, 6 Jan. 1837, WMMS (ANL, mf M160). [113]

669 tian stronghold of Nuku'alofa, were preparing to do battle. On Sunday 8 January while the Christians were at worship, the heathens attacked.[56] 669 Token resistance was shown by the Christians on the sabbath, but this was 726 followed up on the Monday by full scale retaliation. Ngele'ia was stormed. Its fortifications were razed, its buildings burned to the ground, 20 of its inhabitants killed and the remainder taken prisoner.[57]

A week later at the village of Hule the heathen party again attacked the Christians while they were at worship. The skirmishes on the sabbath were [727] followed a few days later by massive retaliation. King George and his warriors stormed the fortress annihilating its population of 300 men, women and children, and reducing the village and its fortifications to a heap of ruins.[58]

669 The part played by the missionaries seems clear enough. They had not created civil war. Fighting had been going on intermittently since 1797.[59] 797 They had, however, in establishing the new order that was emerging with the widespread acceptance of Christianity, provided a model which allowed the Tongans to fight out their differences albeit with additional and somewhat changed motives.

669 The day before the massacre Thomas chose Joshua v 13-15 as a text when addressing a crowd of almost 2,000 people at Vava'u.[60] The passage 797 told of a heavenly figure who appeared to Joshua and his army just before 779 the siege of Jericho. The heavenly figure in the story revealed himself to Joshua as 'the captain of the host of the Lord', and it is probable that Thomas assured his hearers that the Lord would provide a similar guardian angel in these latter day assaults on Jericho. In the afternoon of the same day he chose Joshua x, which tells how Joshua responded to a call for help from the Gibeonites who were besieged by heathen foes.[61] In one of the bloodiest chapters in the Old Testament, the biblical historian tells how one after another of the heathen chiefs were set upon by Joshua and his army. The outcome of these battles was always the same and the repetition of the chorus monotonous: 'and Joshua smote them with the edge of the sword, and utterly destroyed all the souls that were therein, he let none

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[113] [56] Spinney to Committee, quoting his Journal, 28 Jan. 1837, WMMS (ANL, mf M145); Watkin to Secretaries, 24 Mar. 1837, ibid.; Tucker to Secretaries, 28 Jan. 1837, ibid.

[57] Ibid.

[58] Ibid.

[727] [175] [59] The fighting in 1799 was particularly bloody. A report from a London Missionary Society observer at the time spoke of 'heaps of [bodies] as large as the hull of the vessel . . . fifteen hundred or two thousand are lying upon one spot piled one upon another . . .'. ML, Hassall Papers, I, 66, CY A859.

[113] [60] Thomas, Journal, 22 Jan. 1837, WMMS (ANL, mf M160).

[61] Ibid.

remain'.[62] It is obviously these texts, and the ones used on 7 January, that 669 Dillon learned about when he called at Nuku'alofa some months after the 797 massacre at Hule. The terms used in his accusations in the personal letter to Thomas at the time, and in the later published attack, strongly resemble 779 those of the Joshua text. 'You assured those murderers of success', Dillon wrote, 'as they fought in the cause of God, who marched in their ranks, though invisible'.[63]

Thomas's position seems clear enough. After hearing of the blood bath in Tongatapu he preached on the text: 'So let all thine enemies perish, O Lord; but let them that love him be as the sun when he goeth forth in his might'.[64] He wrote approvingly of the chief at Neiafu, who in attempting to shame deserters from King George's army, called a special meeting and asked all those who had left the war 'to get into the middle of the ring'. Some 30 men responded, most of whom could 'give no good account of themselves, or their conduct'. Commenting on the incident Thomas remarked: 'I fear that some fine young men are lacking in courage. I think it rather disgraceful of them . . . leaving the field before the war is ended.'[65]

For Tāufa'āhau the struggle of the 30s had broader significance than a 669 purely heathen-Christian conflict. It had in addition a complex political 643 context: the long standing civil disturbances dating back to the closing years of the 18th century; the opposition of powerful enemies, in particular the Ha'a Havea; his own place in the line to the Tui Kanokupolu title; the 'ingratitude' of forgiven enemies who had again taken up arms against him. Nevertheless, the teachings of the missionaries gave him a Christian rationale 669 and sanction for prosecuting the war and his behaviour indicates that, at 643 least on the surface, biblical texts were influencing his decisions and attitudes. He consulted his spiritual adviser before the outbreak of hostilities 797 and he approached the bloody battles of 1837 in the spirit of prayer. After the Ngele'ia massacre he pointed out that he 'had not sought to be engaged in war, [but] the Lord had evidently led him to it in defence of his

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[62] Thomas, ibid., refers to a sermon based on Joshua x. The extract above is from Joshua x. 30. See also Joshua x, 32, 33, 35, 37.

[63] Dillon, *Letter to Richard More O'Farrell* . . ., 6. Dillon to Thomas, 20 Nov. 1837. WMMS (ANL, mf M145). [113]

[64] Thomas, Journal, 19 Feb. 1837, WMMS (ANL, mf M160). [113]

[65] Ibid., 21 Feb. 1837. Although Thomas and the other missionaries in Tonga taught the Old Testament stories of the conquest of Caanan as part of their Christian teaching, the Mission authorities in London in no way endorsed this action. When Thomas wrote joyfully to London with news of 'this successful war', Secretary Beecham rebuked him sharply. In part Beecham wrote: 'It has been remarked by some . . . that a somewhat different mode of expression and reasoning would have been better suited to the character of Christian Missionaries . . . It is our earnest hope . . . that you faithfully perform your duty with regard to the King and endeavour to lead him to more consistent views of the character and requirements of Christianity—which he himself in fact appears to have better understood in an earlier part of his Christian career. . . .' For full details of the letter see Beecham to Thomas, 28 Mar. 1838, WMMS, Outwards Correspondence (ANL, mf M150). [113]

669 cause'.[66] He led his warriors in prayer before both Hule and Ngele'ia, and
643 the prayers he offered immediately before the assault upon Hule filled his
797 warriors, many of them teacher-preachers, with an emotional thrill which
they later likened to their experiences 'when the revival of religion broke
[648] out'.[67] Some years later King George urged the Samoans not to fight among
themselves, pointing out that whereas in Tonga Christians had been fighting
669 heathens, in Samoa Christians were fighting Christians.[68] When Tucker
spoke to King George about the bloody battle at Hule the chief told the
643 missionary that he

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> had no intention whatever when marching to the place to destroy the women and children, but gave orders to save them—but in a moment it came into his mind to put all to the sword—he said he believed it was the just judgement of God upon the people of that place.[69]

This 'impulse from heaven'[70] to put all to the sword bears a striking resemblance to the contents of the books King George had been reading in school and the sermons he had been hearing from the pulpit for some
669 considerable time before the outbreak of hostilities in 1837.[71] His tactics
during the war followed the biblical pattern. Like Jehosophat he had prayed
643 with his people before battle.[72] He divided his army into three divisions as
797 Saul had done when fighting the Ammorites;[73] he pursued his enemies and
725 destroyed them as David had done;[74] after routing the enemy he, like the
Biblical king, collected the spoils.[75] Father Chevron's charge that the Wesleyans broke the teeth of heathen opponents recalls the Psalms reader: 'Thou has broken the teeth of the ungodly'.[76]

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[113] [66] Brooks to Secretaries, 17 Jan. 1837, WMMS (ANL, mf M145).

[113] [67] Stephen Rabone, Journal, 17 Jan. 1837, ML, MSS 47.

[113] [68] Peter Turner, Journal, 2 Apr. 1848, ML, B309.

[113] [69] Tucker, Journal, 22 Mar. 1837, WMMS, Inwards Correspondence (ANL, mf M145). The influence of the *lotu* literature (scripture and other books) appears to have been underestimated by the church historians of Tonga who have tended to explain the behaviour of the Christians
[114] in 1837 in terms of a lapse into heathenism. Even if Tāufa'āhau reverted to the practices of traditional warfare he was able to do so with the full sanction of the new teaching.

[113] [70] Beecham to Thomas, 28 Mar. 1837, WMMS, Outwards Correspondence (ANL, mf M150).

[71] It may be possible to explain Tāufa'āhau's tactics in other terms but their resemblance to the biblical pattern is remarkable.

[115] [72] Brookes, Journal, 16 Jan. 1837, WMMS, Inwards Correspondence, (ANL, mf M145); II Chronicles xx, 18

[113] [73] Tucker, Journal, 15 Feb. 1837, WMMS, Inwards Correspondence (ANL, mf M145); *Ko e Uluaki Buka a Samiuela* xi, 11.

[115] [74] Tucker, Journal, 22 Mar. 1837, WMMS, Inwards Correspondence (ANL, mf M145). *Ko e Same* xviii, 37.

[113] [75] Thomas, MS History of Tonga, p 1078 (ANL, mf M165); II Chronicles xx, 25.

[113] [76] Letter from P. Chevron, Tonga, 11 July 1842, quoted in *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, XV (1843) 431; Letter from P. Chevron, Tonga-Tabou, 24 June 1843, quoted in *Annales . . .*, XVII (1845), 98; *Ko e Gaahi Same a Tevita*, iii, 7.

68: Cummins H-4 (no date) 1977 OU9 Tonga OU9

FOLLOWING the publication of Dillon's allegations, the Missionary Com- 669
mittee in London directed Joseph Orton, superintendent of the Australian
District, to institute an official inquiry. Orton prepared carefully for the 797
task, drawing up a list of 34 queries which he felt would help him in his [114]
investigation. Of these, only one (No. 22) touched directly on the
missionaries' implication in war. This asked 'Was he [King George] in- 669
fluenced in his attack in any way by the Missionaries—or did he seek the
advice of Mr. Thomas or any of the Missionaries?'[77] On the basis of informa- 797
tion from returned missionaries who had been in Tonga at the time of the 643
attack Orton concluded:

> I cannot say that he was advised by Mr. Thomas or any of the Missionaries though it is possible that their opinion might have some influence. . . . It is possible that had the Missionaries positively disapproved of his assisting Tupou he might have declined to do so: therefore it may at least be viewed as a kind of negative or silent approbation.[78]

But Orton did not go to Tonga. He was recalled to England and John
Waterhouse, newly appointed General Superintendent of Wesleyan Missions
in Australasia and Polynesia, conducted the enquiry in his stead. Water- [114]
house examined Thomas on six allegations that had been drawn up from
Dillon's charges by the Mission authorities in London. Only one of these
focused attention on the missionaries' implication in the war. It read: 'That
Mr. Thomas persuaded this "bloody usurper" to invade Tonga who with his
thousand armed savages slaughtered man woman and child and committed
most revolting barbarities'.[79] Framed in this way the allegation could be
categorically denied, for it was 'Josiah Tupou King of Tonga' who 'sent to
George for succour as the heathen were preparing war against the Xtians'.[80]
With all the allegations dismissed in a similar way, the committee of 669
enquiry was able to pass the resolution which completely and unreservedly 797
exonerated Thomas of any blame.[81] This official finding coincided with [114]
Waterhouse's personal view that Dillon's charges were 'a tissue of malicious
falsehoods'.[82]

In all the enquiries into the affair Dillon's two most persistent charges— [114]
that war was used as an instrument to propagate the gospel and that Thomas

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[77] Joseph Orton, Queries and Memoranda regarding the War, Friendly Islands, Book No. 2, WMMS (ANL, mf M159). [113]

[78] Joseph Orton, Information on Queries, Friendly Islands, Book No. 3, WMMS (ANL, mf M159). [113]

[79] Friendly Islands District Minutes, Report for 1841, Appendix 1, Dillon Allegations, WMMS (ANL, mf M123). [113]

[80] Ibid.

[81] Ibid.

[82] *M.N.* Vol. I New Series (May 1841), 503. [113]

68: Cummins H-4 (no date) 1977 OU9 Tonga OU9

669 had assured Tāufa'āhau and his warriors that Jehovah would fight with and for them—were never considered, either by Orton, the London Committee, 797 Waterhouse or Cargill. That the Tongan Christian warriors had been [114] assured by the missionaries of Jehovah's support has been demonstrated. But what of the other charge?

Thomas's letters written during the days that preceded the hostilities and immediately after the massacre suggest that he saw the war as an effective instrument of evangelism. He wrote to his parents:

> Tonga [tapu] has stood out against God for many years, they prefer darkness to light because their deeds are evil. The ostensible unbelief of the Jews, was the cause of their being destroyed by tens of thousands if not hundreds of thousands . . . so satisfied are the people of the goodness of their cause, they are most willing to leave all and go forth to suffer and to die if God require them in his good cause . . . we hope to get more places to preach at than we have ever had, so that we shall most likely ere long want two or three missionaries for Tonga [tapu] . . . King George is conquerer but he gives all the praise to the Lord. . . . I am sure that you will rejoice that God is so good to us.[83]

Some few months later his views were unchanged. Writing officially to his superiors in London of 'the war which has been ended so much to the honour of Jehovah of Host, and his glorious cause in these seas' he explained

> our way . . . [has] been opened by it, to reoccupy Hihifo . . . also our way has been opened to the two other principal heathen settlements in Tonga [tapu] where preaching has already commenced by the local preachers, and we have every reason to believe that the *whole* of Tonga [tapu], will be Christian, and not only so—but the good effects of this successful war with the heathen and their gods, by our Christian kings and their people, will be felt in all the islands in these seas and that in consequence on *Tonga—great Tonga—Tongatapu—*, having been conquered by Vava'u and Ha'apai Christians, thousands will turn unto God as even the heathens themselves say God the true God fought against them in the war . . .[84]

114 797 MANY of Dillon's allegations, only a few of which have been considered in this paper, were clearly questionable. Some, like the charge that Thomas removed fellow missionaries Cargill and Watkin because he did not like them, are based on wrong information. Others, including the allegation that Thomas was instrumental in placing Aleamot'ua on the 'throne' in 1827, are clearly false; Thomas had only been in the country a few months when that chief was installed in office. He was still struggling to learn the language and had made little headway in establishing himself among the people. The

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[83] Thomas to his parents, 2 Feb. 1837, ML, A1960.

[84] Thomas to Secretaries, 23 June 1837, WMMS Inward Correspondence (ANL, mf M145).

68: Cummins H-4 (no date) 1977 OU9 Tonga OU9

charge that the missionaries had 'introduced civil war' is similarly groundless. 114
Accusations which refer to 'the usurper', to placing persons on 'the throne' 797
and to deposing 'rightful sovereigns' and 'hereditary princes' are mislead-
ingly Eurocentric. Furthermore, Dillon's assertion that Tāufa'āhau was a [643]
humble pawn in Thomas's hands does little justice to a chief who for almost
50 years maintained effective control over his people and his country. More-
over Dillon draws a misleadingly simple picture of missionary domination
and native passivity. He says nothing of the powerful political motives that [643]
drew Tāufa'āhau into the war: his defence of his father's brother against old
political enemies; his aspirations after the Tu'ikanokupolu title; the [669]
traditional rivalry between the north (Ha'apai and Vava'u) and the south
(Tongatapu); and the unsolved question of centrality or fragmentation in
Tongan politics which lay at the root of the original outbreak of hostilities
25 years before the arrival of the Wesleyan missionaries.

And yet the events that concerned Dillon most and stirred him to
publish his letter should not be passed over lightly as they have been for so
long. Dillon accused Thomas of personal implication in the war, of using 114
the hostilities as an instrument of evangelism, of encouraging the Christian 797
warriors by telling them that the Lord Jehovah fought with them in their
ranks. Despite the exaggeration and error in many of his other charges, in 669
these Dillon was most certainly very close to the truth.

SECOND INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON AUSTRONESIAN LINGUISTICS 000

A conference on Austronesian linguistics, organized by the Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, will be held at Burgmann College on the campus from 4 to 12 January 1978 inclusive.

The Conference will be concerned with four main aspects of the study of Austronesian languages which, extending in a broad belt from Madagascar to Eastern Polynesia, constitute a large genetic group.

1—the distribution, description, classification and lexicography of Austronesian languages and implications for linguistic theory
2—Austronesian historical linguistics and reconstruction of earlier forms of the languages
3—implications of the study of languages for the past migrations of Austronesian peoples
4—language problems of a socio-linguistic nature involving Austronesian languages: national languages; pidgin languages; education, etc.

Please direct enquiries to the Organizing Secretary, Second International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics, Dept of Linguistics, School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, P.O. Box 4, Canberra, A.C.T. 2600, Australia.

of Velata the feats of a warrior named Tu'uhetoka of Ha'afeva, another 173
island of Ha'apai, who was considered by others to be one of the most outstanding 669
heroes. Naturally they sang the praises of their own two warriors,
and said that after one skirmish Tāufa'āhau (King George) came and found
Tu'uhetoka standing among a group of dead enemy warriors whom he
claimed he himself had killed, but who, according to the 'Uiha people,
were killed by another outstanding warrior named Puakatau whom Tu'uhetoka
had himself killed out of jealousy.

In 1965 I visited the island of Lifuka where this war took place, and 123
was taken by the local people to what remains of the fortress of Velata itself,
as well as to the historic tracts of land surrounding it. My local informants
told me the names of these tracts of land (*api*) and also how these names 124
had arisen. One story was about Tu'uhetoka. They said that at the peak of 173
a skirmish in which Tāufa'āhau and some of his men were being overpowered 669
a warrior of outstanding calibre among the men of Ha'afeva intervened, 643
and with a rare display of skill and courage, he and Tāufa'āhau
ploughed their way through *Tu'i Tonga*'s warriors, felling scores of them [726]
with their clubs while the rest fled. Watching this warrior's heroic performance,
Tāufa'āhau was said to have remarked that he was like a gigantic fish
chasing a shoal of small fish. After the final victory Tāufa'āhau bestowed 173
upon him the name Tu'uhetoka (meaning 'standing in the face of defeat') 729
and gave him a sizeable portion of land at Lifuka, just alongside his own, and [643]
called it Ikalahi (big fish) in memory of his gallantry. Later he was given the [553]
island of Ha'afeva as his estate (*tofi'a*),[8] and the name Tu'uhetoka became a [103]
noble title. [565]

I found oral traditions a useful supplement to written sources. Care 173
needed to be taken, however, that the oral traditions were in fact genuine 124
and not distorted versions of written accounts. I was able to detect a few [121]
cases where people claimed to have oral knowledge which turned out to be
spurious. When I was at 'Uiha I asked the old men about a certain tradition 124
which existed there. After a while they became uncertain and said that Mr
So-and-so, who was not present, knew all about it. Consequently we sent for
him. He was a school teacher in his early 50s, who was able to read English
books haltingly. What he had to tell turned out to be based on what he had
read in a collection of tales written for schools. However the genuine oral 114
traditions proved to be a valuable check on the reliability of written sources. [121]
An example of this may be seen in the account of the destruction of the fortress, 797
god houses and effigies of 'Uiha. Bishop Blanc has the following 798
account in his history of Tonga: [643]

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[8] S. Latukefu, 'Church and State in Tonga', Ph.D. thesis, Australian National University (Canberra, 1967), 192. [113]

17

> 114 Taufaahau in 1835 commenced to preach the gospel. Although professing
> 797 Christianity, he had at no time showed forbearance in his dealings with those
> 798 who were still pagans. Through a trick he succeeded in capturing the pagan
> 643 fort of Uiha, and gave the people into slavery to the chiefs of Vavau.[9]

The implications of this appear to be that Tāufa'āhau acted in a ruthless and inhuman fashion without considering the welfare of the people. However various oral traditions which I collected throw a different light on the episode.

173 The 'Uiha people were the last group to resist Christianity in Ha'apai.
797 Other chiefs had persuaded their people to become converted on the orders
of Tāufa'āhau, but according to traditions, the chief of 'Uiha, who was
643 named Malupō, and his sons, because they were closely related and had
798 political affiliations with Tāufa'āhau, were able to resist his wishes on matters
of religion without fear of disastrous consequences. Tāufa'āhau for his part
was not seriously disturbed by 'Uiha's resistance. He sought no armed
reprisal as was expected by some of the 'Uiha people, but treated the whole
173 matter in a rather humorous way. At the time that he became ruler of
Vava'u it was well known that there was some dissatisfaction among a few
797 of the chiefs in Vava'u concerning the issues of religion and the rulership of
643 Vava'u. Tāufa'āhau used this situation as a means of tricking Malupō and
his sons into terminating their resistance to Christianity.

According to tradition, before leaving on one of his visits to Vava'u he
sent a message to Malupō to send the warriors of 'Uiha to Vava'u for his
protection. On reaching Vava'u he arranged for the people of a small village
called Masilamea, well known for their gentleness and lack of fighting pro-
wess, to lie in ambush for the 'Uiha warriors near the spot where his large
white pig was kept in an enclosure. When the 'Uiha warriors arrived Tāufa'-
āhau informed them that the rumour of a plot against his life was false. He
then suggested that they should fetch his white pig to kill it as an *'oho*
(provisions) for their return journey. Two or three warriors remained in
their canoe while the rest set forth, unarmed, to fetch the pig. As soon as
they had departed the canoe was seized. The others approached the pig
enclosure, only to encounter the gentle Masilamea people who ambushed
and, of course, outnumbered them, bound their hands behind their backs
[539] and led them to Neiafu, the capital. When Tāufa'āhau saw his famous war-
rior cousins as captives of the most un-warlike Masilameans, he burst into
laughter, saying 'Toki taha a Masilamea' (Masilamea's first), which has be-
come a common saying in Tonga ever since to refer to a rare and unexpected

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[113] [9] J. F. Blanc, *A History of Tonga or Friendly Islands. Trans. from the Tongan by C. S. Ramsay* (Vista, California, 1934), 37.

69: Lātūkefu H,I-4,5 (1964-1965) 1968 OU9 Tonga OU9

achievement made by an unlikely person. Then Tāufa'āhau lectured the 797
warriors on the falsehood of heathenism and exhorted them to become 643
Christians. They were detained at Vava'u (not as slaves, as Blanc alleged) [539]
until Tāufa'āhau and his men had sailed to 'Uiha and levelled its fortress [1147]
and burnt down the god houses and all the effigies. In Vava'u the warriors [798]
soon became converted and when they returned to 'Uiha they proceeded to
build the largest and most beautiful chapel in all Ha'apai. Rather than
resenting what happened, the 'Uiha people had been grateful to Tāufa'āhau
for what he had done—except for the episode of the white pig and the Masilameans which none of my 'Uiha informants wanted to mention.

This traditional background *information put the event in perspective* and showed Tāufa'āhau's behaviour to have been a very shrewd and humane way of overcoming opposition.

In conclusion, I believe that oral traditions after being carefully and 121
critically submitted to the canons of historical and anthropological criticism, have helped tremendously to make the history of Tonga more alive, more interesting, exciting, and I hope, more accurate. In general, I agree with McCall that: 'It was in learning to use these "witnesses in spite of themselves" and putting together in a kind of puzzle small scraps of information from various sources that history became, as Michelet put it, less the unmoving pupil of the chronicles of the ancients and more the ever-daring explorer of all ages'.[10]

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[10] McCall, *op. cit.*, 19.

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A POEM BY THE TONGAN CHIEF TAFOLO

Pardon me, noble chiefs and lineages,
For the searching place is now far and difficult;
The old plantations once scattered on the roads
Have now quite disappeared and gone with them their generation,
And although they now lie in very thick bush,
Search will be made at any rate
For Touiafutuna, the first rock
Where our origin began.
Though these are only traditions and fables,
'Tis here the inquirers get their facts.

E. W. Gifford, *Tongan Myths and Tales*, Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 8 (Honolulu, 1924), 6. Translation attributed to Beatrice Shirley Baker. [113]

Religion and Society

795 [797] Western religion was established in Tonga by missionaries of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in the 19th Century and today most Tongans are members of churches having origins in the Wesleyan sect. The Free Wesleyan, the Free Church of Tonga and the Church of Tonga all had their beginnings in the Wesleyan Methodist Church. Table 4 gives the membership by denomination of Tongans in 1966.[A] 795 797 Although Tonga has been a Christian nation for over a century, proselytizers from various denominations still find it fertile ground for the winning of new converts. Fortunately, Tongans find it relatively easy to alter their denominational preference (See also Beaglehole 1941: 127-130).

795 554 Christianity and the social life of Tonga are inextricably wound together in such a way that position in the church is highly associated with social position. A Togan expressed some of the relationship between Church and society in the passages below:

> [793] In the bigger churches the average number of local preachers is about twenty, and in the smaller ones it could be ten in each church. The position of local preacher in Tonga has bycome a symbol of good christian in the church, and also bycomes a social status in the society and it seems that every layman wanted to be a local preacher...The King is almost a [643] god to so many people. I often hear some of our leading ministers use phrases like these, 'the church of Tupou', "the land of Tupou", 'the ministry of Tupou' (instead of the Gospel). I know a group of evangelists when they went out to conduct a mission in some of the villages, they said, "We come in the name of Tupou". These sorts of nonsense is not a teaching of the King or the Nobles directly, there is no need for them to say that, because it is already deeply rooted in the hearts and minds of the Tongans, on the other hand they don't stop them because it makes them feel more comfortable (Anonymous 1970).

[A] [See p. 23--Analyst]

175 177 voyagers, and individuals connected with the voyages, made Europeans aware of Tonga and placed it on Europe's map of the world.

175 797 [177] The various published accounts of the European voyagers, especially the descriptions made by Cook, spurred Europeans to send men to proselytize the peoples of the Pacific. Tonga, along with Tahiti, was one of the first island groups to be sent European missionaries in the late 18th Century. They were sent specifically to convert the indigenous Tongan population to Christianity. The first missionaries of the Missionary Society of London (formed in 1795), later termed the London Missionary Society, arrived on Tongatapu, April 10, 1797 (Benson 1960: 113; Wilson 1799: 96). Originally, ten male missionaries landed. Some remained until 1800, but the attempt at religious conver- [563] sion ended in a debacle. One missionary, George Vason, married a Tongan woman and was converted to the anga-faka-Tonga or "Tongan way of life" (Vason 1810).[1]

797 The Wesleyan Missionary Society established a mission station on Tongatapu in August of 1822 manned by one missionary, Walter Lawry, who was accompanied by his wife and several European servants (Vide Lawry's Diary for August 1822). This attempt at Christian conversion ended in failure with Lawry and his wife departing the island in October of 1823 (Ibid., October 1823). In 1826 a second Wesleyan attempt at establishing a mission station on Tongatapu was made by the missionaries John [177] Thomas and John Hutchinson and this mission proved successful. From 1826 onwards Tongans entered into sustained European contact.

127 797 This research is based, primarily, on accounts, in English,

797 [127] [128] written by these Wesleyan missionaries who were in Tonga in the first half of the 19th Century, the period covered by this research. On the following page is a list of these missionaries with arrival and departure dates.

121

Perspectives

> Ethnohistory has come to mean many things to many people, and as the acceptance of the term has spread throughout the learned world the term has acquired new definitions according to the uses to which it is being put (Fenton 1966: 71).
>
> The emergence of ethnohistory as a recognized field of research is part of the rapprochement between anthropology and history in aims as well as in methods and techniques (Sturtevant 1966: 4).

The rapprochement comes from the fact that the "ethno-" in ethnohistory has the same referent as the "ethno-" in ethnography: it stands for a particular group of people. The "history" in ethnohistory stands for the application of historical method to documents for a specific ethnographic problem. Although every ethnohistorian is first an ethnographer, ethnohistory cannot be called ethnography; and although ethnohistory draws on historical methods, it cannot be called history.

Historical method is a logical process of checking descriptions recorded in the past. It is a scientific process, if by science we mean "capable of ascertaining demonstrable fact" and "if by fact is meant a detail derived from a critical examination of historical documents rather than a detail of past actuality" (Gottschalk 1950: 193; Vide Sturtevant 1966: 4). Because the historical method is to some extent

121 In order to determine what could possibly be used as evidence, the historical method requires that the historian consider the personality and background of the author of the document: what was the purpose of the author in making the document in the first place? And what were the biases or prejudices that might have influenced that which the author recorded in the document? He must consider whether or not the author was actually an eyewitness of the event or did the author of the document receive his information from someone else? (Gottschalk 1950: 118-171).

127

Tongan Ethnohistorical Materials

797 The manuscript materials of the Wesleyan missionaries which I examined were not originally recorded for historical nor ethnographic purposes. The missionaries kept records during their stay in Tonga because of organizational requirements, as the Missionary Watkin states:

> In compliance with the 'requirement' I proceed to make extracts from my journal, which may serve to show the present state of this Mission, and the proceedings of the Missionary who occupies it (Watkin, Letter-Journal, April 10, 1833).

Not all Wesleyan manuscript accounts, however, were simply records of their stay in Tonga. After a certain length of stay in the islands, some of the Wesleyan missionaries set out to elicit specific information from the Tongans. The Wesleyans were familiar with certain of the publications of the time which had information on Tonga, including Cook's published accounts, early missionary accounts (both of the London Missionary Society for the 1797-1800 venture, and Lawry's

127 published accounts of his 1822-1823 stay), and Mariner's work entitled 797 An Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands, in the South Pacific Ocean (1817) which documented Mariner's 1806-1810 stay (Thomas, Journal, September 4, 1826). Using these publications as guides, some missionaries gathered specific information. Thomas wrote:

> I went to consult an old Vavau chief today who lives at Tava on some matters of Tonga history recorded by Mr. Mariner which I have been led to view as wrong. I have obtained confirmation in some things--and considerable information in some others (Thomas, Journal, January 22, 1850).

The Wesleyan missionary, Cross, wrote a detailed description of aboriginal Tongan religious beliefs. He summarized the account with the following:

> The above is the substance of what I have obtained from a Tonga chief. I took it down from his lips in the Tonga language. I have read the same to our chief Tubou & some others who say it is correct. That this is what they beliefed before they knew better, but now they are all very much ashamed of it (Cross, Letter, November 1831).

Cross, Thomas, and other Wesleyan missionaries gathered information for their manuscript accounts not only by being eyewitness to Tongan social and cultural behavior, but also by using the native language to elicit specific information on Tongan history (or "past events"), religion, and other matters. It seems only natural that after a time in the archipelago they became sufficiently involved and interested in the Tongans to try and elicit more information about them to satisfy their own curiosity as well as provide knowledge needed for the success of the mission. It must be made clear, however, that although the Wesleyan interests may appear to have been ethnographic when they gathered

127 797 specific information, neither their methods nor purposes were, and their descriptions are in no way to be equated with those descriptions made by a trained ethnographer.

Some of the missionaries did make records for eventual publications and the purpose of the various manuscript accounts had to be considered while reading them for specific ethnographic information, as well as any biases of the missionaries due to their purposes for being in the archipelago. The Wesleyan missionaries were not sent to Tonga to describe and record aboriginal Tonga society for posterity but to change aboriginal Tongan religion and society. The missionaries did not set out to systematically record Tongan social and cultural behavior, but they did set out to systematically interact and influence Tongan social and cultural behavior.

127 The researcher must consider the type of distortions which might be introduced into the missionary descriptions due to biases and attempt to control for those biases. He hopes to control for the biases by attempting to understand what it was that the missionaries were doing in the archipelago and how they went about in doing it. The researcher must read all of the pertinent extant manuscript materials to get a wide range of descriptions of Tongan society by various missionaries at various points in time. He must consider the attitude of the
127 Wesleyans to the Tongans. One missionary wrote:

797 181 [461]

> I am much tempted to be displeased with the natives; some of them are so unreasonable in their demands, if we want them to work. We are much teazed for want of servants. I cannot tell how it is that servants are so difficult to be got. I am afraid there is

> 127 much idleness, and a want of love among the people.
> 797 They think themselves quite demeaned by living
> 181 with a missionary as servants (Turner, Journal,
> [461] September 11, 1839).

Religious matters were all important to the missionaries and as
127 such the Wesleyan accounts often provided detailed descriptions of
797 aboriginal religious beliefs. These detailed Wesleyan descriptions may
be compared with other similar missionary descriptions and the researcher
may make inferences concerning the capabilities of the Wesleyan as re-
127 corder as well as inferences about aboriginal religious beliefs. Cross
797 wrote:

> 776 The Tonga gods or the gods of the Tonguese are almost
> [778] innumerable. They have made themselves gods of men,
> birds, beasts & fishes, of vegetables, wood & stone,
> whales teeth, &c (Cross, Letter, November 1831).

Another missionary wrote of the Tongans that they had "gods irrational and inanimate swell [ing] the number to an almost Grecian amount" (Watkin, Journal, February 4, 1836). Another time he wrote that these gods included "a whales tooth" which was once "the object of worship"
127 (Ibid., August 23, 1834). The fact that the tooth of a whale could be
797 viewed as a deity was reported by other Wesleyan missionaries:

> 776 Today arrived Kelebi Fulilagi from Haabai bringing
> 778 us a letter from the brethren of a very pleasing nature. By this opportunity I received a Tonga god name Eiku-tubu, from the great Chief the Tammaha. This god is a whales tooth, wrapped in a fine mat which they call Tuoua (Thomas, Letter-Journal, entry of August 20, 1833).

> ...and had two gods presented to me, which were formerly of great note here, one of them was given to me by the Tamaha, and the other by another chief of high rank. Idol gods are a very scarce commodity here now, the Tamaha sent me one a short time ago which was called her grandfather, it is a small tooth of a whale (Tucker, Letter, February 13, 1836).

127 These descriptions by Cross, Watkin, Thomas, and Tucker on separate occasions leads me to believe that they knew what they were reporting concerning aboriginal Tongan religious beliefs. I make this decision on the basis of the missionary descriptions themselves as well as professional ethnographic descriptions of aboriginal Polynesian religious beliefs, including statements made in reference to Tonga.

Limitations

The implicit limitations in the historical method must be made clear: If the descriptions were not recorded in the first place, the researcher has no way to fill in the gaps in the manuscript account. The Becker (p. 30) and Collingwood (p. 31) citations make clear that the historian does not work with his own observations of events but with the descriptions of others. The historical method thus involves weighing and assessing these descriptions.

There are limitations in the documents but they are not the limitations of historical method. If the researcher merely comes across an isolated description by the Wesleyan missionary on aboriginal Tongan religious beliefs, sufficient testimony must be sought before that description can be accepted as a factual statement of aboriginal Tonga. The above Cross _et_. _al_. examples are indicative of the type of cross-checking utilized, but the assumption is implicit that the missionaries made accurate descriptions, and that there was a Tongan referent for
127 their descriptions. The longer the length of stay of the missionaries
797 in the archipelago, the greater were their observational capabilities.

127 797 Thomas, who was in the islands for almost thirty years is an example of one individual who gradually sharpened and developed his reporting capabilities. Thomas not only kept journals and wrote letters, but eventually wrote a manuscript "history" of the Tongans.

The amount of detail present in an individual Wesleyan account could also be tempered by other individuals in the islands at the time. The Wesleyan missionaries often profited from the various Europeans who had been living in the archipelago prior to their arrival. In 1822, Lawry was assisted by a European who had been living in Tonga since 1806. The European, Singleton, had escaped the sacking of the Port-au-Prince. Lawry wrote:

> From a roomful of chiefs with Singleton interpreting I have learned the number and names of all the Friendly Islands, being 188 in all. Belonging to Tonga there are 45--belonging to the Hapais 51, and the Vavous 92--total 188 (Lawry, Diary, October 14, 1822).

In 1827 Thomas wrote in his journal how he had been aided by a European living in the islands since 1820:

> [669] [643] I learn from a young man here, an Englishman, that Tonga at this time is principally in the possession of petty chiefs. Some few years ago the great men departed this life and some were killed--even the kings family now have no power--but these chiefs fought and defended Tonga and they now possess the parts they have thus rescued from their enemies, so that at this time they seem much confused, having no head man (Thomas, Journal, January 30, 1827).

[563] [565] These Europeans knew the native language, often married into a high-ranking Tongan family, or were adopted by a Tongan chief. They were extremely helpful to the missionaries in getting settled, and the 127 missionary descriptions are strengthened by these additions. However,

127 this is one limitation that must be considered: how much did the
missionaries actually see and how much was heresay from other Europeans?
The only way this can be checked is by constant reading of the
accounts and seeing whether or not the missionaries actually acknowledged
the help of Europeans. In this instance, the Wesleyan missionaries
made such an acknowledgement but in other accounts they may not
have and the researcher must take this limitation into consideration.

127 Because of the Wesleyan's religious bias, they frowned upon
797 amusements, sports, dancing and games. Their accounts are sparse on
these aspects of aboriginal Tongan life and this is one limitation for
which there is no solution: if the observer did not like what he saw
127 and did not record it, it simply is not there. The following statement
797 by Watkin is an isolated description of aboriginal tatooing practices:

> 304 On my return this evening I found the artist whose work it was to perform the operation of tatooing the persons of the islands during the reign of idolatry. They then thought that it imparted a higher degree of personal beauty to such as underwent the painful operation, and there are some who wish to imitate their predecessors such is force of custom, although the idea that it is wrong pretty generally prevails (Watkin, Journal, April 1834).

127 The following description by Dyson, of the aboriginal game termed lafo
797 is another isolated statement in the manuscript:

> 525 [524] – An amusement called the "lafo" has just reappeared in this town. The manner in which it is performed is as follows. Four natives usually engage in it at once. Each has a pc. of a nut shell wh. he pitches across a mat & the two who lost have to give the other two a basket of food. The Leaders at our Mtg. called my attention to it today. I went immediately to the Governor & he said it was unlawful & would punish the persons who did it.

> 127 It is the native way of gambling. They have 10 small
> 797 parts of nut shells--in two fives. Each shell of the
> 525 5 is larger than the upper one--downwards. The smallest
> 524 is called Tukumua, the 2nd Hiliga-hikumua, the 3rd Lautaki, the 4th Toekeuloto the 5th Toekai. The mat is about 6 x 3 ft & during the game is raised round the edges. When the shells are pitched beyond the edge the game is lost, if they cross without falling over that is counted for the winner. It is attended with much evil & the only object is to gain food or property by hazard (Dyson, Journal, July 6, 1868).

127 Although the Wesleyans had a distaste for amusements (*Vide* Latukefu
797 1967: 129-130), in this instance Dyson recorded the game in depth.

The Wesleyans also interacted with the Tongan body politic (Latukefu 1967: 537-538; Hammer 1952: 170-171), and a basic limitation of the research was the Wesleyan attitude to certain Tongan social and
127 cultural behavior concerning the political structure. The researcher must ask the question of the manuscript: how would the Wesleyans describe aboriginal political structure in light of the overt Wesleyan influence on that political structure? Did the Wesleyans really understand the inextricable interconnections of Tongan religion, politics and kinship? The researcher is familiar with this connection from previous historical and ethnographic accounts, but did the Wesleyans comprehend it?

127 The Wesleyans set out to replace the aboriginal religious struc-
797 ture with Western beliefs. One of the major proponents of the aboriginal
643 religious and political structure was the individual known as the *Tu'i Tonga* (Chief or ruler of all of Tonga). The Wesleyan descriptions of this individual must be carefully assessed, since the *Tu'i Tonga* was attempting to uphold the old faith while the Wesleyans were trying to

127 797 643 replace it. The following descriptions provide the researcher with some ethnographic information, but he must compensate for the prejudices of the authors and be aware of Watkin and Rabone's role as missionary in the archipelago:

> [651] In this week we have been visited by the high priest of the island whose title is Tui-Toga, he was present at our family worship so that their prejudices are giving way we hope, his revenues are very much abridged by the falling off of this part of the island [Tongatapu], and the defalcation of Haabai and Vavau so that he is likely to become a poor man possessing only the Nobility of his descent, and in this Country as in countries more refined there are some who delude themselves upon the superiority of their blood to that of the common herd, tho their possessions may be smaller (Watkin, Journal, August 15, 1830).
>
> This afternoon the Tui Toga arrived here on a visit. This is the greatest personage in this island but what a creature of imagination. What a monstrous cypher. He had a handful of people only, can not speak a word in reference to the Government of the island, nor anything that concerns it. It is not lawful to eat in his presence or at least not to face him in eating or drinking. And there is language only applicable to this useless being--as much utility to the island as a large mole to a man's face (Rabone, Journal, February 10, 1838).

127 In these Wesleyan descriptions, the researcher not only gets information on the Tu'i Tonga, but also information on the attitudes of the Wesleyans.

Ethnohistorical research, culminating in a synchronic historical ethnography, must be based on the documents of the time period: the documents of the first European eyewitness to aboriginal Polynesian life. Because these eyewitnesses were not trained ethnographers, specific guidelines are needed for the ethnographer to draw ethnographic evidence from non-ethnographic documents. The limitations inherent in

127 documents written by non-ethnographers must be made explicit, and the manner in which those limitations are hopefully compensated for: testing of individual statements; cross-checking with known ethnographic evidence; reading as many of the extant manuscript accounts as possible; and taking into consideration the role and purpose of the eyewitness in writing the document in the first place, as well as the interaction patterns of the European observer to the aboriginal observed.

There are certain aspects of historical method which are not appropriate for the ethnohistorical researcher, although the ethnohistorical researcher must be aware of them: I accepted the Tongan manuscript as being authentic Wesleyan documentation because it had been previously accepted by the research institutions as being authentic Wesleyan documents but also because I knew who the Wesleyan missionaries were who were in Tonga.

Range

One type of manuscript source I examined was the journal or diary, essentially the same thing but given one labor or the other by
127 the original compiler. These journals or diaries were records or
797 descriptions of daily activities of both the missionary and Tongans, kept on a day-by-day basis as determined by the entry dates of descriptions. These journal accounts represented the "core" of the missionaries personal record keeping. From them the missionaries drew specific information to meet the "requirements" Watkin described, namely an accounting of the progress of the mission.

127 Journal descriptions are given high priority by ethnohistorical researchers for several reasons: they are personal descriptions written with no intended audience in mind and for this reason they allow the researcher to gain insight into the character of the observer; secondly, if journals are kept consistently this allows the researcher to analyze the shift in perspective and attitude of the observer to the observed, and the researcher also obtains a variety of descriptions; most important, these journal descriptions may have greater validity than other types of manuscript accounts since "the closer the time of making a document was to the event it records, the better it is likely to be for [ethno] historical purposes" (Gottschalk 1950: 90; _vide_ Urban 1955: 17.

A limitation which the researcher must consider, although it cannot be overcome, is inherent in the daily record itself: did the author actually fill in the journal on that day? If not, did he wait a few days and make comparisons with other missionaries? If so, did subsequent events influence the missionary's description of what previously occurred? There is no simple way to get around this limitation, save to read the accounts carefully and compare alternative descriptions.
127 It is highly unlikely that individuals stationed in separate parts of
797 the archipelago would make comparisons before writing their accounts; and from the content of the journals themselves, and the documented personality conflicts between some of the missionaries, I inferred that it was unlikely that those missionaries stationed near one another would compare descriptions of Tongan social and cultural behavior. (See, for example, Thomas' Personal Journal for November of 1827 for his problems

127 with Hutchinson, and also his Journal for July 4, 1826; and Watkin's
797 Journal of April 18, 1837, for his problems with Hobbs.)

In addition to a daily journal, usually a foolscap-sized notebook, some of the Wesleyan missionaries kept a private or personal journal. This latter journal was often a small pocket-sized notebook filled in at irregular intervals. Many missionaries found it difficult to keep up a daily journal as well as a private journal and Turner, as an example, wrote:

> My private journal witnesses against me. All is not right. I am tempted to think I cannot keep two journals for want of time (Turner, Private Journal, February 13, 1836).

Where his daily journal would be filled in regularly, the last four entries for Turner's private journal, before he completely abandoned it, were: April 25, 1836; February 27, 1837; March 5 and March 24, 1837. The Wesleyan missionary, John Thomas, also kept a daily journal and a personal journal. An example of the irregularity of the entries of his personal journal are: March 3, 1833; May 25, 1833; May 30, 1833; July 21, 1833; November 7, 1833; and March 1834.

127 The private or personal journal was often a record of a missionary's introspection, and while some descriptions of an ethnographic nature were recorded in this type of personal journal, it was neither quantitatively nor qualitatively comparable to the descriptions in the daily journal. The ethnohistorical researcher needs factual descriptions of Tongan social and cultural behavior, recorded consistently, to eventually make statements of ethnohistorical fact. The personal or private journals, however, added information concerning the interaction patterns

127 of the missionaries to one another and allowed me to make inferences concerning the role of the missionaries: to one another and to the Tongans (Vide Thomas, Personal Journal, November 20, 1827; April 11, 1830; and January 15, 1831).

127 797 Another type of manuscript source I examined were the letters, letter-books, and letter-journals written by the Wesleyan missionaries in Tonga. Letter-books contained either preliminary drafts or copies of letters. The letter-journals were descriptive accounts of the missionary's stay in the islands which he copied from his own daily journal into letter form. These letter-journals were sent to London as part of the documentary evidence of the religious work in the islands. Often these letter-journals were edited and printed in a Wesleyan publication in London.

127 The ethnohistorical researcher cannot rely upon the published letter-journal accounts for entirely valid descriptions. This is because (1) the author of the letter-journal based the letter-journal account on his own daily journal, and hence made selections of material to suit his own purposes; (2) the editor to whom the author sent his letter-journal frequently made editorial changes for various reasons.

I read and compared various holographic letter-journals on microfilm with their eventual published counterparts. Such comparison revealed editorial excisions that were made in the missionary description prior to publication in the Wesleyan magazine. As an example, a
127 797 published letter-journal of Thomas has the following:

> 775 While I was out, Mrs. Thomas visited Papa, who made many inquiries respecting the soul of her son [ ]; and when Mrs. Thomas told her that his spirit was

> 127 not lying in the ground, as they thought, but was
> ●797 gone to Jehovah, she seemed much pleased (Thomas,
> Wesleyan Methodist Notices, 1829-1831: 311).

775 In his original holographic account, Thomas also had the following information which would have appeared between the brackets, if no editing had taken place:

> according to the Tonga notion the soul would remain two or three days at least near the body before it departed and then it would go to a place they call Bulotu (Thomas, Letter-Journal, January 14, 1829).

The researcher can only speculate as to why this was edited out of the published version, but the edited portion was, in this instance, of ethnographic importance since Bulotu, or Pulotu, was an important part of aboriginal Tongan religious beliefs.

127 Reading and comparing holographic letter-journal accounts with their published counterparts revealed not only editorial excisions but also editorial additions and changes in some missionary descriptions.
127 In a published letter-journal account of Thomas, the following phrase
565 appears: "Tubou, the chief of this place, and Governor of Tonga"
634 (Thomas 1829-1831: 421). Thomas was referring to Jiosala Tupou and
797 only to the island of Tongatapu, since other parts of the archipelago were under different chiefs. The original holographic letter-journal which Thomas submitted for publication, did not have the word "governor" in it. Jiosala was merely the chief of a particular location on Tongatapu, but the published account embellished on his position apparently for purposes of the Mission's prestige (Thomas, Letter-Journal, January 10, 1830).

127 I examined the holographic letters of the missionaries and found
797 they did not contain as much ethnographic description as the daily
journal accounts. The letters contained information about the minutiae
of the missionary's daily life, business reports on the activity of the
Mission, queries about family and friends at home, and occasionally a
127 Tongan description. One example of some ethnographic information was
797 found in a P.S. dated April 19 to a letter Thomas had originally begun
644 on the 12th of February, 1841. Thomas wrote "our queen Charlotte, has
127 just brought forth a Son, a heir. George is much pleased with him"
797 (Thomas, Letter, February 12, 1841). The "George" was George Tupou,
644 later known as King George Tupou I, and "Charlotte" was the name of his
643 fifth and final Tongan wife. George and Charlotte had been married by
the Wesleyan minister Watkin in March of 1834 (Watkin, Journal, March
27, 1834) and in September Watkin wrote "the Queen was baptized
127 Charlotte" (*Ibid.*, September 23, 1834). Cross-checking with extant
[644] Tongan genealogies revealed that Charlotte's original Tongan name was
Lupe Pau'u and the son born in 1841 was named Vuna (Collocott n.d. I:
17). When Vuna was described in subsequent missionary accounts I knew
his age because I knew the year of his birth (*Vide* Firth, Letter,
February 21, 1862; and March 24, 1862).

127 Another type of manuscript account which I read was the specific
797 "histories" of the Wesleyan missionary, John Thomas. Thomas was in the
archipelago twice, from 1826 to 1850, and again from 1855 to 1859. On
February 21 of 1850 he left the archipelago for England. While en
route he began to write up his journal and notes for "a more full and

127 797 complete account of the mythology--wars--&c of the Tongan people than has ever appeared" (Thomas, Journal, November 8, 1850). In addition to his numerous journal accounts and letters, Thomas wrote a 244-page history (MS. 4 in the Bibliography, p. 103). The last page of the history is dated March 30, 1854, and so it was completed before his second stay in the islands began. During his 1855-1859 stay in the islands, he gathered additional information and revised this 244-page history, and when he returned to England he wrote a 1319-page work entitled "Tongatabu or the Friendly Islands" (MS. 1a, pp. 1-677; MS. 1b to p. 1319). A check of my bibliography will reveal other works by Thomas of this variety: non-journal or non-letter accounts.

127 These "histories" of Thomas provided additional information, often of an ethnographic nature, which were checked with other descriptions by various missionaries. Examples drawn from Thomas' histories are given in Chapter Five. These histories are not comparable to his own journal entries, since they were written years after the fact, but they are useful in that they can be checked with the journal entries to see how much Thomas added to the history accounts and they do provide additional ethnographic information which may be tested (by cross-checking) for its value as ethnographic evidence.

An additional type of manuscript which I read was the typescript manuscript, such as Lawry's diary and Stephenson's diary. In the cases of Lawry and Stephenson, the typewritten copy was made by someone other than the original authors. In many instances, this was done because certain early 19th Century paper, on which journals were kept, were

127 768 tukuofo, not a presentation to the deceased but the redistribution of material goods among the relatives of the deceased. In this account, it was the "Gatu" or ngatu, Tongan cloth, and ngafingafi, or finely woven mats.

127 For the same date, the Tongan personal name of "Tevita Niukabu" appears in the holographic account; the typescript account records this name as "Tonto Sinkalu." The fact is granted that handwritten accounts can be diffucult to read, but the researcher accustoms himself to orthographic variations as much as possible. If the researcher has sufficient ethnographic knowledge, and the context of the description is self-evident, one can perhaps interpret the typescript funerary term "S Tu Ruofo" to mean tukuofo. But how does one identify "Tonto Sinkalu?".

127 797 Additional miscellaneous manuscript accounts were read. These included such items as the Wesleyan Minute Book of Tonga (1827-1849), which listed the minutes of various meetings held in the archipelago by the missionaries. Virtually no ethnographic description was contained in them. Various business letters of the missionaries, also read, contained a small amount of ethnographic descriptions. These letters were, for the most part, status reports on the Mission, supply requests, and reports on the morale and behavior of the missionaries.

127 Not only are there certain limitations inherent in the manuscripts themselves, but there are also decided limitations in the quantity and quality of ethnographic information in the accounts. There is a definite limit to the number of manuscript materials for any one

127 "Hootooa" or "Otua" is currently transcribed as 'otua and defined as
192 "object of worship, deity, god; (cap.) God" (Churchward 1959: 567), and
776 the term also appears as a cognate in other parts of Polynesia (Vide
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[197] Williamson 1937: 9ff.).

For purposes of checking on Thomas' own internal consistency in describing the 'otua, his 1826 statement must be compared with his following entry from 1828: "Otua's, or the devil as they call their god" (Thomas, Journal, August 21, 1828). At one point in time Thomas thus refers to the 'otua as a "spirit" (1826) and elsewhere as the aborigi-
127 nal Tongan "Devil" or aboriginal "god" (1828). Where Thomas' two
192 descriptions would appear to be inconsistent descriptions, but consis-
776 tent in the context of Wesleyan interpretations of aboriginal Tongan
775 religious beliefs, the ethnographic inconsistency is reconciled when
797 other Wesleyan missionary descriptions of the time period are considered: Tongans believed that after death certain Tongans came back as spirits, and these were viewed as gods. The Wesleyan missionary Lawry provides the ethnohistorical researcher with an additional description, and also an external consistency check of Thomas, with his own description on 'otua or "Atuas."

> I cannot learn that they have any knowledge of the One True God--these Atuas are the souls of departed chiefs (Lawry, Diary, October 9, 1822).

The Wesleyan missionary Watkin provides a description which serves as an external consistency check of both Lawry and Thomas. In his own Journal for 1836 Watkin wrote of the Tongans:

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> Their gods who are intelligent agents are demons or the departed spirits of men eminent in their day for their abominations while gods irrational and inanimate swell the number to an almost Grecian amount (Watkin, Journal, February 4, 1836).

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This Watkin example was referred to in the previous chapter (p. 35) and I stress once again the fact that the ethnohistorical researcher must evaluate the specific descriptions in the context of the observer-observed milieu. To the Tongans of the early 19th Century, 'otua was a spirit and a god whereas to the Wesleyan's 'otua was a demon, devil, or the aboriginal god.

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Factual consistency, both internal and external, must be constantly checked for by the ethnohistorical researcher. The following Watkin description proves to be internally consistent with his last description in reference to "inanimate" aboriginal Tongan gods:

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> In the long list of Tonga gods was the rainbow and the Whirlwind. Eclipses were grand sources of dread especially of the sun to remove they resorted to human sacrifices, and as a lesser offering to that of cutting off the little finger a loss which most of the adult inhabitants of these islands have sustained. Sometimes they attempted to deceive their gods by merely scarifying the finger previously amputated and smearing it with blood bind it up and present that before the god as a recent amputation in his honour! But this was I suppose when every available joint of both little fingers had been sacrificed on former occasions (Watkin, ibid., February 12, 1836).

These two entries by Watkin, of February 4 and February 12, serve as a check on his own internal consistency in his descriptions. External consistency checks on the digital, or actually phalanx amputation, is provided in the account of an early 19th Century French voyager who visited Tongatapu in 1827:

127 797 In 1859 Thomas wrote in his journal of a conversation he had with an eighteen year old Tongan youth. Thomas, who had spent almost thirty years in the archipelago, was telling the Tongan about the past of Tonga:

> [782] [775] [776] and that it was wrong for men to set up intercessors of their own. That it was one of the great errors of Tongan worship that they prayed to departed spirits--chiefs & relatives &c to pray for them & the superior gods (Thomas, Journal, October 23, 1859).

127 784 In an earlier journal entry for 1839, Thomas provided a description of the 'otua as a totem. He wrote of a Tongan named Simon Hafi:

> 753 [776] Just come from the Haabais, hearing that his father was ill, and near death at the Bea. He went to see him, Hafi talked to his father about the true God &c, but the old man ordered him to desist, telling him he was ill, through his having eaten his god. Hafi had eaten the fish called Feke, which had been their family god, and his father charged him with the sin of it (Thomas, Journal, August 2, 1834).

127 Supporting, yet perhaps inconsistent for the ethnohistorical researcher, material can also be found in Thomas' letter-journal entry for the same day. In his letter-journal entry Thomas wrote of the father:

> [753] [784] [776] telling him that his illness was in consequence of his (Simon's) bad conduct to their family god. The fish called Feke was formerly worshipped by this Tribe... (Thomas, Letter-Journal entry of August 2, 1834).

The inconsistency stems from the fact that in both descriptions, Thomas refers to "family" but in one description he mentions "tribe." Before any ethnohistorical researcher can make a broader statement of ethnohistorical fact combining 'otua with "family" or "tribe" in aboriginal Tonga, these two latter terms have to be checked and cross-checked for their consistency based on 19th Century observations.

J. Thomas (in archipelago from 1826 to 1850; 1855 to 1859)

J. Hutchinson (1826-1828)

W. Cross (1827-1833) (1834-1835)

N. Turner (1827-1831)

J. Watkin (1831-1837)

P. Turner (1831-1835) (1839-1853)

W. Woon (1831-1834)

J. Hobbs (1833-1838)

C. Tucker (1833-1841)

D. Cargill (1834-1835)

Figure 1. Missionary Overlap.

127 found elaborations on these activities at the Pea in other Wesleyan missionary accounts.

The following descriptions, recorded by three separate individuals, contain varying amounts of ethnographic information. They are apparently the only descriptions of the activities which Woon was referring to that have survived into the 20th Century. Where Woon's entry was for July 15, 1833, the following descriptions deal with the activities of July 23, 1833. Thomas' journal provides us with the basic information of who the Wesleyan eyewitnesses were, and from whom the ethnohistorical
127 researcher can hope to find extant manuscript accounts. Thomas con-
797 tinues Woon's description of what took place:

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[565]

> Today we set off for the Bea, viz I and Bro Hobbs and Tucker to witness a ceremony called the Hikitaga, it consists in removing the remains of the dead into a nother place. The Chief at the Bea is very unwell and lately made a new stone vault into which he was preparing to deposit the remains of the chief Takai. Also the remains of three persons named Lavaka - and about 4 persons besides. We were allowed to sit inside the house which was over the burying place, and witness a part of the process, we saw the coffin, in which Takai was buried, it was an old canoe the boards of which were getting rotten [stress in original] (Thomas, Journal, July 23, 1833).

This trip to the Pea area was to witness the Tongan ceremony known as hikitanga. The 19th Century dictionary transcribed the term as "Hikitaga" and defined it as "the act of removing the bones of the dead" (Rabone 1845: 127). The 20th Century definition of the term is "to dig up (a corpse), to exhume, disinter" (Churchward 1959: 223).

127 In this description from his journal, although Thomas did not provide us with the name of the dying chief, he does provide us with the

127 name of the dead chief, Takai, who is to be reburied. On the basis of Woon's description, the ethnohistorical researcher might make the initial assumption that Takai was the brother of the un-named dying chief, who interceded in Pulotu for the chief and his people, but more information is definitely needed to make a statement of ethnohistorical fact based on this assumption. Thomas' own letter-journal manuscript account, with its entry of July 23, 1833, provides us with the name of the dying chief at the Pea:

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> [565]
> [763]
> ...to witness a heathen ceremony there called Hikitaga, it consists in the moving the bones of the dead from one place to another. I expected many persons to be present, and thought an opportunity might thus afford of speaking for the Lord. On arriving at the Bea, we waited upon Fae, or Taufa, the chief who is very ill, and has he feels satisfied he must die, he has been careful to prepare himself a tomb or vault while yet alive, into which his remains are to be put, whep he dies. This vault, which has cost his people immense labour and time, is to contain the remains of several great chiefs, who from time to time have been commited to the earth, chiefly relatives after which his own remains are to be deposited there [stress added] (Thomas, Letter-Journal, July 23, 1833).

127 The actual description of the hikitanga ceremony has not been elaborated upon. The assumption that the individual named "Takai" of Thomas' Journal description was the brother of the dying chief "Fae" of Thomas' letter-journal entry is strengthened by Thomas' mention of "relatives" being reburied.

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797 Hobbs, one of the other missionaries mentioned by Thomas in his Journal entry, also wrote of the visit and the activities at the Pea:

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> On Tuesday I accompanied Bro Thomas and Bro Tucker to the Bea one of the principal places on the Island the chief of which is very ill - We witnessed parts of the ceremony of taking up a deceased chief's Bones and saw

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> 797 the vault in which they were afterwards to be deposited.
> 565 When Bro Thomas waited on the Sick Chief he found him
> 765 fully determined to choose his Idols. He said it was
> very well for us and Tubou and the people to serve our
> God; but as for him he was fully satisfied to worship
> his own God and that he and his people therefore should
> continue to choose to their heathenish ceremonies. The
> [776] god that this Chief principaly worships died about 20
> [775] years since whose bones are now removed; and it is also
> [787] as firmly believed that that he inspires the present
> chief that is, that he comes and communicates with him
> on all important occasions from the invisible world.
> And the people seem to adore the Chief almost as much
> 127 as the god who inspires him. It is expected that this
> 797 chief will soon die, and he intends to be buried in the
> 764 new vault just now finished. The vault is indeed a
> marvelous work for a company of poor heathen savages to
> perform destitute as they are of Tools - it is composed
> of 5 large pieces of stone one to answer as a bottom and
> [565] four for each side. These were fitted to each other in
> [763] a way which was highly creditable to their genius and
> perseverance and left a space for the Bones about 6 feet
> long 4 feet Deep and 3½ feet wide. There was a stone
> also prepared to cover the Vault when the present chief
> dies. This stone is about 9 feet long 7 feet broad & 1
> & ½ foot thick wrought into a square form with one
> smooth face which will of course be placed downwards
> [stress added] (Hobbs, Journal, July 27, 1833).

127 From this rather detailed description by Hobbs, the ethnohistorical researcher gradually pieces together the events which took place at the Pea. Once again, although proper names of the dying Tongan chief (Fae) and the deceased chief (Takai) are not mentioned, one assumes that if inspiration for the dying chief comes from a deceased relative, as 'otua, then Fae and Takai might have been siblings.

The journal of the third missionary mentioned by both Thomas and Hobbs, Charles, Tucker, was not available. Tucker, however, did make a letter-journal entry of the events of that day, presumably copied [797] from his own journal. Tucker wrote:

[765]

74: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1978
(ca. 1800-1850)
OU9 Tonga OU9

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> Yesterday I accompanied Messers. Thomas & Hobbs to the Bea (a place where heathenism still abounds) to witness a ceremony of rather a novel and interesting nature, viz. the removing of the bones of a great chief whose demise took place about twenty years ago. He was buried originally in a small canoe which was deposited in sand, and had a shed erected over it. Now they have prepared a stone vault in which to inter him; we witnessed only a part of the ceremony. It did not terminate until today. On these occasions they inflict very severe punishment on themselves as a proof of their love for the person who may have died. They burn themselves on the cheek bone and other parts of their bodies and then they keep striking with their fist that part of their face which has been burnt, some cut their heads & faces with sharp stones and shells, while they assure those who are dead that they are almost dying for love to them. If the deceased had been warriors or had distinguished themselves in any way during their life, their most noted action would be recited at their funerals [stress added] (Tucker, Letter-Journal, entry of July 24, 1833).

[304]

Tucker clearly states that he was a witness to part of the ceremony and that the entire ceremony was at a minimum, a two-day ceremony (or perhaps a twenty-four hour ceremony--from noon to noon). He provides us with details on the behavior of individuals attending a funeral ceremony or a hikitanga, or re-burial ceremony. The ethnohistorical researcher is still not certain of the relationship between the dying chief and the re-buried dead chief, but Tucker's description provides a confirmation or external consistency check on Thomas' journal description of the canoe in which the dead chief was originally buried and the "house" (Thomas) or "shed" (Tucker) erected over the old burying place where the canoe was located in the sand. The possible significance of this shed over a burial place is clarified by Turner, who was witness to a burial at Vava'u. Turner wrote ("should a chief die in his house that house would be sacred for 6 months - or would be removed

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127 over the grave" (Turner, Journal, February 18, 1833).

764 A final description of the hikitanga ceremony of July 23, 1833 comes from Thomas' post-1850 manuscript account. Thomas provides in- 127 formation which confirms descriptions from all previous accounts of 765 the hikitanga, as well as new details and information.

> [304] Fae of Bea is still very ill, but firmly attached to his heathenism, he has had a new stone vault got ready for his body in his fort, and this day disinterred the body of Takai his older brother formerly the warrior chief of this fort, and three other friends of the Lavaka tribe, and now the people of Bea are performing funeral ceremonies for them a second time, it being what is called the hikitangaa with the crying of the women, and beating their bosoms, and the frantic speeches of the men who cut themselves and break their heads until the blood gushes out and runs down over their bodies. This [776] [565] of course is in sorrow to the dead and especially to Takai the Tutelar God - and at one time esteemed the Hau, or How of Tonga.
>
> The bones of the different chiefs were carefully laid in new clean matts - with black cloth and wealth and thus covered and laid out in a large house prepared for the occasion, where the chief mourners were all seated and where lights were about to be kept burning all that night in honour of the dead, and the mourning would be kept up. Large quantity of native property 127 was presented, as is usual at the funeral of chiefs 797 called tukuofo - and the next day the chiefs would be 763 laid in the new vault with all the usual ceremonies, [765] of persons lately departed, but as our time did not admit of our remaining to witness that part, we first waited upon Fae and again urged upon him the importance of caring for his soul, but turning to God, but found him most firmly determined to die to the gods of Tonga, and although he was now near death yet he was firm to his gods. He was more ernest than usual, and almost angry to think that he should be talked to on such a subject. Our last words that he would most assuredly find out that Jehovah was the true God. We then left him [stress added] (Thomas MS. 1b: 923-925).

127.
651 ceremony which involved the presentation of produce and material goods
796 at certain times of the year. An ethnographic reconstruction of the
[121] Tongan ceremony can serve as a test of Sahlins and Goldman and can also
contribute to ethnological comparisons in Polynesia.

244 The Tongans were a horticultural people and the yam, or 'ufi,
262 was the main crop. The Wesleyan missionary Cross stated "the yam is a
vegetable that is to the inhabitants of Tonga, what bread is to many
in our native land" (Cross, Letter-Journal entry of December 3, 1830).
805 The aboriginal Tongan names of the respective parts of the year, based
244 on the lunar month and thirteen separate designated time periods (Dyson,
Journal, April 7, 1863), indicate the importance of the yam to the
Tongans. Thomas wrote that the month of June was termed "Hilinga
kelekele" by the Tongans and that "they expect the soil to produce
forth now" (Thomas, MS. A1959: n.p.). He also wrote that the Tongans
"expect the soil to produce forth now" and of the yams of this time
period, that "this is the earliest and the best yams" (Ibid.). For the
European month of October, Thomas wrote: "Ooloo enga - Uluega" which
is 'Uluenga for "Ooloo, the head, enga yellow" and at this time the
yams "become yellow" (Ibid.).

127 Reading and extracting descriptions by the ethnohistorical
797 chronological-synchronous reading method reveals the changes in the
796 individual missionary's reporting capabilities. These changes of the
651 observer to the observed are evident in the examples from Thomas' manuscript accounts describing the 'Inasi, transcribed by Thomas as "Inache"
and "Inaji." The first example is from Thomas' 1826 journal, when he

127 was newly arrived on the Island of Tongatapu:

> 797 796 651 The Inache or great feast will take place very soon, a man or two are going about at night to keep the hootooa or spirit down. The men have spears and if they meet with any man they kill him - at these times few people are about at night, and a great quietness is required.
>
> There's must be a fool of a God if he does not know when the Inache is (Thomas, Journal, September 2, 1826).

Thomas was an eyewitness to several 'Inasi preparations and ceremonies during his stay and in 1841 he wrote in his journal:

> ...annual meeting called the Inaji. Thus though they partially acknowledge God, yet in their works they deny him, and ascribe their praise for the produce of the earth & those who are no gods (Thomas, Journal, November 24, 1841).

These two descriptions may be compared with the following descriptions by Thomas from a post-1850 manuscript where he wrote: "The Inaji. This was a solemn yearly feast held at the Mua" on Tongatapu Island. He wrote that it was held "in honour of the gods, at which young yams were brought, being carried by the priests from every part of the land, and presented to the god Hikuleo" (Thomas MS. 5: 19). In the same [782] manuscript account he also stated that "The Inaji was an acknowledgement of their entire dependence upon the gods for the fruits of the 127 earth" (Ibid.). From the "fool of a God" in 1826 to the solemnity and [797] "acknowledgement" after several decades as an eyewitness to Tongan life, the ethnohistorical researcher records the changes in Thomas' reporting capabilities.

[651] [796] [192] The term 'Inasi was transcribed in the 19th Century Wesleyan dictionary as "Inaji" and defined as "a heathen ceremony; portion, part,

FOOTNOTES

Notes for Chapter I

161 [1]A numerical estimate of the indigenous Tongan population for
the year 1800 would fall within the range of fifteen to twenty thou-
sand. The most frequently cited figure is that of 18,500 recorded by
Wilkes in 1840 from the Wesleyan missionaries (1845, III: 29), but
this is greatly at odds with a Wesleyan estimate of 50,000 for 1847
162 (Lawry 1850: 245; Vide McArthur 1967: 73). An intriguing population
total for Tongatapu alone was made by an Australian sea captain in
1824: he placed the population of the main island at 34,800 (Beveridge
114 1824 Letter). Unfortunately, I believe the captain had less than the
goals of a preliminary census taker at heart but more the eye of a
businessman cum sea captain who was trying to convince the Wesleyan
missionaries at Sydney, Australia, with whom he was acquainted, of the
tremendous potential sales market for material goods and Christianity
in the archipelago.

797 [2]This list is based on Minns (1930; 1933). Missionaries who only
passed through the archipelago are not included in this list. This in-
cludes Hazlewood, who was in Tonga in 1844 and Thompson who was in
127 Tonga in 1850. A comparison of the list with the manuscript biblio-
graphy of this work will partially indicate the number of manuscript
[113] material which have survived into this Century. Many of these Wesleyan
missionaries had letters in the Mitchell Library microfilm series
FM4/1417 to FM4/1421. These letters were read in the course of the
research but unless they were specifically cited in this presentation,
these individual letters do not appear in this bibliography.

121 [3]The Swanton volume is an excellent example of ethnohistory contributing to ethnographic reconstruction (Bushnell) and culture history (Fenton).

[4]The historical aspect of Pacific culture was given impetus by the establishment in 1950 of the Department of Pacific History at the Australian National University, Canberra, Australia. Maude wrote that "the historical study of the Pacific Islands could be said to have commenced as an organized specialization within the general discipline of history" in 1950 (Maude 1968: xv). Even though "Pacific History" as an organized discipline began the movement to archival sources, the interest. of Pacific historians have not necessarily coincided with the interests of ethnohistorians; and even though Pacific historians have done extensive archival research, their published works do not delineate the historical method which they applied to their sources.

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
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Preface

POLITICALLY, Tonga, until 4 June 1970, was a constitutional 642
monarchy under the protection of Great Britain. While the treaty [648]
which provided British protection was not entered into until the
beginning of this century,[1] Tonga became a constitutional
monarchy in 1875. Varying opinions have been expressed con- 642
cerning the part played in the development of this monarchical
system by the Wesleyan Methodist missionaries, since their in- 797
fluence dominated the affairs of Tonga during the first fifty years
of their work in the group.

Regarding the constitutional development in Tonga as a disastrous error, Basil Thomson (1894:222-3), laid the blame at the Methodist missionaries' door. Louis B. Wright and Mary Isabel Fry (1936:259-60), taking their cue from Thomson, wrote:

> From the first, they [the Methodist missionaries] itched to change the patriarchal feudal system to some form that comported with the democratic ideas that most of them had acquired in Australia, where the belief in universal suffrage had already taken root. The preachers longed to see pious Tongans voting blue laws to bring about the Methodist millennium that they envisaged. King George, devout Methodist that he was, had other views, however, and it was not until 1862, at the height of theocratic power, that the preachers persuaded him against his better judgment to give the people a magical instrument of government called a Constitution . . . .

For reasons diametrically opposed to those held by Thomson and his disciples, friends and supporters of missionary work claimed the same constitutional development as evidence of a remarkably successful missionary enterprise, and gave full credit to the missionaries for this outstanding achievement.[2] They be-

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[1] The Treaty of Friendship and Protection between Great Britain and Tonga was signed in December 1900. It was revised in 1958 and ratified in 1959. On 4 June 1970 Tonga celebrated her full independence.

[2] Some of the missionary records were written for propaganda purposes, and were therefore as biased as those of their opponents.

642 797 lieved that 'civilisation' and 'law and order' were the spontaneous results of evangelisation and would not have developed except in ground prepared by the missionaries. The missionaries themselves subscribed to this view as the following remarks show:

> A more hallowed and noble triumph. of Gospel truth, Tonga had never witnessed, than when the social and political advancement of its population was thus acknowledged, by king, chiefs, and commoners, to be the sole result of that enlightenment and saving grace, which the religion of Jesus Christ had imparted, and before which heathenism and tyranny had fallen to rise no more (West 1865:438).

Although these commentators were clearly convinced that all political changes in Tonga were to be directly attributed to the influence or interference of the Wesleyan missionaries, there is a need to re-examine this question from a less partisan viewpoint. 121 It is the purpose of this book to try to assess critically and objectively the significance of the part played by the Methodist missionaries in the political development of Tonga from the re-establishment of their mission in 1826 to the promulgation of the Tongan Constitution in 1875. It attempts to demythologise the firmly established notions consciously or unconsciously developed and perpetuated either for purposes of religious propaganda by the supporters of the mission or for denigration by its opponents. It tries to assess the overall impact which the missionaries had upon the Tongan way of life at this time and to determine whether, in fact, they were solely responsible for the political changes in Tonga, as some writers have claimed.

128 I would like to express my gratitude to all those who, in one way or another, kindly assisted me both in my research and in the preparation of this work. I feel indebted to so many that it is impossible to acknowledge everyone by name, but I would ask those whose names do not appear on these pages to accept my very sincere thanks for their help.

127 My thanks go to the staff of the following libraries and archives for their valuable assistance in making my research easier and more enjoyable: the National Library of Australia, Canberra; the Mitchell Library, Sydney; the Turnbull Library and the New Zealand National Archives in Wellington, New Zealand;

643 had been vacant since the death of his father, Tu'i Tonga Fuanu-
nuiava, in 1810. When the Wesleyan missionaries started work in
[797] Tonga, therefore, first in 1822 and then in 1826, there was neither
a Tu'i Tonga nor a Tu'i Kanokupolu.

634 There were several important developments from this political turbulence. One of these was the emergence of Vava'u and Ha'apai as unified regional political units with their own independent and central authorities vested in the Tu'i Vava'u and Tu'i Ha'apai respectively. On the other hand, Tongatapu was still fragmented and actual power rested with local chiefs.

361 The long-drawn-out civil war and the increasing impossibility
of defending isolated hamlets against European guns and muskets
669 gradually forced the people to move into fortified places called
722 *kolotau*. Out of these sprang the modern villages of Tonga which
are called *kolo*.

565 During this period also there was a marked change in the
chiefs' treatment of the common people. It had become increasingly harsh, to the point of being intolerably cruel, inhuman and
arbitrary. They came to regard the commoners as mere chattels
634 to be used exclusively for their own benefit. The following
incidents were typical:
565

> Finow, observing one of the natives busily employed cutting out the iron fid from the maintop gallant-mast, and as he was a low fellow, whom he did not choose should take such a liberty, he was resolved to put a stop to his work. Calling to a Sandwich islander, who was amusing himself on deck by firing off his musket, he ordered him to bring that man down from aloft. Without the least hesitation, the Sandwicher levelled his piece, and instantly brought him down dead; upon which Finow laughed heartily, and seemed mightily pleased at the facility with which his order had been obeyed. The shot entered his body, and the fall broke both thighs and fractured his skull. Afterwards, when Mr Mariner understood the language, he asked the king how he could be so cruel as to kill the poor man for so trifling a fault. His majesty replied, that he was only a low, vulgar fellow (a cook); and that neither his life nor death was of any consequence to society. (Martin 1827, I:68)

Teukava of Kolovai, on the occasion of a festival, 'arranged in a circle a group of men suffering with elephantiasis of the testicles and went about with a hook, pulling their privates out into view'.

Using their personal power the chiefs would seize anything that 565
might arrest their fancy. Referring to this situation Vason recalled: 421

> They [the chiefs] exercise an arbitrary power over the lower orders, and have everything belonging to them in their power, which their sub-officers take from them, without ceremony, as the chief may need. Though the provision they have by them be ever so scanty, they are required to cook a part of it for the chief; so that they are frequently obliged to eat the root of the plantain-tree, for a wretched subsistence . . . . (Orange 1840:124)

More seriously, traditions were questioned, and the validity and 771
effectiveness of the traditional religion were doubted by some. This was inevitable for usually a religion is required by people to explain how the universe works. The impact of the growing 771
contact with Fiji, and with the Europeans—explorers, traders, whalers, beachcombers and L.M.S. missionaries—in particular, 177
shook the foundations of the traditional cosmology. Many of the leading Tongans, therefore, were anxious to acquire a new cosmology to explain the new circumstances with which they were now confronted.

When the Tu'i Tonga ventured to advise Fīnau 'Ulukālala II 634
on some matters of warfare, the latter replied, 'My Lord Tooitonga may return to his own part of the island, and content himself in [643]
peace and security; matters of war are my concern, and in which he has no right to interfere' (Martin 1827, II:126). He also
terminated the traditional ceremony of *'inasi* at Ha'apai and [651]
Vava'u because he regarded it as useless and wasteful, and he thus deprived the Tu'i Tonga of the most important religious ceremony offered to him, as being representative of the deity Hikule'o. After Fīnau's death in 1809, it was revealed that he
had planned to have the priest of the god Tupou Toutai strangled, [793]
because he had failed to secure the help of the gods in saving the life of his daughter who died from illness shortly before his own death (Martin 1827, I:307).

This was the situation into which the Wesleyan missionaries 797
came. It was a period of political instability with several unsuccessful attempts to gain absolute power over the whole of 669
Tonga, which were vigorously resisted, particularly on Tongatapu

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797 by the Ha'a Havea chiefs who were afraid to lose their privileges and power among their subjects. It was not until after the coming
669 of the Wesleyan missionaries that Tāufa'āhau, son of Tupouto'a
797 and grandson of Tuku'aho, finally succeeded in becoming ruler of the whole of Tonga.
643

2 *Confrontation and Frustration*

The first attempt to convert the Tongans to Christianity was 797 made by the London Missionary Society, a Protestant interdenominational body. The reports of the explorers, particularly 175 those of Captain James Cook, together with accounts of atrocities committed by some unruly Europeans among the Pacific islanders, were widely read in England towards the end of the eighteenth century. In order to save the South Sea islanders from both heathenism and the lawlessness of certain Europeans, many people in England, particularly the evangelicals, believed that the best way was to Christianise and civilise them (Morrell 1960:28-31). For this purpose the missionary ship, *Duff*, under Captain James Wilson, was sent to the Pacific in 1796 by the L.M.S. with missionaries for Tahiti, Tonga and the Marquesas.

Captain Wilson landed ten missionaries in Tongatapu on 12 April 1797 (Wilson 1799:105-6). They were under the protection of Tuku'aho, the most powerful chief in Tonga at the time, [643] and his aged father, Mumui, who was then the Tu'i Kanokupolu. This well-meaning effort was doomed to fail right from the beginning, for the missionaries were ill-equipped for this tremendous task, and the Tongans themselves were not ready for the new religion.[1]

Initially cordial relationships were maintained between the missionaries and the leading Tongan chiefs, but the problem of communication proved a formidable barrier between the two parties. For months the missionaries were unable to communicate with the people about Christianity, let alone conduct any religious services for the people because of their ignorance of the language. Most of their time was spent in trying to establish a garden and

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[1] There was no ordained minister among these missionaries. They were all artisans. For the names of the missionaries and their occupations before they left England, see Farmer 1855:78.

797 learn the language, and worrying about the safety of their diminishing trade goods.

175 It was soon apparent that the Tongan chiefs were only interested
in the missionaries' trade goods and not their teachings. The early
797 good relationship was due mainly to the missionaries' ability to
175 satisfy the chiefs' demands for European goods. When the chiefs,
at the instigation of three beachcombers, Ambler, Morgan and
177 Connelly, demanded the expulsion of the missionaries from Tonga,
Mulikiha'amea, the then Tu'i Ha'atakalaua replied:

> If the men of the sky, discovered by any attempts of violence, or secret whisperings, that they meant to take our land, and kill us, we ought all to strike hands, and root them out from among us; but they have brought great riches, they have given them to us freely, we reap the good fruits of their living among us, their articles are of great use to us, they behave themselves well; and what could we wish for more? (Orange 1840:117)

797 However, as their supplies began to decrease, and the missionaries
175 became less generous with their gifts, thefts occurred. One of the
missionaries, Vason, was attacked one night and had his pistol
685 stolen.

Added to the missionaries' problem were the hostile reactions
797 of the beachcombers to their presence in Tonga. After the mission-
175 aries refused their unreasonable demands for trade goods, the
three beachcombers told the Tongans that they themselves were
563 men of high rank in England, but the missionaries were only
commoners, and that in their prayer meetings they were praying
[165] to their gods to kill off the Tongan chiefs. Unfortunately for the
missionaries, four leading chiefs died within three months of their
arrival (Wilson 1799:257), and the Tongans took this as proof
175 of the truth of the beachcombers' allegations. During the civil war
797 in 1799, three of the missionaries were killed,[2] and the rest had to

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669 [2] Vason explained these murders as the result of one of the Hihifo men's vengeance upon the missionaries from whom he had earlier requested some presents, but had been refused. Seeing the missionaries, he decided to revenge himself and was supported by his friends. Another possible explanation for the attack is that the missionaries were murdered because they were staying with the chief of Ha'ateiho, who with his people had joined Mulikiha'amea and 'Ulukālala, and was regarded as an enemy.

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leave Tonga for New South Wales in 1800 after being stripped of 175
their possessions, except Vason who 'went native'.[3]

Interest in missionary work in Tonga, however, did not disappear 791
completely with its abandonment by the L.M.S. missionaries. [669]
One of those who escaped to New South Wales, Shelley,
retained a lively interest in the people of the group. Several times 791
he pleaded unsuccessfully with various mission bodies to reopen the mission work in Tonga. However, after his death his widow excited the interest of a young Methodist minister in Sydney, the Reverend Walter Lawry, with the tragic stories her late husband had told her about their few years in Tonga (Findlay and Holdsworth 1921:267). Eventually Lawry managed to persuade the British Wesleyan Methodist Conference (at this time the Methodist people in New South Wales were still under the British Methodist Conference) to appoint him with another minister to the mission field in Tonga.

Among the circumstances favouring his proposal was the news of the success of the L.M.S. in Tahiti, which had reached England and caused tremendous excitement among the evangelicals there, at the same time creating sympathy and sorrow for the forsaken people of the Friendly Islands. It was not difficult therefore to persuade the British Wesleyan Conference to send missionaries to Tonga, and Lawry was the first appointed.

Lawry decided to leave for Tonga without delay. Accompanied by his wife, their child, a carpenter, George Lilley, a blacksmith, Charles Tindall, and a young man from the Marquesas, Macanoe, to act as interpreter, Lawry arrived in Tonga on 16 August 1822 (Lawry, Diary, 16 Aug. 1822). He decided to reside at Mu'a, the then capital of Tonga, under the chief Fatu, son of the last Tu'i
Ha'atakalaua, Mulikiha'amea. It was soon obvious, however, that [177]
their favourable reception was due more to his supply of goods
than his teachings. Eventually, the opposition of the traditional priests and the people was so strong, and the constant threats to kill the missionary so affected Mrs Lawry's health, that Lawry

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[3] Vason deserted missionary work and lived among the Tongans for four years. The fascinating story of his experiences in Tonga is told in Orange 1840.

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797 decided to abandon the mission. He and his family left Tonga on 3 October the following year, 1823, while Lilley and Tindall stayed behind. Macanoe, who apparently was not successful as an interpreter, died in Tonga from illness.

It was not until 28 June 1826 that Lawry's successors, the Reverend John Thomas and the Reverend John Hutchinson, arrived in Tonga (see Lātūkefu 1969). They had intended to go to Mu'a where Lawry had been stationed, but Tindall advised them against this, and recommended that they should go instead to Hihifo. Apparently Fatu had ill-treated Lilley and Tindall after the departure of Lawry. The chief of Hihifo, Ata, gave the new missionaries a piece of land at Kolovai, and was friendly to them, but he refused to accept the new religion personally and forbade his people to join the mission. Frustrated by their failure to win Ata and the people of Hihifo to Christianity, and because of the growing hostility of the people, Thomas and Hutchinson decided to abandon the work in Tonga altogether. The situation was aggravated by the failure of Hutchinson's health and also by the continuing petty quarrelling between the two missionaries. Accordingly, when a new assistant, I. V. M. Weiss, arrived with his wife in Tonga in 1827, Thomas sent them back in the same boat, a small whaler, with a request to the brethren in Sydney to send a bigger vessel to bring all of them back to Sydney with all the mission property (Findlay and Holdsworth 1921:283). After emergency meetings in Sydney the brethren rejected Thomas's request and decided instead that Nathaniel Turner, William Cross and Weiss should leave for Tonga immediately to prevent the mission from being abandoned again. The new arrivals saved the work in Tonga. They were stationed at Nuku'alofa while Thomas and Huchinson carried on the work at Hihifo. The situation at Hihifo continued to deteriorate and, finally, in 1829, the brethren decided to close down the station there for the time being. It was not reopened until 1837.

This brief outline of what happened in the work of the Wesleyan missionaries in Tonga before 1830 clearly shows that, during the first few years of their attempts to convert and to civilise the Tongans, the Wesleyan pioneering missionaries encountered continual frustration. This was mainly because of the strong opposition they had to face, not only from the Tongans themselves but 791 also from other Europeans who had found their way to these islands. In addition, the lack of proper preparation for their task, the absence of constructive imagination among some of the missionaries, and the rather unfortunate relationship between John Thomas and John Hutchinson further aggravated the situation.

Led by the traditional priests and many of the chiefs, the Tongans put up strong opposition to the work of the missionaries (see Lātūkefu 1966). Much of this opposition appeared to have been basically a conservative reaction against anything new. It sprang from a desire to preserve the *status quo.* They felt that the old standards and values ought to be safeguarded, not only because they were still more meaningful and were believed to be more relevant to their present needs, but also because of the chiefs' own deep loyalty and respect for their ancestors and their beliefs. This sentiment was at the heart of Ata's rejection of Christianity. He told Thomas bluntly 'that he would not pray but that he wished to end in the way he was in, it being the way his friends were in before him' (Thomas. Journal, 19 Jan. 1929). Asked later by Nathaniel Turner if he would change his mind about accepting Christianity, Ata replied, 'I will not attend to your religion. My mind is fixed . . . It is very good for you to attend to your God, and I will attend to mine . . .' (N. Turner, Journal, 16 July 1829). Obviously, the traditional leaders feared that Christianity as presented by the Wesleyan Methodist missionaries with its 'strange' scale of values and moral standards threatened to annihilate most of their treasured customs and traditions. Most of them coveted European goods, technical knowledge and firearms, but were not prepared to replace their traditional values and customs with those of the missionaries. John Thomas wrote: 177

> Most of the chiefs upon this island [Tongatapu] will say, how glad they would be to have Missionaries; but the truth is they only want our property, and many of them cannot protect us from other chiefs; neither do they wish to change their religion; but whatever chief first receives a Missionary or an Englishman, all the property he has is considered as belonging to that chief . . . . (Farmer 1855:165-6)

797 The commoners followed their chiefs as they had always done, for fear of immediate punishment and divine retribution.

For their own interest the priests, in particular, were anxious
793 to keep the commoners' fear alive. Although the priestly class in Tonga did not have the same socio-political importance which the members of their order enjoyed in some other places in the Pacific, they were still treated by the Tongan people with con-
[776] siderable respect and fear. The veneration offered to a priest depended upon the rank of the god who inspired him. Although the power of the priests was second only to that of the chiefs,
[789] it was more religious in nature. Their power to curse *(talatuki)* was revered by all (West 1865:257). They were always consulted
[787] as to the will of the gods with regard to sickness, natural dis-
[465] aster, voyages, war and so on, and a very high fee was charged for the consultation (Watkin, Journal, 7 Feb. 1834).

It was obvious from the beginning that the intrusion of
797 Christianity, with its strange and more sophisticated order of
793 priesthood, meant the decline and in due course the disappearance of the traditional priesthood, together with all the power, honour and privileges its members had enjoyed for centuries. This was a significant loss and, as might be expected, the members of the old order were prepared to fight to retain their position.

Describing the state of affairs in his station Thomas (1879:57) wrote:

> The priest and priestess now seeing that . . . the Tonga worship was being brought into great discredit, they gave utterances—while inspired by the gods, which roused some of the chiefs, who favoured them, to use means to put a stop to these disorderly proceedings. Some common persons, who had been bold enough to slight, or cast away the Tonga gods were beaten—and others were threatened—and all were termed foolish who had taken up at once with this new thing, which the *papalangis*—foreigners had brought.

797 After the death of a man at Hihifo, old Fai'ana, the priestess,
793 told the people that she had a dream in which the deceased had told her that the missionaries had informed him that if he joined
787 the *lotu* he would not die, intimating that the missionaries had lied (Thomas, Journal, 30 Jan. 1829). Again, after a severe storm one priest told the people that Pulotu Kātoa (one of the most

revered gods) had been 'tired with the tardy movements of his 797
faithful worshippers, the Tonguese heathens, in reference to
making war upon the Christians [had] at length taken the matter 793
into his own hands and his weapons of war [were] to be drought 787
and storms . . . ' (Watkin, Journal, 21 Dec. 1826).

However, it is quite evident that the opposition raised by the 797
priests was not in any way comparable with that offered by the
chiefs. The honour and privileges that the priests had enjoyed in 793
the old order were nothing compared with those which the chiefs, 565
for instance, had enjoyed. But the fact that they threw their weight
behind the opposition of the chiefs was quite significant.

It was the chiefs who had most to lose from the encroaching 797
influence of the missionaries. Here lay the basis for their antagonism,
and, because they had traditionally held all power in their 565
hands, their opposition was formidable and was clearly understood by the missionaries.

The missionaries' teaching that all men were equal in the sight of God, their belief that everyone was a sinner by nature and that in order to get to heaven everyone, irrespective of rank, had to submit to certain moral discipline, and their preaching that no one, chief or otherwise, had any right to appropriate to himself any property belonging to another, were particularly unpopular with the chiefs, since these doctrines tended to undermine their status, privileges and authority. Since almost every heathen custom, which the missionaries regarded as contrary to Christianity and civilisation and were determined to eradicate, played some part in upholding the dignity and privileges of the chiefs, it was inevitable that the majority of the chiefs should clash with the missionaries over the maintenance of these traditional customs.

The missionaries, for one reason or another, appeared to have 797
lacked the ability to differentiate between those customs which were incompatible with Christian principles and those which were contrary only to their own British middle-class moral standards. For this reason they failed to appreciate the psychological and social significance of some of the old customs and traditions to
the Tongans themselves. An example may be seen in the perpetual 764
conflict between the missionaries and the chiefs over the question 565
of *tukuofo*. This custom was performed at the funeral of any 431
[797]

764 member of a chiefly family. On such an occasion the people under
the rule of the chief concerned, his friends and relatives in par-
565 ticular, would bring gifts of *ngatu* (tapa cloth), mats of various
431 kinds, and articles of food and drink to him.

From the commoners' point of view, this was an expression of their love and respect for the deceased, sympathy for the bereaved, and also a manifestation of their regard and loyalty to their leader. For the relatives it provided an opportunity for an extended family gathering, where they learned to know each other personally, and also their various responsibilities to each other. The warmth of filial devotion and the strength of family ties were further kindled and strengthened on such occasions. The bereaved chiefs themselves were comforted. They also appreciated the fact that the commoners' (or rather their subjects') sorrow and devotion were being expressed in a practical way.

The chiefs were often reminded on such occasions of their responsibilities to their people and this helped to maintain good relationships between them and their people, all of which furthered
764 the maintenance of stability and order in the community. The
missionaries did not seem to understand, let alone to appreciate,
565 these implications. The fact that some of the *ngatu* and mats were
431 used to wrap up the deceased for burial, and that the food pre-
797 sented was prepared to feed the people present, caused the
missionaries to view the *tukuofo,* rather mistakenly, as an offering
to the dead.

Tukuofo was also regarded as a means used by the chiefs to accumulate wealth at the expense of the commoners. 'I wish to see the *tukuofo*—quite put down—' wrote John Thomas, 'but this is the craft by which many Tonga chiefs have their wealth. They would be glad to keep it up' (Thomas, Journal, 24 Dec. 1826). It may be pointed out that the chiefs did not demand the *tukuofo*. It came from the people quite spontaneously and freely and from a sense of responsibility.

797 Another point of conflict between the chiefs and the missionaries
565 was the chiefs' jealousy towards the rival for their authority.
571 The priests of the old order exercised power over the people
only during their brief periods of inspiration. For the most part
[793] they were, like the rest of the population, under the power of the
[787]

chiefs. The missionaries held a different view of their own power. 797 They regarded themselves as heads of their respective stations. Therefore all their converts, chiefs and people alike, had to obey 565 them—their pastors—in all matters connected with the mission 571 (Thomas 1825-35:153). For this reason and also because they were always convinced that they had a superior background, the missionaries often condescended to and even despised the chiefs, who were naturally antagonised by such an attitude. Ata complained that Thomas had been trying to make himself chief over his (Ata's) own people (Thomas, Journal, 18 Oct. 1828).

There is little doubt that the combined opposition of the 797 Tongans led by the traditional priests and some of the chiefs during the first few years of the work of the Wesleyan missionaries in Tonga contributed significantly to the failures of Lawry at Mu'a in 1822-3 and of Thomas and Hutchinson at Hihifo in 1826-9.

The missionaries' frustration was further aggravated by the 563 strong opposition to their work from their own fellow-countrymen —beachcombers, whalers and traders who were also important [797] mediators of change in Tonga. The arrival of the First Fleet at Port Jackson on 26 January 1788, and the subsequent establishment of the first European settlement in the Pacific, had far-reaching consequences for the whole South Seas region. The impact of this penal settlement was soon felt in Tonga. Whether this was on account of Cook's reports concerning the friendly nature of the inhabitants of Tonga, or because Governor Phillip had been instructed to obtain women from the Friendly Islands as wives for convicts (Clark 1958:36), or for some other reasons, there were soon escaped convicts who found their way to Tonga and settled among the Tongans.

Ships from various European nations and the United States of [439] America frequented the South Seas, attracted by the opportunities for trade in such diverse items as sandalwood, pork, bêche-de-mer, turtle shell, coconut oil and also by whaling. Others brought [648] scientific expeditions for the exploration of the newly discovered islands. Many of these vessels visited Tonga and some were captured and their crews massacred (see Dillon 1829, I:274). Some mariners survived and, like the escaped convicts, remained

> The ship's boat had by this time reached the land, and the men on 563 board being unarmed, were seized by the natives and taken on shore. 721 (Dillon 1829, I:267)

Had Captain Dumont d'Urville been aware of the real reason for this seizure of his men, he might have been more lenient in his handling of this unfortunate affair. As it happened, two armed boats were sent from the ship to search for the men. The search party burnt down several houses and wounded two Tongans, who later died, and one of their men was killed, without finding any trace of the two men. Finally, the captain decided to keep the village of Ma'ofanga under fire for two days, with the result that, on the third day, the men re-embarked without having received any injury.

On the whole, relations between the beachcombers and the 563 Tongans were harmonious and they lived quite amicably together before the arrival of the missionaries. The beachcombers helped [177] to explain to the Tongans the various aspects of the white man's culture—his customs, economic system, technology, literacy and even religion (H. E. Maude 1968:163). Some were instrumental 563 in paving the way for the work of the missionaries, and others 797 helped the missionaries in their work. Lawry used Singleton of the *Port-au-Prince* as an interpreter. Before Thomas and Hutchinson arrived in 1826, Lolohea, one of the first converts in Tonga, and his brother who lived in Vava'u at the time 'were impressed by a few words about Jehovah, spoken to them by a sailor who lived in that island' (Farmer 1855:179). King George persuaded a [643] sailor who lived under his protection in Ha'apai to show him and [634] his people how to write and conduct prayers to the Christian God, and in 1827 'Ulukālala Tuapasi of Vava'u persuaded a sailor to write a letter for him to the missionaries in Tongatapu asking for a missionary of his own (Turner 1872:102-3).

The arrival and continued presence of the missionaries in Tonga was not, however, welcomed by many of these men. They feared that the missionaries would expose them to their chiefly hosts and thereby undermine their prestige and newly found privileges, and destroy the Polynesian way of life which they favoured and wanted to preserve. Consequently, some made every

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563 effort to make life unpleasant for the missionaries. Nathaniel
797 Turner wrote:

> Today we have heard more serious reports concerning the intentions of our Enemies. They now say that they cannot hurt Tubo [King Siosaia Aleamotu'a] but they will put a stop to the Lotu by putting an end to us . . . Report says that two Frenchmen are at the bottom of this. These men are runaways from a French Discovery ship that was here some time ago. They are now residing with a powerful chief in the interior. They endeavour to persuade this chief and others with whom they have acquaintance that if they suffer us to remain and our religion is spread, by and by the English will come and take their country from them. (Turner to Committee, 4 Jan. 1828, WMMS 1818-36, item A2833)

John Thomas told of an Englishman by the name of James who had since been captured in Tonga by the captain of a British man-of-war for his part in stealing a vessel at Van Diemen's Land. According to Thomas, James, while in Ha'apai, planned to kill him and Tāufa'āhau, 'and the reason he assigned for so strange a conduct', wrote Thomas, 'was because I knew of his crime, he having confessed it to two Englishmen who made it their business to inform me of it' (Thomas, Journal, 29 April 1831). Woon, a later missionary, complaining about the conduct of these men, wrote, 'We have been much tried of late from the wicked conduct of some of our countrymen, who seem to defy the laws of God . . . Some have been so wicked as to say, that our religion is a lie' (Woon to Committee, 19 Jan. 1833, WMMS 1818-36, item A2838).

[177] Although the escaped convicts, ships' deserters and castaways do not appear to have made any direct contribution to political development, their presence among the Tongans and their work in making and repairing tools for them, explaining the European culture, and advising them in warfare, stimulated the general desire for change. Their negative reactions to the missionaries, however, and to the emerging monarchical authority, and rule of law, which the latter had encouraged and assisted, met with disfavour from the British officials and, in some instances, they were deported. Indirectly, the prestige of the missionaries was enhanced as these men were discredited and their reputation among the Tongans badly damaged.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century and early in the nineteenth century the discovery of rich new whaling grounds in the western and central Pacific brought many whalers to the area. Tonga received its share of these visits and the whalers engaged in trade, exchanging beads, cloth, iron tools and muskets for fresh provisions of fruit, vegetables, pork, coconut oil and other native produce. The missionaries felt rather uneasy about the presence of the whalers. Nathaniel Turner wrote: 439 439 797

> Tonga is now becoming a place of resort for shipping, especially whalers, and we may expect it will be much more so. This may in some respect be attended with advantages; but we have already cause to fear it will materially militate against our cause. (Turner to Committee, 24 April 1830, WMMS 1818-36, item A2836)

Later it became increasingly clear that the uneasiness of the missionaries mainly rested upon their fears that the whalers called at the islands not merely in search of provisions, but also to win the favours of the Tongan women. Yet in this respect the teachings of the missionaries had been readily accepted. Peter Turner reported that the captain and the supercargo of a vessel which left Tonga three days previously had done 'all they could to induce some of the females to go on board but all their efforts were futile' (P. Turner, Journal, 28 April 1832). 439 836

The whalers, for their part, felt antipathy towards the missionaries on account of this and tried to seize every opportunity to discredit them and undermine their work. They gained sufficient influence to delay the conversion of some of the remote islands of the group (Amos to Committee, 11 Sept. 1857, WMMSA 1852-79, item 170). 439 797

The attention of traders to Tonga was first aroused by Captain Cook's praise for the Tongans for their keen interest in trade. He claimed that 'Perhaps, no nation in the world traffic with more honesty and less distrust' (Cook and King 1784:384). Many years later, Peter Dillon (1829, I:277) added to this view when he wrote: 175 439 439

> I may safely say that Tonga is the best island in the South Seas for ships to recruit their supplies at, provisions there are in such plenty.

439 These glowing reports soon made Tonga a popular port of call for shipping. Traders of all kinds called for provisions, both before and after the establishment of the Wesleyan mission.

In general, the traders and missionaries did not get on well,
439 but there were a few traders who were convinced that the work
797 of the missionaries was definitely advantageous to trade and commerce. Many of these were sons of missionaries who had been born or brought up in the islands. These men maintained good relations with both the missionaries and native leaders, particularly those who had accepted Christianity through the work of the Protestant missionaries, and mutual respect, friendship and help prevailed among them. They did their utmost to assist the work of missionaries, who naturally reciprocated.

Samuel Pinder Henry, a trader son of a missionary in Tahiti,
439 was friendly with the Tu'i Kanokupolu Siosaia Aleamotu'a of
177 Tonga. Arrangements were made with Aleamotu'a to obtain some
797 Tongans to accompany Henry to the New Hebrides to cut sandalwood. Sickness prevented Henry from joining his vessel
643 which called for the men. Unknown to him, his crew had brought
831 some prostitutes in the ship from New Zealand. When the King, who had already become a convert, found this out, he decided to prevent the Tongans from boarding the vessel. However, Nathaniel Turner, who was acquainted with Henry and knew of his reputation for assisting missionaries throughout the islands, persuaded Aleamotu'a not to break his promise and thereby penalise Henry for the misconduct of his crew. He pleaded that it would have been a different matter if Henry himself had been aboard the vessel. The King was eventually persuaded to drop his objections and the Tongans were permitted to join the ship (N. Turner to Committee, 15 May 1829, WMMS 1818-36, item A2835).

Such dissensions as did take place between some of the traders
439 and the missionaries may be attributed to a number of factors.
797 Certain missionaries were worried about the effects of trade upon their converts:

> 439 The influence of trade is a source of serious apprehension to us. The
> 797 people have a strong desire for our style of dress. Showy and expensive dress 'fakapapalagi' is the height of their highest aspirations. This
> 177 is attended with many evils—the more they expend in dress the less
> 291

> they have to give to God—this is one evil—the more their mind is 439
> engrossed in the idea of dress (fakasanisani) beautiful, the less it
> contemplates God and things divine. (Whewell to General Secretary, 797
> Aug. 1856, WMMSA 1852-79, item 170) 177

The traders were resentful of the fact that the missionaries 291
were chiefly responsible for the growing sophistication of the
people in the art of trade. In the early days they were able to
fill their ships with provisions in exchange for a few guns, beads, 797
nails, pieces of hoop iron and cheap calico and printed cloth. 439
After the establishment of the mission and the introduction of
schools, the people were taught the value of money and of articles 177
of trade among the civilised countries. They soon refused to trade 436
for cheaper goods and wanted either payment in money or more
valuable articles. Peter Turner recorded on his way to Tonga
by ship in 1831:

> Many on board think with ungodly captains that missionaries do more hurt than good among heathens, because they cannot do with them as they did while their minds were held in darkness and error. They cannot now buy a fine hog for a large nail, or a piece of hoop iron. (P. Turner, Journal, 23 Feb. 1831)

Among the severest critics of the missionaries was the trader, Peter Dillon, and, in defending the mission against his accusations, the Reverend David Cargill (1842:29-30) wrote:

> We are informed, (page 3,) that, in 1827, the Chevalier [Dillon] 'procured an abundant supply of hogs, poultry, etc., for a few glass beads,' and that 'on his last visit it was with the greatest difficulty he could procure sufficient for his own mess, for which he had to pay dollars.' For once, I believe, the truth of any of the statements in the work which I have been examining. In 1827 the people were ignorant and poor, and would exchange their commodities for almost any article of European manufacture. In 1837 they valued 'a few glass beads' no more than their disappointed and chagrined visitor valued such trifles.

Another source of conflict was over the question of the sale 797
of liquor in Tonga. Selling 'grog' was a source of handsome
profit for the traders. The missionaries, however, objected strongly 439
to this form of trade. They were convinced that it was harmful to 273
the people and would ruin their efforts. A later missionary wrote:

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> Some traders not satisfied with 2 or 3 hundred percent on their goods and the difference in the value of oil (here £12—in Sydney £30 or more) have introduced ardent spirits as article of trade. We expect commerce will follow in the wake of Christianity, but when it attempts to unchristianize an infant Christian people we deplore it. (Whewell to General Secretary, Aug. 1856, WMMSA 1852-79, item 170)

797 439 Another major sorce of discord between the traders and the missionaries was over the question of women. John Thomas (Journal, 19 Mar. 1831) recorded the following episode:

836

> The captain that was here last has left an ill savour behind him . . . He tried several persons in order to get a woman for his base purposes, but I am happy to know that he did not succeed. One chief viz Tuihaatuho told him he could not let him have one and when he (the Cap.) applied to Taufaahau he told him he could not do it, that he feared Jehovah and also he met in Society and wished to do as I taught him. These things would have a very bad tendency upon the infant cause here.

Another example of the clashes over women was reported by Rabone (Journal, 2 Aug. 1836) who commented upon certain incidents in his journal which 'made us ashamed of the name of Englishmen'. It appears that a Captain Brind of the trading vessel *Tower Castle* called at the island of Rotuma and, as several Rotumans wished to go to Tonga, he offered to take them. On leaving the island he took one female as his mistress, but after being at sea four days, in a fit of drunkenness he threw her overboard. His crew rescued the woman, without his knowledge, and stowed her away. Meanwhile he had taken another female, a young virgin, who was on her way to Tonga to marry a young chief. These actions grieved both the Rotumans and the Tongans very deeply. On a later voyage, he returned to Tonga and invited some Tongans and Rotumans on board, among whom was the [721] young chief, who objected to his wife going. A fight broke out between one of Brind's men and the chief in which the young chief was killed. When this became known to the Tongans, a few hours later, they took the murderer and killed him.

439 797 The missionaries believed that the conduct of these captains was responsible for some of the 'evil doings' of the natives, of which they later complained when they returned to their home ports (P. Turner 1831-38:75).

For a variety of reasons the non-missionary Europeans who 563 found their way to Tonga before and immediately after the establishment of the Methodist mission in the group viewed the 797 missionaries and their work as a threat to their own interests. Hence the bitterness of their opposition to the work of the missionaries. Although they failed to destroy the influence of the missionaries as some of them determined to do, their opposition caused the missionaries anguish and frustration.

In actual fact the missionaries were responsible for some of 797 the causes of the frustration they had to face. This was mainly due to personality problems, inadequate preparations for their task, and an unfortunate lack of imagination and tact. They were quite certain of the superiority of their culture, the infallibility of their cause, and the absolute peril of the heathen. Convinced of their being called by God to save the lost, they saw as their mission the conversion of the Tongans at all cost if necessary, even if it entailed martyrdom on the one hand and a complete destruction of the traditional culture on the other. They identified Christianity with their own middle-class moral values at home and regarded any deviations from them as heathen and therefore un-Christian and something that should be eradicated. Lawry's view of the moral deprivation of the Tongans was shared by his successors. He wrote:

> The navigators first visited their islands, and the castaway mariners who have resided among them for several years, have attempted to wash these Ethiops white, by representing their morals as equal, if not superior, to those of any civilized nation; the fact however, is they follow their natural inclinations, and are earthly, sensual, devilish . . . Their whole lives are a scene of corruption. (Farmer 1855:159-60)

The traditional way of life in Tonga was then viewed as a means used by the devil to destroy the souls of the Tongans and to obstruct the cause of the Almighty, and since the missionaries believed that they were recruited to carry out Jehovah's war against the devil, they could make no compromise. This attitude of mind helped to explain their intolerance of many of the traditional practices of the Tongans and their consequential and almost fanatical determination to stamp out heathenism in all its forms. A later missionary wrote:

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> The character of the Tongan mind is such, that there must be a complete separation from, and abandonment of everything approaching the spirit of heathenism, customs innocent in themselves, lead to heart-burnings and wickedness . . . our experience is, that not only heathenism in its darkest character must be destroyed, but that our members must come out from its very spirit, and touch it not even in its mildest forms . . . A very superficial acquaintance with the Tongan character, is sufficient to convince any man, that that which appears innocent in itself, is often a fruitful source of crimes in the islands. (Minns to the Committee, 4 Nov. 1870, WMMSA 1852-79, item 170)

The kind of attitudes which the missionaries exhibited in Tonga reflected their own social and religious background. Writing for *Blackwood's Magazine* in 1890, the Reverend Coutts Trotter described the Wesleyan Methodist missionaries in Tonga as 'Men often of narrow culture and lacking in imagination' (Trotter 1890:142). This situation was not surprising since the majority of the parent body from which the Wesleyan missionaries were selected came from the lower middle and working classes of the British Isles. In a recent study of the politics of English dissent, R. G. Cowherd (1956:15) points out that 'More than other Dissenting denominations, the Methodists recruited their ministers and members from the lower classes'. These Methodists had certain attitudes towards the social life of their day. According to one authority:

> Methodists defined rigidly the things that belonged to the world and the things that belonged to God. They felt they had been called out of an evil world into the new life of the spirit. The services on the Sunday and the class meetings in the week occupied their leisure hours. They looked with suspicion on all amusements and recreations. (Edwards 1948:127).

The theatre was regarded as a menace and a danger to morality. John Wesley called it 'the sink of all profaneness and debauchery' (*Works,* VII:34). His followers shared this view. In 1808, the *Edinburgh Review* censured the Methodists for their opposition to the theatre and to other amusements (Edwards 1948:127), and in 1818 another reviewer reported that when two theatres, Covent Garden and Drury Lane, were destroyed, many Methodists openly rejoiced and made it an occasion of thanksgiving (*Quarterly Review,* Nov. 1810, IV:491).

Concerning literature, the Methodists were only prepared to accept a very narrow and restricted range, most of which was produced by the Society itself. The *Methodist Magazine*, the only periodical produced by the Society for many years from Wesley's time, was occupied almost exclusively with sermons, articles on matters of faith, and letters and memoirs of devout Methodists. After the death of Wesley, the Methodist Book Room published almost entirely religious works or works connected with religion. Most Methodist authors in the early nineteenth century devoted themselves either to publishing sermons or to writing memoirs. A few, such as Coke, Clarke, Benson and Sutcliffe, published commentaries on the Bible or wrote philosophical treatises. These, together with religious pamphlets, were regularly read.

Dancing, snuff-taking and smoking were denounced by the Conference, and Wesley claimed that dancing made debauchery easy and might lead young women to numberless evils (*Works*, XII:39).

The Methodist leaders were particularly severe in their denunciation of spirituous liquors, except for medical purposes. Wesley strongly condemned the sale of spirits, and was deeply concerned with the ravages of gin and rum drinking on the nation. He demanded that distillation should be abolished, arguing that food was dear because of the immense quantity of corn consumed in distilling. He argued that spirituous liquors were deadly poison and that they destroyed not only the strength but the morals of those who consumed them. He therefore directed that Methodists undertake to taste no spirituous liquors unless prescribed by a physician. Those that followed him after his death maintained this attitude, and some went further and refused to drink wine, beer or even tea!

Gambling of any sort was bitterly opposed, on the grounds that it fostered covetousness, making men deprive their wives and families of money needed at home. Sports were frowned upon, for they were viewed as a waste of time which might have been spent in honest labour. They were also regarded as instruments used by the devil 'to fill the mind with earthly, sensual and devilish passions', making one 'a lover of pleasure more than a lover of God' (Wesley, *Sermons*, II:955-6).

797 The Methodists also followed Wesley's example in urging that Sunday be kept sacred. On this issue they joined that section of the English Dissent which held strong Sabbatarian views. The *Quarterly Review* (November 1810) complained that Methodists would not allow workers to work on a Sunday.

These attitudes were part and parcel of the lives of the missionaries. They believed them to point the way to the only way of life that true Christians should live, and that their converts in Tonga should follow them.

The narrowness of outlook and lack of imagination among some of the early missionaries were also caused by their lack of formal education and proper training for their task. The majority of them received only a very meagre formal education of the kind available to their social and economic classes at home at that time.[4] The Reverend John Thomas, for example, was a village blacksmith in Worcestershire. According to the Society's historians, 'His upbringing was rustic, his education of the slenderest; he was taken straight from the village forge to be a Missionary at the ends of the earth' (Findlay and Holdsworth 1921:278). This was typical of many of the missionaries, most of whom received their only formal education from the Methodist Sunday School, where pupils were instructed in reading, spelling and writing. The Reverend Peter Turner began work at the age of seven or eight, when his father, a cotton spinner in Manchester, took him to help as a piecer at the local mill. He received his only formal education at a local Sunday School (P. Turner, A brief account of myself, I).

Thomas himself admitted a sense of insufficiency. He wrote:

> What a raw, weak, uncultivated wretch was I when I left old England! And though I have, by study, sorrow, and deep distress, learned something, yet even now how little I know that I ought to know, and must know before I can be deserving of the name of a Preacher of the Gospel, much less of a Methodist Missionary! . . . It is a subject which very much humbles me when I see that through my inability . . . the salvation of souls is possibly delayed. O Lord, do Thou have mercy on me, and on these people! May they not perish through my weakness. (Findlay and Holdsworth 1921:282)

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[4] For detailed discussion of the education of the missionaries, see Gunson 1959:12.

This lack of proper training and adequate preparation was a 791 great handicap to Thomas and Hutchinson, as it was to their predecessor, Lawry. Their inability to understand the Tongan language caused much frustration in their relationship with the people.

Their lack of elementary or basic medical skills was also detrimental to their work. One of Ata's sons, Mataele, took ill. His 791 relatives took him to the god called Lātūfakahau, who was once a great chief in Tonga. Thomas went to Ata and told him and 755 his people that they were foolish in doing so. He managed to persuade them to bring Mataele to his place. He bled him and gave him a little medicine but Mataele grew worse, so Mataele turned to the heathen gods and his relatives took him to another god's house. After a few days Thomas called to see Mataele and found him much better, and he thought it likely that Mataele would recover. Although he was happy for Mataele to recover he had reasons to be greatly concerned. Ata had stated that should his son Mataele die, this would furnish proof that the Tongan gods were a lie, and he would *lotu*, but should his son recover he would maintain faith in the old gods (Thomas, Journal, 8 June 1829).

Mataele recovered, and Ata took this as proof that the gods of his fathers were true after all. From that time on, nothing 791 could shake his faith in the Tongan gods. He bluntly refused to have anything to do with the new god of the white missionary and did everything he could to prevent his people from joining the new religion, the god of which, according to his judgment, had been proved false. In deep distress, John Thomas (Journal, 31 Jan. 1829) wrote:

> If we could cure the bodies of the people of their various diseases, it would be a great recommendation for us to the attention of the people . . . but we have neither skill nor means for this, and therefore in most cases, cannot undertake anything of the kind, lest we should do harm to the cause of Christ, by raising the expectation of the people, when we cannot satisfy them. We are obliged to therefore tell them that we did not come to cure their bodies but their souls, and our God saves not from pain and bodily afflictions but sin and hell, but as this latter subject is new to them and most of them care nothing about it, but wish to be made well here, they

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> 797 are prevailed upon to cling to their own Otuas (gods) and follow the Tongan ways.

In spite of working together in brotherly love in an all-out effort to remedy some of these deficiencies, Thomas and Hutchinson wasted much valuable time and energy in petty quarrelling, and writing lengthy letters to the authorities and friends accusing each other of improper conducts, disloyalty and lack of respect. The situation was aggravated by the failure of Hutchinson's health, which may have been partly caused by this unhappy personal relationship between the two families. Blinded by their hatred of each other the two missionaries made no effort to keep this unfortunate situation to themselves. Each tried to win the support of the chiefs by exposing the weaknesses and failures of the other. In so doing Thomas and Hutchinson unwittingly stripped themselves of much of the respect that Ata and many of his fellow chiefs at Hihifo might have had for them.

Not only did Thomas lack imagination, but, being young and 797 inexperienced, he lacked tact. Had he been able to win Ata for the mission the whole of Hihifo would have turned with him to 565 Christianity, as happened in other places where the chiefs were later won to Christianity. It would also have had significant impact on other chiefs in Tongatapu. Thomas himself wrote from Hihifo, 'I am perfectly satisfied that, as it respects the inhabitants generally, they are ready to receive our instruction; and if the Chief [Ata] were favourable, hundreds would sit at the feet of the messenger of the living God' (*W-M Mag.*, Sept. 1829:631). Ata's brother, Tōfua, told John Thomas that if Ata were to turn Christian, he would turn too. Tu'ivakanō, the chief of Nukunuku, said to Thomas that he would *lotu* if Ata *lotued*. Tāufa, chief of Pea, said the same:

> He [Taufa] frankly told me his mind, [reported John Thomas] he asked if Ata our chief prayed to God. I told him no, he said when he turned him [sic] and his people should turn also, that Ata was older than him, and was his relation. . . . (Thomas, Journal, 12 June 1829)

Thomas was not unaware of the importance of winning Ata to the mission. However, he appeared to be so arrogant and tactless in his dealings with the people, including the chiefs, that he inevitably antagonised many of them, and Ata in particular. One 797 565 day Ata (who knew Thomas was a blacksmith by trade) sent a man with an axe to ask Thomas to sharpen it for him. Thomas sent the man back to Ata with the axe immediately with a message to say that he did not come to Tonga to sharpen axes. Ata on several occasions complained that Thomas tried to be chief among his people and Thomas, for some reason or other, kept telling the people that he was not afraid of Ata.

The last straw came when Ata's wife, Papa, took some friends on tour of Thomas's new house which was a novelty at the time. Being the wife of the chief of the area it was her prerogative to take her friends anywhere and to show them anything in the district. She did not have to consult anyone. For quite some time Thomas had built up a dislike for Papa whom he described as 'a very idle woman. She is either eating or drinking or lying about in different places or sleeping from morning to night' (Thomas, Journal, 24 July 1826). Thomas did not realise that, being a chiefly woman, Papa did not have to do any work. It was beneath the dignity of her office to work. Everything was done for her. However, in this case Thomas's patience ran out, and he decided to reprimand Papa in front of her guests for bringing people into his house without his permission. To the Hihifo people this was sacrilege and, in fact, Thomas was lucky not to have been clubbed to death on the spot. Ata reacted strongly to this humiliating treatment of his wife. He forbade any of his people to attend the school or worship, and bluntly told Thomas he could leave Hihifo and go to another place if he wanted to. With fierce indignation Thomas (Journal, 18 April 1829) wrote:

> It is grief to me that the people are not allowed to attend. I cry to God for them that He would bend or breake the stuborn neck of our chief who seems to hinder the people here.

An understanding of the Tongan customs and traditions would 797 have given Thomas and his colleagues some measure of the patience and tolerance which they needed for the success of their work, but they did not have this. Worse still there was little desire to make any sincere effort to understand the culture of the people since it was regarded as heathen, therefore unChristian and to be

797 destroyed. The half-hearted attempts to understand the customs of the people were more for personal security purposes than for their intrinsic or functional value to be exploited to the full for the purpose of winning the people to Christianity.

797 Like many other Tongan chiefs of his day, Ata wanted Europeans to live under him and to serve him but not as his
177 masters or rival 'chiefs'. Hence his resentment of what he regarded
[829] as Thomas's attempts to make himself chief among his people.
Again like many other Tongans, Ata and the people of Hihifo were more interested in the missionaries' trade goods than their teachings. Their hopes of gaining material goods were frustrated by the attitudes of the missionaries on these matters. The missionaries expected the Tongans to look after their material needs, since they had left their own homes to come to Tonga to save the Tongans from spiritual and intellectual degradation. This outlook of the missionaries led them at times to what the Tongans must have regarded as unfair bargaining and even meanness.

797 On the missionaries' request, Ata got his people to build a fence for them but when he 'was told what we should give [for
439 the job] he would not look at the things, but went away . . .' Ata was greatly annoyed by the smallness of the payment. The missionaries used to buy six chickens for a plane iron, a pig for a hatchet (Thomas, Journal, 24 July 1826), or 180 lb. of yams or more for a shilling. Apparently some of the chiefs resented this so much that the people were forbidden to bring anything to sell to Thomas. Thomas explained the reason for the veto: 'this is through Tofooa the Chief's brother . . . He is displeased with us, and says we wanted to buy a large quantity of yams for a spade' (Thomas, Calendar and Diary, 4 May 1827).

797 Failing to get the material rewards they had expected from the missionaries, the people, with the full knowledge of many of
[685] the chiefs and probably their blessings, reverted to robbing the missionaries of their goods, threatening to burn down the mission premises and even to kill them. The situation had become so frustrating that Thomas was forced to arm himself day and night. He wrote:

> This last few nights we have had to keep a sharp look out on our premises. I have kept a gun loaded and have walked about with a

> sword in my hand and slept with it by my side. . . . (Thomas, Journal, 21 August 1826)

The missionaries were so disappointed by Ata's hardened attitudes to Thomas's work at Hihifo that Nathaniel Turner and John Thomas finally decided to interview Ata in July 1829 regarding the future of the mission work there, which had now been going for three years. Turner spoke to Ata about the purpose of their visit. He told Ata about Thomas's disappointment at not being able to carry out the work which God had sent him to Tonga to do, because Ata would not allow the people to come to school or to attend worship. He told Ata that unless he lifted his ban on the people attending the mission Thomas had to go to some other place where he would be at liberty to teach the people. He then asked Ata to tell them freely his mind on the matter. Turner recorded:

> He listened to what was said very attentively, and commenced giving us his mind in a very firm, but not angry, manner. He observed, 'I have, and always have had, great love for Mr. Thomas, and should be glad for him to continue with me; but I will not attend to your religion. My mind is fixed. I have often told Mr. Thomas so, and I told you so when you were living here; and my mind is quite fixed. It is very good for you to attend to your God, and I will attend to mine; but I will not attend to yours. I am not angry with you or Mr. Thomas; but I will not turn for him, or any other, should another be sent from England. Mr. Thomas is quite at liberty to go to any other place where he thinks fit; and I shall not be angry' . . . We thanked him for the candid manner in which he told us his mind, and gave him to understand that Mr. Thomas would prepare for a removal immediately. (*W-M Mag.*, Oct. 1830:701-2)

Ata was a solid man, a great leader, and a true champion of the Tongan traditional ways of life. After weighing the pros and cons of the new religion, he unequivocally concluded that it was better for him to 'end in the way he was in, it being the way his friends were in before him'. He was certainly a man who would have been a gain to any party, but the Wesleyan mission missed out. Soon, however, Mr and Mrs Thomas moved to Nuku'alofa, and Ata himself took the missionaries to their destination in his own canoe. He died unconverted in 1833, four years before the mission at Hihifo was reopened in 1837.

3 *The Breakthrough*

791 The breakthrough in the work of the Wesleyan mission in Tonga was not an isolated dramatic occurrence but a slow process brought about by several factors. One was certainly the increasing impact of mission efforts on the minds of some Tongans. Before Lawry left Tonga in 1823 a number of Tongans had been attracted by his teaching. On the day of his departure many tears were shed and expressions of regret were voiced by a spokesman of the
791 people who expressed the hope that he would return. One of those favourably disposed to Lawry's teaching was Tākai who
177 came from 'Oneata in the Lau group of Fiji. On his return home, he told the chief of Lakemba, Tu'ineau, about the new religion and some of the things which Lawry had taught. Tu'ineau became interested and asked Tākai to try and get him a missionary. Tākai went back to Tonga, and he and another admirer of Lawry, named Langi, were taken to Sydney by Captain Peter Dillon in 1824 as his interpreters (Davidson 1970:16-17), though their intention was to search for a missionary for Tu'ineau. Dillon left them in Sydney where they were picked up by Samuel Henry, and taken to Tahiti. Impressed by their determination, one of the L.M.S. missionaries, J. Davis, sent two Tahitian teachers, Hape and Davida, with them for the Tu'i Lakemba. On their arrival in Tongatapu in 1826 Tākai told Aleamotu'a

> that the Tahitians had found the true God and the word of life, and that the two Tahitians he saw were going with him to the Feegees to teach his countrymen the way to heaven. Tupou [Aleamotu'a] answered Takai and said. It must not be so. If the word he spoke of was really a good word it must not go . . . . (Williams and Barff, 1830:70)

Consequently the Tahitian teachers remained in Tonga at the hamlet of Nuku'alofa in order to teach Aleamotu'a and his people Christianity. Before the Wesleyan missionaries came to Nuku'alofa towards the end of 1827, a church had already been built there by the Tahitian teachers and about 300 people from the 191 area met regularly for worship. When Nathanial Turner, Cross and Weiss decided to establish themselves at Nuku'alofa, they [177] took over the little congregation, and it was here at Nuku'alofa that the Wesleyan mission began to flourish. Despite Ata's resistance at Hihifo certain chiefs of high rank from this area, such as Ulakai, son of Tuku'aho, joined the mission at Nuku'alofa.

Another important factor was the growing experience of the missionaries in dealing with the Tongans. This and the more tactful approach of some of the later missionaries contributed significantly to the breakthrough in the work of the mission. One of the outstanding personalities was the Reverend Nathaniel Turner. Unlike Lawry, Thomas and Hutchinson, Turner was a mature, well educated man with a progressive outlook. His experience with the Maoris of New Zealand, among whom he had worked for several years before he came to Tonga, seems to have given him many advantages. The experience helped him to develop a sympathetic understanding of the customs and traditions of the people, and gave him a crude familiarity with the fundamentals of the language, which enabled him to learn Tongan quickly and thoroughly. It was he who developed the Tongan [212] alphabet which, with some modification by the present King of Tonga in the 1940s, is still being used in Tonga today.

Unlike Thomas, who did not hesitate to dictate to the Tongans, Nathaniel Turner was very cautious. When he was asked questions relative to politics, shortly after arrival, he answered that because he was a stranger to their country, and consequently to their ways, he would rather say nothing (N. Turner, Journal, 29 Nov. 1827, WMMS 1818-36, item A2833). Where there were disputes among the chiefs in connection with the affairs of the mission, Turner would sit down and discuss the questions at issue with them in a manner the chiefs could understand. Williams and Barff (1830:64), the two L.M.S. missionaries who visited Tonga in 1830, spoke very highly of the love and respect which the Tongans—both Christians and heathens—showed to Turner. He was reluctantly forced to leave Tonga in 1831, for a healthier climate. However, before his departure he had the satisfaction of seeing the new arrivals, Peter Turner (no relation), James

797 Watkin and the printer, William Woon, and his printing press, settling in to their various appointments, and above all he had the thrill of witnessing the breakthrough in the work of the mission. The official historians of the mission rightly point out that 'Nathaniel Turner's coming had changed the face of everything for the mission, and for the future of Tonga. He had snatched victory out of imminent defeat, . . .'. They continued, 'rarely has any man accomplished so much for a people in so short a time' (Findlay and Holdsworth 1921:266-7). Assisted by a very able colleague, the Reverend William Cross, his work soon showed very promising results. As early as November 1828, Turner reported that the chapel at Nuku'alofa had overflowed and many were outside for want of room.

Anxious to maintain the interest of their converts, and to prevent backsliding, Turner and Cross took measures to ensure that their new followers would retain their involvement. Accordingly, in addition to ordinary services, the converts were organised in classes, and class meetings became an integral part of the mission work. There were classes for those who had become church members, where indivdual members related their spiritual experiences. Here, under the leadership of a missionary or one of their more capable Tongan converts, the members strove to help each other with spiritual and moral admonitions. There were also classes organised for those who had embraced Christianity but not yet become church members. These were designed as a means whereby the new converts would be prepared for membership. After referring to the memorable day of the first baptism service held in Tonga, Turner (Journal, 4 Jan. 1829, WMMS 1818-36, item A2835) said of the candidates:

> They have been under preparatory instruction for twelve weeks, and have given satisfactory evidence of work of God upon the minds—have chosen the new names for themselves. Mafileo—Noa; Takanoa—Mosese; Lauola—Ilaisa; Kavamoelolo—Banebasa; Vi—Bita; Lavemai—Siosifa; Mo'ugaevalu—Ioane, John.

Nine months after this momentous occasion, Turner reported that the number that met in class was about 180. He went on to say:

> Many of them evince a genuine work of God upon their minds. Their ardent desire for Instruction, their great progress in spiritual

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
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> knowledge, and their strict morality of conduct afford us the most satisfactory proof that they are indeed turned from darkness to light and from the power of Satan to God. (N. Turner to Committee, 31 Oct. 1829. WMMS 1818-36, item A2835)

He also reported that there were about one hundred candidates who were under preparation for baptism.

In these classes, members were taught the basic Wesleyan doctrines, and to respect the authority of the Bible as the source of these doctrines. They were taught that there was only one God; His Son, Jesus Christ, was the Saviour; and the Holy Spirit the comforter. Man was a child of God. But the first parents were corrupted by the Devil, and being the offspring of the first parents everyone was a sinner. The only hope lay in the acceptance of Jesus Christ, the Saviour, through the work of the Holy Spirit. On the Judgment Day, those who had responded to the work of the Holy Spirit, had accepted Christianity and renounced heathenism, would go to Heaven where there would be everlasting peace and happiness, and those who had refused to do so would go to Hell, where they would be tortured with everlasting fire.

Although these concepts of God, Man and Morality were new to the Tongans, they were presented so simply by the missionaries that many Tongans did not find them incomprehensible. Trinity was viewed in the light of their traditional principal and secondary gods. The concept of future life was not new, only different. The new morality was not difficult to understand, the problems associated with it were practical and not theoretical. The effects of these teachings on the minds of the Tongans is clearly expressed in the following testimony given by one of the early converts:

> I have been a very bad man, but I was ignorant. I knew nothing of Jehovah the great god, but since I have known him I have turned to him. He is my only King, my only God. I have no other. I shall soon die but I care nothing about my body . . . But my soul is what I think about, I am afraid of going to the great fire. I want to go to Heaven. (N. Turner, Journal, 17 Nov. 1828, WMMS 1818-36, item A2835)

Love feasts were also organised at which hymns were sung, prayers offered, and members of the congregation were encouraged to relate publicly their religious experiences. Turner recorded that

797 they had their first love feast after the afternoon service on 11 October 1829. One hundred and fifty members attended and 'those who spoke did so in a very pleasing and interesting manner indicating that the word and the spirit of the living God had been powerfully at work upon their minds' (N. Turner, Journal, 11 October 1829, WMMS 1818-36, item A2835). Sunday schools were started with the hope that they would be 'productive of much good' to the rising generation. Prayer meetings were organised and encouraged, and were conducted generally by Tongan exhorters and class leaders. Some of the Tongans conducted family prayer night and morning. Turner wrote how he heard Vī and Takanoa pray, and was both very pleased and edified by them, especially Takanoa. His prayer included 'the Creation, Fall and Redemption of man, and expressed in such a manner, as at once assured me that the understanding was clear respecting them, and the heart well affected with them'.

797 779 From the beginning, the translation of the Holy Bible into the Tongan language was regarded as a vitally important part of the work of the missionaries. As early as 1829, Turner wrote, 'I would just observe that if the conversion etc., of these islanders be our object, then we must have the Scriptures . . . brought into their language . . .' (N. Turner to Committee, 27 June 1829, WMMS 1818-36, item A2835). Four months later, he reported that he and his brethren had agreed to proceed in attempting a translation of some parts of the Scriptures. Each missionary was then allotted a portion of the Bible to translate.

797 [871] The missionaries took with them to Tonga the attitudes of the parent Society at home towards education. The Society promoted elementary education among their followers with vigour and enthusiasm for it was necessary to be able to read and understand the Scriptures. Facilities for the formal training of Methodist ministers both for home and overseas missions were not forthcoming until the middle of the nineteenth century. As a result, many were thrust into the work of the ministry with very little or no training at all. However, many undoubtedly accepted and followed closely Wesley's advice when he said:

> It is a shame for Christians not to improve on them, whatever he takes in hand. You should be continually learning from the experience

> of others or from your own experience, reading and reflection to do everything today better than you did it yesterday . . . Make the best of all that is in your hands. (Wesley, *Sermons*, I:709) 797

With the help of Wesley's own works and directions to his 'helpers', many of the missionaries, like their colleagues at home, did their best to remedy the deficiencies of their education, and a number succeeded well. 'I and my colleagues', wrote one of the early pioneeer missionaries in Tonga, 'have undertaken to do something in Latin-Greek-and Hebrew, Logic and Divinity every week' (P. Turner, Journal, 30 Nov. 1841). In addition to religious magazines and papers, some included on their reading lists works on politics, history (English, Greek, Roman), Pacific research, physics, astronomy, medicine and also biographical works (P. Turner, Books read: 12). Those who did not appear to make efforts at self-improvement were sharply rebuked.

The missionaries regarded the establishment of schools as a must, not only in order to enable their converts to read the Bible and to communicate with each other in writing, but also to help combat some of the superstitious beliefs of the people and facilitate the understanding of the new concepts they had to introduce. The first school to be established in Tonga was at Hihifo. It was opened by John Thomas and his wife, but it did not last long because of Ata's opposition. Before the mission at Hihifo was abandoned in 1829, several of the young men from there moved to Nuku'alofa in order to attend the school there. 797 871

It was at Nuku'alofa that schools really flourished under the leadership of Nathaniel Turner and William Cross. Their first school was opened on 17 March 1828 (Cross to Committee, 8 Sept. 1828, WMMS 1818-36, item A2834). In September of the same year attendance had risen to 150, Turner instructing the males and Cross the females. The main purpose of the schools was to teach both children and adults to read and write in the Tongan language. To begin with, the missionaries had to reduce the language into writing and then to write out everything they taught. Apparently some read as fast as the missionaries could produce these lessons for them. This was not surprising since many Tongans were eager to learn to read and write even before the arrival of the missionaries. 797 872 212

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Commander J. M. Laws, of His Majesty's Sloop *Satellite*, described the situation as he saw it in 1829:

> At Tongataboo I found the natives most amicably disposed and their intellectual superiority over those of the Society Islands is very remarkable, though they are seldom visited by Europeans . . . Most of the chiefs are young men who could make themselves understood in English, and when we asked them the names of the different islands, many of them would take a slate and write them down, some agreeing to a letter with Captain Cook's account, this they have learnt from the English missionaries, three of whom are settled here, and who to my astonishment, informed me they had begun to teach the natives writing only five months ago, and in that time they had completely exhausted their stock of Tonga literature, and were now learning English of their own. (Laws 1829)

Owing to the increased pressure on the missionaries' time and energy there was a real need for further teaching aids. Turner reported on 27 June 1829 that they were forwarding a work to the colony to be printed.[1] Meanwhile Cross prepared little books in the form of tracts. Children read them to their parents at home, and when some of the already literate people went to distant parts of the islands to visit their friends, they took great pleasure in taking their books to read to them, and some started to read and even write before they attended school. Thus the popularity of school work and the novelty of literacy spread.

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The glamour of being able to read and write drew so many people to the schools—young and old alike—that the missionaries could not keep up with the demand. Turner wrote:

> Never did I see and feel the importance of time so much as I do now, the wants of the people are great, and they are continually pressing upon us to furnish them with something to read. The ears of hundreds are opened to listen to the 'Word of the Book' but alas they have no book today—Oh! that we had but a press and some one that could manage it, then would these hungry souls soon feed as in green pasture. (N. Turner to Committee, 27 June 1829, WMMS 1818-36, item A2835)

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[1] The work covered the alphabet and spelling lessons; first reading lessons; the history of Creation and the Fall and other Biblical topics; a catechism, Ten Commandments and twelve hymns (N. Turner to Committee, 27 June 1829, WMMS 1818-36, item A2835).

797 214 The rapidly increasing demand for books emphasised the need for a local press. This, together with many other growing demands of the mission was alleviated by the arrival of reinforcements in 1831. William Woon, the first printer in Tonga, set up his printing press on 4 April. The first book printed in Tonga was published on 14 April 1831. It was a school book containing four pages, and there were 3.000 copies printed (Woon to Committee, 25 April 1831, WMMS 1818-36, item A2837). Printing attracted great attention and people called from all parts of the island to witness the process. Woon claimed that, through the operations of the press, 'much light had been diffused, and the people were renouncing their superstitions, and turning to God with full purpose of heart' (*W-M Mag.*, March 1833:224).

797 In his memorable work, *The History of the London Missionary Society,* William Ellis put his finger on one of the very important factors which helped the work of the missionaries in the islands of the South Seas. He wrote:

> It is generally and justly supposed that medical knowledge is one of the most valuable qualifications a missionary can possess; that its skilful and successful application is one of the best means of gaining influence among the people and predisposing them to regard with favour his endeavours to direct their minds to the heavenly Physician, and the means of healing and life to the soul. (Ellis 1844:59)

164 [177] The contact with the Europeans introduced new diseases to the islands which the Tongans were unable to cure, and which subsequently claimed many lives. However, there were also diseases which had been with the Tongans before European contact, and which they had come to accept as a matter of course, knowing neither their causes nor any way of curing them. One of these diseases the Tongans called *tona* (yaws). Everyone was expected to suffer from it at one time or another, though it was preferable to get it at an early age. Peter Bays (1831:69) gave a graphic description of this disease in 1830 when he wrote:

> In some cases which I saw, the sinews of the legs were drawn up, where the joints were affected; in others, two inches of bone were eaten entirely bare by the flies, hundreds of which were then feeding upon the corrupted flesh, while the *patient,* (a name so very appropriate in the present instance) who, either from superstition, or so callous

> 164 and accustomed to this plague, or pest of mankind, in these parts, either does not feel them, or is so unconcerned that he walks about as indifferent as though little or nothing ailed him.

753 Afflicted with their traditional ailments, as well as the newly introduced ones, and lacking knowledge of either their causes or 776 cures, the Tongans attributed these misfortunes to the anger of the gods or the displeasure of the spirits of deceased kin. Accordingly, they believed that there was a direct connection between the efficacy of medicine and the power and truth of the god, whether the medicine was that provided by the missionary or by the heathen priest.

● 797 Fortunately for the cause of the mission, the missionaries at Nuku'alofa were more successful in combating disease than John 758 Thomas had been at Hihifo. Nathaniel Turner wrote of their experience in this regard:

> I must just observe in this place that our success in this respect has been the means of bringing many over to our cause from different parts of the Island. When a cure has been wrought, the individual has gone home to his friends, and they all beholding what has been done for him, the whole family, and, in some instances, families have come over to live at Nuku'alofa, and attend to religious instruction. (N. Turner to Committee, 6 May 1831, WMMS 1818-36, item A2832)

The importance of this aspect of the missionaries' work soon became apparent, and consequently dispensary hours had become part of their regular activities.

797 The missionaries' goods—articles of trade—were highly prized by the Tongan people, and these also helped to turn the interest 439 of the people towards the missionaries and their work. 'If I had good trade', wrote John Thomas, 'it would not only be a saving of time, but tend to produce a good feeling upon the minds of the natives towards us and the good cause' (Thomas, Journal, 2 [342] June 1826). Even John Thomas's dwelling house was something of great wonder to the people. It was the first European house [177] built in Tonga, having two storeys with various apartments, with panel doors in front, and glass windows, and was something which they had never seen before. These things captured their imagination and became the chief topics of conversation not only

in Tongatapu but in the other islands as well. Many were initially 797 439
attracted to the mission because they believed that through the mission they would get European goods.

The friendly relationship which existed between the missionaries and the captains of British men-of-war which occasionally visited the islands, and the respect the latter always displayed for the former, meant a lot to the missionaries and to their work. It enhanced their prestige in the eyes of the Tongans. It is easy to comprehend the reasoning of the unsophisticated mind. 'Surely', [776]
they would think to themselves, 'if the God of the white people could make these men-of-war and their guns and powder, it must be true that He is the only God.'

The commander of the H.M.S. *Seringapatam*, the Hon. William Waldegrave, removed five Europeans from Vava'u who had been troublesome to the work of the missionaries (*W-M Mag.*, 1831: 712), and later the British Consul in Samoa, George Pritchard, removed two Americans who had robbed the mission and made two others work on its behalf for ten weeks (P. Turner, Journal, 1 Nov. 1849).

While it was true that one of the main obstacles to the success 797 565
of the mission was the objection of the chiefs, it is equally true to say that the breakthrough in the work of the missionaries was significantly due to the support given it by certain important chiefs in Tonga. Like the other chiefs during the initial period of European contact, they coveted European wealth, technological knowledge and power. However, the two groups differed significantly in their beliefs as to the best method of achieving their common ambitions.

The opponents of Christian mission on the one hand strongly [776]
believed that success would be achieved through the old gods and by means of the traditional religion. Significantly, most of these chiefs were more successful in the power-struggle which had been going on in the group at this time. They had no reason to doubt the validity of the old order, and they were eager to maintain the *status quo*. Others, on the other hand, became disillusioned by [776]
what they interpreted as the failure of their gods to achieve what they wanted, and they began to question the validity and effectiveness of the traditional religion. Some among them decided to

797 565 challenge some of the long-established traditions which hampered their ambitions. In doubting the old religion some began to believe, quite genuinely, that the only way to achieve their ambitions of acquiring the wealth, knowledge and power of the white man was to adopt his religion. They believed that the white man acquired all these from his superior and more powerful god.

797 643 It was initially for this reason that the Tu'i Kanokupolu family decided to accept and support the Wesleyan mission. Probably this was the most significant factor in the breakthrough which the mission enjoyed. As Ata's refusal to accept Christianity hampered the growth of the mission, its acceptance by Aleamotu'a and Tāufa'āhau (later to be known as King George) facilitated its breakthrough and accelerated its growth.

The original motive behind the conversion of these chiefs appears to have been political. After the death of Tupouto'a in 1820, a Tu'i Kanokupolu was not installed for almost eight years. The various sub-divisions of Tonga remained autonomous, each under its own paramount chief. In Tongatapu, the main island, power was at this time virtually in the hands of the Ha'a Havea. It was probably due to their powerful pressure that the 'electoral college' did not bother to appoint another Tu'i Kanokupolu for so long.

This state of affairs must have considerably influenced Aleamotu'a, his nephew, Ulakai, and the Tu'i Kanokupolu family [776] in their decision to accept Christianity. The impotence of their own gods in the face of their present political plight no doubt predisposed them to accept more readily the idea of the Almighty Jehovah as the only true and omnipotent God, one who could offer them hope when their own traditional gods failed to do so. At this opportune time Tākai and Langi arrived at Nuku'alofa with the Tahitian teachers, Hape and Davida.

The Tahitian teachers knew neither Tongan nor English, but apparently old Aleamotu'a expressed a deep desire to learn the English language. For this reason he wanted to have European missionaries and he visited Hihifo several times for this purpose in 1826. In December, Thomas wrote, 'Tpobo [Tupou Aleamotu'a] the chief of Noogaloff [Nuku'alofa] prefers English missionaries as he wants to learn the English language. He would be glad in case Mr. Hutchinson leaves, for me to go to that place' (Thomas, Journal, 19 December 1826). 797

When Thomas decided to send Weiss back to Sydney for a 643 bigger vessel so that they could all return to the colony in 1827, Aleamotu'a went to see him before the whaler left Tonga. He gave Weiss gifts and pleaded with him to ask his authorities to send him a missionary. It was not surprising then, when Weiss returned with Turner and Cross, that they decided to establish themselves at Nuku'alofa under Aleamotu'a.

Because of the strong opposition from the other chiefs, the Ha'a Havea members of the 'electoral college' in particular, Aleamotu'a ceased to attend worship and requested the missionaries not to conduct public worship in the chapel until his installation as Tu'i Kanokupolu was over. After his installation he rejoined the worshipping group. He was later baptised on 18 January 1830 as Siosaia (Josiah) Aleamotu'a by Nathaniel Turner.

Meanwhile, having accepted Christianity, Aleamotu'a sent one [634] of his relatives, Tupoutoutai, to Fīnau 'Ulukālala, ruler of Vava'u, and his nephew, Ulakai, to Tāufa'āhau, ruler of Ha'apai to advise them, particularly Tāufa'āhau his grand-nephew, to become Christian. According to one account, the messengers 'explained that Tonga [Tongatapu] was ruled by the Ha'a Havea, and Ha'a Ngata . . . and the rest, and if they fight us on account of the Lotu, we will have the British to help us' (H. Moulton, Notes on Tongan History: 46b).

Whatever the true motives behind these conversions of the 797 chiefs, clearly they had a significant influence in turning the people 565 from heathenism to Christianity. Their own people turned with them. Those who resisted later turned, after the chiefs under whom they lived had been defeated by the Christians led by Tāufa'āhau.

If the missionaries needed the help of the chiefs to further their objectives, the chiefs of the Tu'i Kanokupolu family were equally in need of the missionaries at this time. Their mutual dependence on each other created a powerful union—a marriage of convenience—which determined the course of future political development in Tonga.

The decision of Tāufa'āhau to accept Christianity was the 797 643

797 643 greatest asset the missionaries gained in their struggle to establish Christianity in Tonga. Like several of his predecessors and contemporaries among the Tongan chiefs, Tāufa'āhau had become sceptical of the Tongan gods and the traditional religious practices. He had reason to doubt his family gods, for they had failed to come to his father's aid in his vain attempt to subdue the Ha'a Havea chiefs. Nor had they assisted him in his initial struggle against Laufilitonga at Velata. He had only been wounded once during his long career of fighting, and this occurred during the battle of Velata. In one of the skirmishes, Tāufa'āhau left his back to the protection of the gods and a chief named Faka-'iloatonga speared him from behind. Though he was only slightly wounded on his left calf, the failure of the gods to protect him on this occasion only intensified his doubts. Increasing contact with Europeans and the superiority of their weapons also helped to undermine his beliefs in the traditional gods.

With the encouragement from his great-uncle Aleamotu'a he resolved to find out as much as he could about Christianity. After several trips to Tongatapu in 1827 and early in 1828, where he met the missionaries and some of his relatives, particularly his uncle, Ulakai, and great-uncle Aleamotu'a, who had adopted the new religion, he began to imitate some of the ways of the Christians. He also tried to make his people learn them. One of the early missionaries wrote:

> from that time, he voluntarily abandoned various heathen amusements to which he had been addicted; and he began to observe, in some measure, the sanctity of the Sabbath day by ceasing from all his ordinary occupations. So anxious was he to make a beginning in the service of God, and to initiate the instruction of the people under him, after the example of the missionaries in Tongatabu, that he employed the services of a rough, ungodly sailor, then residing under his protection, to trace the letters of the alphabet upon the sands of the seashore, for the benefit of those who wished to learn; and he ordered the same man to conduct prayers to the God of the foreigners, in a house which he devoted to that purpose. (West 1865:357-8)

In October 1828, while in Tongatapu, on one of his trips, he told Nathaniel Turner about his desire to have a missionary sent to him at Ha'apai. Turner wrote that he was more encouraged by Tāufa'āhau than by Fīnau 'Ulukālala Tuapasi of Vava'u, who had also spoken to Turner on the same subject (N. Turner to Committee, 27 Nov. 1828, WMMS 1818-36, item A2835). However, the missionaries had to be certain that Tāufa'āhau was not just interested in their trade goods, as were many of the other chiefs. Consequently, when Tāufa'āhau visited Tongatapu again in July 1829 in quest of a missionary, the Reverend John Thomas spoke to him freely on this matter. Tāufa'āhau replied that he did not want him for his property. He wanted only his person and he offered to clothe him and to build a house for him free of expense. He said he would build a chapel, and he and all his people would come to be taught by him, and if Thomas wished to go away he could take whatever he wanted. Thomas continued in his journal, 'From all I can see and hear respecting him he is a free honest open hearted man and that his request calls aloud' (Thomas, Journal, 8 July 1829).

The missionaries were not slow to recognise that the future of Tonga lay with Tāufa'āhau. Ata's consistent refusal to accept Christianity or allow his people to do so gave the missionaries the opportunity to comply with Tāufa'āhau's request. They decided to abandon the mission at Hihifo and sent Thomas to Tāufa'āhau in Ha'apai. However, because they had to get approval from the Committee in London for their decision, they resolved to send Pita Vī, one of the first to be baptised in Tonga, to teach Tāufa'āhau until Thomas himself was able to go.

Tāufa'āhau revisited Tongatapu in August and, when he was told of the missionaries' decision, he expressed deep disappointment that the missionaries saw fit to send him merely a Tongan teacher. He then refused to take Pita Vī with him to Ha'apai. On their way back he and his men ran into an exceptionally severe storm and with great difficulty they reached Ha'apai. Thinking that the storm was divine retribution for his refusal to take the teacher offered him by the missionaries, he presently returned to Tongatapu, apologised, and took Pita Vī with him.

With typical enthusiasm and determination, he applied himself to his new faith, attempting to further his knowledge of it as much as he could. Pita Vī reported that he led the way for his people in learning to read and write. Vī must have told him

797 stories from the Bible, including the stories of the Children of Israel and the Ten Commandments in particular.

643 As a man of action, Tāufa'āhau wanted to test the validity and power of the old gods and to discover by experience whether
797 Jehovah was the only true God. He began by destroying a large
643 canoe which had long been kept as sacred to their gods. Then one day he took Pita Vī and others with him to test the power
776 of the god Haehaetahi. On their arrival at the house of the god's
798 priestess, Tāufa'āhau asked her to let the god come so that they could have *kava* together.

> Hereupon [narrated Pita Vi] the old priestess became inspired by Haehaetahi; and, in the meanwhile, Taufa-ahau had prepared a great drinking- cup. . . . The cup was then filled and handed by Taufa-ahau to the priestess; but, while her face was turned upwards, in the act of drinking off its contents, Taufa-ahau struck her a great blow on the forehead, which sent the god (or priestess) rolling on the ground. He then gave her another blow, and, raising a shout of victory, cried out that the god was slain. (West 1865:364)

The chiefs of Ha'apai were already upset by Tāufa'āhau's commitment to the new religion, but after his treatment of
661 Haehaetahi they were greatly alarmed. A plan was drawn up by their leaders, in which Tāufa'āhau was to be seized and bound, and the small band of followers of the new religion killed. Up to this time Tāufa'āhau had not yet joined the Christians in their religious meetings, but, on discovering the chiefs' plot, he decided to join them openly in their prayer meetings. Soon afterwards he and Vī went out to the bush and collected objects used for worship in the old religion, built a fire and burnt them all. Then they went to the sea. Tāufa'āhau swam out to the deep, calling the names of the gods, Haehaetahi (a shark), Tāufa'itahi, and others to come to him if they were really gods, but none came.

Tāufa'āhau did not confine his testing to the heathen gods alone. By way of testing the power of the Christian God, whilst on a canoe voyage, he cast his spear at a shark, which he suspected to be Haehaetahi, and, missing it, threw Pita Vī and another man overboard to fetch the spear and bring it to Hā'ano. He reasoned that if Jehovah were really God, he would save Pita Vī and his companion from the sharks. Fortunately for the mission, Vī and his friend arrived safely on shore with the spear (Collocott 797 n.d.:75).

Convinced by what he had learned and by the results of his tests 643 that the Christian God was the only God, Tāufa'āhau became an 798 ardent crusader for his new-found faith. He wasted no time in [776] launching a full-scale campaign to eradicate heathenism in Ha'apai. He and his followers burned down god-houses and destroyed effigies on other islands, persuading and even forcing the people to give up their traditional beliefs and accept Christianity. When Thomas finally arrived in 1830, only three islands (Nomuka, Tungua and 'Uiha) out of the eighteen inhabited islands of the Ha'apai group had not yet accepted the *lotu* (Farmer 1855: 204-5).

Tāufa'āhau had at this time merely accepted the new God on 797 the same terms as those on which he had accepted or served the traditional ones, and he had not fully grasped the meaning to 643 Christians of such concepts as mercy and forbearance. He was the ruler of Ha'apai, desperately seeking what was best for himself and his people, and there was no other way to find this out than by applying drastic measures to prove whether his scepticism of the old gods was justified and his acceptance of the new faith was right. After becoming convinced himself, he went on to demonstrate to his people that infringements of the old religious taboos brought no penalties. His rank and position as ruler entitled him to do what he did. He was baptised on 7 August 1831, but before this he had chosen for himself the name King George. 'I would remark here', wrote Peter Turner (Journal, 13 June [551] 1831), 'that the King of Haabai [Tāufa'āhau], tho' not yet baptized—was called King George—as he had chosen the name because of [sic] the late King of England was called George.'

In the same year he managed, with considerable difficulty, to 634 persuade Fīnau 'Ulukālala Tuapasi, ruler of Vava'u, to become 797 converted. Prior to this Fīnau had been bitter against the missionaries and the new religion, and had persecuted those who were sympathetic to Christianity, mainly because of the failure of the missionaries to comply with his request for a missionary. In response to Aleamotu'a's advice to accept Christianity in 1828 he had sent a letter to Nathaniel Turner, pleading with him to

634 send to Port Jackson for some missionaries to come to Vava'u
797 to teach him and his people (Farmer 1855:171). Later in the
same year while in Tongatapu he spoke to Nathaniel Turner on
the subject, but because of the shortage of the missionaries Turner
634 could do nothing about it at the time. However, Tāufa'āhau suc-
cessfully persuaded him to drop this opposition to the mission
797 work and accept Christianity. With 'Ulukālala's assistance, King
643 George extended his crusade to Vava'u. 'Ulukālala ordered that
all worshipping places and gods be burnt down throughout Vava'u.

798 The missionaries realised that traditionally King George and
Fīnau 'Ulukālala were acting within the bounds of their authority,
being rulers of Ha'apai and Vava'u respectively. Religiously, they
regarded it as a triumph of Jehovah over Baal for 'Thou shalt
have none other gods before me . . .' nor 'make unto thee a graven
634 image, nor the likeness of any form . . .'. However, these actions
797 sparked off a rebellion in Vava'u against 'Ulukālala, led by his
half-brother Lualala. 'Ulukālala appealed to King George for
643 help. The latter responded immediately, and he and his warriors
669 from Ha'apai promptly put down the rebellion with a minimal
loss of life. All of Vava'u then accepted Christianity.

643 The success of the union between the Tu'i Kanokupolu family
and the Wesleyan missionaries both in putting down political rivals
797 and turning the people to Christianity was regarded by both sides
as the work of providence. When Fīnau 'Ulukālala and the people
of Vava'u turned to Christianity, one of the missionaries excitedly
declared, 'A king and his people waiting for God's laws! Satan's
cause trembles and falls; at the name of Jesus idolatry bows down;
it is crumbled into dust . . . This is the Lord's doing, and it is
marvellous in our eyes' (Thomas, Journal, 27 April 1831).

[634] In 1833 'Ulukālala died after nominating King George his
successor, and King George became ruler of both Ha'apai and
Vava'u. Soon after, in the same year, he tricked Malupō and the
warriors of 'Uiha, the last stronghold of heathenism in Ha'apai,
into accepting the new religion, thus completing the 'Christianisation' of the whole of the northern groups of Ha'apai and
Vava'u.

797 While the part played by the missionaries in the initial con-
version of Tongans to the Wesleyan mission is undisputed, one

must also acknowledge the deep involvement of the Tongans 797
themselves in the drive for success. For largely political and
economic motives initially, certain chiefs decided to accept [565]
Christianity, but later, because of personal conviction through
religious experience, some became ardent evangelists and religious
leaders among their own people. Referring to King George, Dr R. [643]
B. Lyth (Journal, 6 Feb. 1838), one of the early missionaries to
Tonga wrote:

> One circumstance connected with our voyage—struck me with admiration. Our royal Captain towards evening summoned his men to the worship of God and again before sunrise—They sang a hymn together and they knelt down to prayer as the frail canoe urged its way thro' the deep the King himself—the Father of his people—acting as Priest.

In addition to the involvement of traditional leaders, the [565]
use of the vernacular as the medium of instruction helped to make the Bible and the teaching of the missionaries meaningful and attractive to the commoners, who had very little to lose by accepting Christianity, for the traditional religion had no place for them. Ultimately, the breakthrough in the work of the missionaries in Tonga came about because, at this stage, enough strong and influential numbers of chiefs and their supporters believed that Christianity fulfilled certain important needs of the society—both individually and collectively.

4 *The Consolidation*

791 The nominal acceptance of Christianity by whole communities in Ha'apai and Vava'u through the influence of King George and Fīnau 'Ulukālala Tuapasi confronted the missionaries with the enormous tasks of not only teaching the people Christian principles and ways of living, but also that of encouraging them to attain some sort of religious experience, a vitally important aspect of the Wesleyan approach to Christian conversion. Whether by deliberate policy or by the force of circumstances, the missionaries recognised the potential strength of involving the Tongans in the mission's activities and, to their credit, encouraged and utilised it in their efforts to consolidate their work. This involvement helped the Tongans to identify with the work of the mission and its achievements, and gave them a new sense of pride.

With their very limited training, many of the Tongan converts became local preachers, class leaders, teachers, and assistant missionaries. They greatly aided the missionaries in converting and educating the people. Most prominent among these was Pita Vī—one of the first seven baptised in Tonga, and of whom the missionaries had good reason to be proud. We have seen how Pita Vī was sent to Ha'apai to teach Tāufa'āhau and his people in 1829 before John Thomas was able to go there in 1830. When Fīnau 'Ulukālala and the people of Vava'u turned to Christianity, Paula Nau was sent there as a teacher, before any European missionary was available. In 1832, one of the missionaries in Ha'apai wrote:

> The week past has been stormy, which occasioned me some anxiety for five of our Local Preachers who had gone to various islands for the purpose of making known the truth, and were wind bound. I was afraid it would prove a trial to them as it was the first enterprize of the kind, but my fears were dissipated upon the arrival of some of them, for they professed themselves delighted with the work and anxious to prosecute it. One of them had preached 8 times at 4 different islands, others of them 4 times, thus the seed is scattered

> in places previously unvisited and light is springing up in darkness. (Watkin, Journal, 6 Aug. 1832)

Almost all of Lofanga accepted Christianity through the work of two native teachers who were local inhabitants. At Hā'ano 200 persons were added to the classes on 1 April 1832, also through the work of the Tongan teachers (P. Turner, Journal, 1 April 1847). Christianity was also spread to Niua Toputapu and Niua Fo'ou by the native teachers.

One of the most important phenomena in the consolidation of the mission work at the early stage of its development was what is generally referred to by Methodist historians as the 'religious revival' or 'the Pentecost of Tonga', which occurred in Tonga for the first time in 1834, and in which the Tongans themselves were deeply involved.

John Wesley emphasised the doctrine of Sanctification, Christian Perfection or Holiness. This was the task of keeping the newly justified life holy from day to day by faith. It meant that Christian perfection should lead to exemplariness in all things. Wesley practised his own precepts by becoming involved in the great public issues and problems of his day, and by working unceasingly to help the poor, the sick, and the distressed.

Unfortunately many of his successors, including most of the missionaries who went to Tonga, interpreted his teachings narrowly, and the notion of holiness often came to mean in their preaching little more than personal goodness, with little or no regard for the problems of the society. This transcendental emphasis drove them to dwell more on the life to come, in their preaching, than on the here and now, and laid great emphasis upon the eternal tortures of Hell and the everlasting bliss of Heaven, with the inevitable result of putting a tremendous stress on emotionalism.

The Reverend Peter Turner was a powerful man, of a kind entirely different from John Thomas and Nathaniel Turner. Unlike Nathaniel, Peter had no hesitation in involving himself in politics as 'an adviser', but what really distinguished him from the others was his fervent desire for religious revival. He had some experience of Methodist revivals at home, and for him the religious revival was absolutely essential. 'I prefer some move

197 among the people', he wrote, 'tho' there may be some few irregularities—I do not like irregularities—but almost anything is preferable to a deadness of feeling' (P. Turner, Journal, 9 April 1847).

Some of Peter Turner's colleagues did not share his enthusiasm for religious revival. The Reverend Stephen Rabone, for example, concluded a service at Hihifo, Ha'apai, because the people began to pray and cry to such an extent that his voice was not audible, and eight or ten adults were so overcome that they had to be carried out. He believed that the weak, well-meaning people needed instruction and direction (Rabone, Journal, 27 Nov. 1845). In a similar situation, Peter Turner applied an entirely different technique:

> During the prayers [he wrote]—one or another continued to weep and cry out. At length my own mind could contain no longer and the weeping became general . . . I made many attempts to preach as I had proposed but could not speak a half a dozen words. So we turned the service into a prayer-meeting—and allowed some few to relate their Christian experience. It was a wonderful time to many, much weeping and melting of hearts. (P. Turner, Journal, 25 Mar. 1853)

The theological validity and psychological soundness of the revival movement in Tonga have been questioned, not only by outsiders, but by fellow mission workers as well, yet there is no doubt that the movement was a powerful factor in the conversion of many Tongans to Christianity.

Deeply concerned with the superficiality with which many of the Tongans had professed Christianity, Peter Turner and his colleague in Vava'u, the Reverend David Cargill,[1] called the more spiritually-minded leaders among their followers to pray earnestly for a revival. The group decided to pray every day at noon asking God for what they called 'the baptism of the Holy Spirit'. As a result, on Tuesday, 23 July 1834, in a service conducted by a Tongan local preacher at the village called 'Utui, the revival movement began. While he was giving a discourse on Christ's lament over Jerusalem:

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[1] For health reasons John Hutchinson returned to Australia in 1828 and Nathaniel Turner in 1831. In 1833 William Woon, the printer, left for New Zealand and John Hobbs from New Zealand replaced him. Towards the end of the same year, Charles Tucker and David Cargill arrived from England. The latter was the first trained scholar to be sent to Tonga. He was a Master of Arts of Aberdeen. By 1834 P. Turner and Cargill were in Vava'u, Watkin and Tucker in Ha'apai, and John Thomas (chairman), Cross and Hobbs in Tongatapu.

> there came upon the congregation an overwhelming spirit of contrition. Every soul was prostrate before God; many cried aloud in agony, some making open confession of past sins. Through the whole night weeping and prayers for pardon continued at Utui. The morning was greeted with shouts of joy over the assurance of God's forgiving love . . . on the next Sunday, at another village, the entire population of five hundred, attending the service, was seized by the same influence. From village to village, from island to island, the holy epidemic spread. (Findlay and Holdsworth 1921:305-6)

Normal activities ground to a halt, and schools were closed while five or six prayer meetings a day were organised.

The movement reached Ha'apai on 30 August, and Charles Tucker wrote:

> Oh what a solemn, but joyful sight! One thousand or more individuals bowed before the Lord, weeping at the feet of Jesus and praying in an agony of soul. I never saw such distress, never heard such cries for mercy or such confessions of sin before. These things were universal, from the greatest chiefs in the land to the meanest of the people. (Findlay and Holdsworth 1921:307)

On 6 October, it reached Tongatapu, but its effect was limited to the existing congregations for the resistance to Christianity was still formidable there.

Undoubtedly, many were swept off their feet by the emotionalism of the mass conversion at these religious revival meetings, and before they really knew where they were, they found themselves enlisted as members of the mission. For many, such a decision could only have been made under the influence of hysteria. But when the accumulation of emotions and the excitement and glamour of mass enthusiasm wore off, when it had become clear that their hope of material gain through accepting Christianity was not to be realised and that by accepting the new religion they had to give up many of their heathen practices, dis-

79: Lātūkefu H,I,M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
OU9 Tonga OU9

● 797 contentment and tedium made their appearance. Many fell back
to their old ways and Peter Turner himself lamented that 'these
movements so soon die away' (P. Turner, Journal, 24 Nov. 1844).

However, Peter Turner pointed out that the revival had made many of the young men desire to work for God, and more than a hundred were brought forward who wished to be employed as exhorters or local preachers. Those who stood firm, chiefs and commoners alike, formed a very strong and militant team of evangelists who proved to be of great assistance to the work of the missionaries.

797 Foremost among these was King George himself. Before the
revival movement there was an obvious want of depth in his
643 acceptance of Christianity. When the chapel at Lifuka was constructed King George was grieved to find that the pulpit was the
797 highest point within its walls. This was to him a violation of a
643 taboo which maintained that no subject of his should sit or stand
644 above him. To rectify this he had a platform built for himself on
the opposite side higher than the pulpit. Later in 1833 when he
346 took over the rulership of Vava'u he decided to inherit some of
797 his predecessor's younger and more attractive wives as well. Peter
Turner promptly disciplined him by terminating his membership
643 of the Society.

595 In the following year King George repented, married Lupe
Pau'u[2] in a Christian ceremony (Watkin, Journal, 27 Mar. 1834),
797 and was readmitted to his former position in the mission. He and
his wife were deeply involved in the revival movement. When he
643 returned to Lifuka he had the tall platform in the chapel pulled
[644] down, and from that time on he sat at the same level on the floor
[346] in the chapel with his subjects. He became a local preacher, a
very ardent evangelist and was instrumental in converting many
of his people. Both he and his wife became class leaders assisting
the development of the spiritual life of their people. Many of his
fellow chiefs in Ha'apai and Vava'u followed his example.

797 As for the commoners, they had little to lose but rather much
to gain by accepting Christianity. Now for the first time they
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[774] [2] Lupe Pau'u had been the principal wife of the Tu'i Tonga, Laufilitonga, before she eloped with Tāufa'āhau in 1833 and they were married by the missionaries in 1834.

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
OU9 Tonga OU9

were told that they had souls after all, and like the chiefs they had 797
every right to life after death. Their enthusiasm may be illustrated 565
by the testimony of Ilaiakimi Tāufa recorded by the Reverend R. [774]
Young (1854:246) during his visit to Tonga in 1853:

> When the Gospel reached Tonga I heard, and was convinced of its truth, but not saved. I was converted at the great revival here. In reading the book of the Prophet Isaiah, I was powerfully impressed . . . one night it appeared to me as though a light shone within, and brought to my view my many sins . . . I saw that Christ alone could save, and that nothing else was sufficient for me. The Lord saved me: when I felt an immediate desire to praise him, and to show others the way to that good which I had obtained.

Many became very devout and sincere, and some were even prepared to give up everything they had for their faith.

It was reported that during an eruption at Niua Fo'ou friends 797
offered to take away the native missionary, Semisi Fonua, who was
looking after the work on the island, but he resolved to remain 731
with his flock, even if he should perish with them. 'I did not come here to live only,' he replied, 'but [if necessary] to die. Just so, I am not [so much] afraid of this burning as I am afraid of meeting Jehovah in the end of time. Therefore I shall remain' (Dyson, Papers of . . ., VI:67). Such was the spirit and devotion of many of the Tongan converts who became a tremendous asset to the mission work.

The medical part of the missionaries' work continued to assume 797
greater importance. It increasingly attracted people to the Society,
who would not have gone a mile to hear a sermon, but who 758
travelled many miles for a dose of medicine. Accordingly, dispensary hours became part of the regular routine. Some missionaries spent two hours every morning on clinical work. The success of the missionaries' medicine dealt a fatal blow to heathenism, for while it was more difficult for the Tongans to comprehend many of the abstract principles of Christianity, they could easily see the beneficial effects of medicine, especially when diseases were so prevalent and the death rate was so high. Many renounced their gods and still more began to doubt their long-established traditional beliefs.

In spite of the urgency placed on the translation of the Bible, 797
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797 779 the task appeared to be dragging, to the great concern of some of the missionaries. 'I am ashamed for the District', wrote Rabone, 'we are not of one heart and mind, therefore we do not go on with our work [translating]' (Rabone, Journal, 12 Dec. 1846). However, in 1853, the Reverend Richard Amos was able to write concerning a revised edition of the New Testament:

> As far as I have examined the book, I am persuaded that it is decidedly the best edition we have had, and greatly superior to any former one. If it had been printed with accented letters to mark the quantity of vowels, and the catches, or breaks, peculiar to the language, I think it might have been pronounced perfect. (*W-M Mag.*, Sept. 1854:871)

The Bible had a far-reaching effect on the lives of the people. It was not only regarded as the authority on Christian doctrine but also on day-to-day behaviour. King George called it 'a compass, a chart, telling us where we are and where to go' (Young 1854:443), and many people committed to memory long passages from it. A story is told of a sick man who, in two months, had committed to memory the books of Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians and I Thessalonians and who used to repeat a book at a time. 'Mrs. Wilson [the missionary's wife] sometimes sent him his dinner; and on one occasion, when the girl took it to him, she said, "Have you had anything to eat today?" He replied in the affirmative. "What have you had?" enquired the girl. "Had?" said he, "I have eaten the whole of the Corinthians"' (Farmer 1855:398).

797 871 The missionaries, right from the beginning, gave education a high priority in their work. Accordingly, in their efforts to consolidate their gain, promotion of education was one of the most important tools. At the District Meeting in Vava'u in May 1850, the members were unanimous in their views with regard to education. 'We must have schools in every place,' they declared, '. . . thus elevating the rising race with the Bible in their hands, far above the darkness and baseness of heathenism, and the wicked intrigues of Popery' (*W-M Mag.*, 1851:823).

[649] [829] The Tongans responded to this call with great enthusiasm. King George himself took the lead and supported in every way possible the missionaries' efforts to build schools and training

institutions, convinced that the only thing that differentiated the 797
white man from the others in ability and wisdom was their possession 871
of superior knowledge. In a sermon preached from Hosea 643
4:6, 'My people are destroyed for lack of knowledge', King 829
George declared:

> See what knowledge has done for the white man! See what ignorance has done for the men of this land! Is it that white men are born more wise? Is it that they are naturally more capable than others? No: but they have obtained knowledge . . . This is the principal cause of the difference. (Young 1854:443)

Schools followed conversion throughout the islands of the group 797
in order to meet the demands of the people. The more new schools 871
were established, the heavier the demand for teachers became.
Teachers were recruited from among the ranks of local preachers,
and many were ill-suited for their task. So weekly teachers' meetings 875
were organised in order to help teachers with their work, but
it soon became obvious that the only remedy lay in the establishment
of an institution for training teachers.

Accordingly, the first training institution was opened at Neiafu, 874
the capital of Vava'u, on 13 July 1841 by the Reverend Francis
Wilson, who had proved himself a very able educationist. Characteristically,
King George took the lead. Without the knowledge
of the missionaries he had organised the erection of a building
for the institution free of cost to the mission, and while at Vava'u
he himself attended the institution regularly. He also gave a large
piece of land for the use of the students, who had to grow their [877]
own food. Some of the students were married men with families.
The majority were trained as teachers while a few were trained
to be assistant missionaries.

Unfortunately Wilson died after several months of sickness in 797
March 1846. In the following year, 1847, the General Superintendent 874
of the Wesleyan Missions in the South Seas, the Reverend
W. Lawry, arrived in Tonga with four new missionaries, Thomas
Adams, George Daniel, Walter J. Davis, and Richard Amos. Amos
was trained as a teacher at the Normal Institution in Glasgow,[3]

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[3] The system, founded by David Stow, embodied the idea of educating 'the whole man' (Stow 1840:12).

797 and quite fittingly the educational work of the mission was en-
trusted to him. It was then decided to move the training institu-
874 tion to Nuku'alofa which King George, who was now King
[649 of the whole of Tonga, had decided to make his capital. In this
new site, Amos was able to try out among his students the Glasgow
368] training system. The missionaries believed that this system would
suit the 'romantic and showy nature of the Tongans'. The King
[644 entrusted the education of his heir to Amos, and the trainees in
693 the institution included both men and women, among whom were
the Queen and the Chief Justice of Tonga, Setaleki Mumui, and
877] his wife, who proved to be an extremely intelligent woman and an
excellent teacher. A report on the visit of H.M.S. *Meander* to
Tongatapu in June 1850 praised Amos's institution very highly
(*W-M Mag.*, Jan. 1852:104). Later, circuit training schools were
established.

The promotion of the educational work of the mission cul-
minated in the establishment of Tupou College by Dr J. E.
Moulton in 1866. Like the famous Malua College of the L.M.S.
in Samoa, Tupou College was educating 'choice young men who
would ultimately fill important positions both in the Church and
[565 the State' (Dyson, Papers of . . ., VI:76). With King George's
approval, chiefs and commoners were treated alike in the school,]
and the only aristocracy recognised in it was that of educational
[571 achievement. In this way the Wesleyan missionaries, like their
L.M.S. counterparts in Samoa, added to the Tongan social system]
a new élite of educated men and women (see Davidson 1967:37).
The school produced not only outstanding ministers and teachers
for the mission but also government officials and community
874 leaders. Almost all the Premiers of Tonga since 1890 have been
educated in this school. Families of commoner origin such as the
555 Havea family[4] and the Taumaepeau family, whose founders were

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[4] The first Tongan to be awarded a doctorate by any university was Dr John 'Amanaki Havea. He is at present (1972) the President of the Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga. Before this, he was the Principal of the Methodist Theological College in Tonga, the first Tongan to hold that position. His father, Sione Havea, was a student of Dr Moulton. Later, he became the Head Tutor of Tupou College for many years. One of his sons, Sālesi Mānoa Havea, a distinguished lawyer and a member of Parliament, later became Minister for Police.

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
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trained at Tupou College, have produced outstanding church 874
leaders, ministers of the Crown, doctors, leading public servants 555
and teachers, whose impact on the religious, social, economic and
political development of Tonga has been extremely significant.

The improvement in the training of teachers effected corresponding improvement in the number and standard of subjects 872
taught in the schools, as well as the efficiency of teaching. In addition to religious subjects, history, geography, arithmetic and English were taught in day schools, and philosophy, astronomy, geometry, algebra and physics were added to the syllabus of the institutions (*W-M Mag.*, Dec. 1868:1144).

Referring to Mrs Tucker's lessons in astronomy Sarah Farmer (1855:332) wrote:

> The evenings were spent in conveying to the natives, by familiar illustrations some idea of the first principles of astronomy. The lamp was made to represent the sun; a cocoa-nut the earth; some other object the moon; and as the cocoa-nut, suspended by a twisted thread, revolved round the lamp. they were taught the motions of the earth, with the cause of the change in its seasons. Lessons were also given on eclipses, gravitation, etc. Thus the views of the natives became corrected and enlarged.

Through the teaching of these subjects, the missionaries defin- 797
itely went a long way towards undermining the traditional cosmo- 177
logy of the Tongans, by supplying scientific explanations of some
of the natural phenomena which had been interpreted according 772
to traditional beliefs. For example, the Tongans believed that 813
earthquakes were caused by the deity Maui, who was supposed
to be lying, feeble and sleepy, underneath the earth, and was at 823
that time turning round. They immediately started their war-whoop 776
in order to awaken him, 'lest he should get up, and in rising,
overturn the world' (Farmer 1855:136-7).

The missionaries found that the majority of the Tongans did 214
not have a flair for English. Consequently, subjects had to be taught in Tongan. This led to a proliferation of printed materials in Tongan. Books were translated, traditions and historical information collected, and many were published in the local press. When the old press went out of action, Dr Moulton managed by trial and error to set up one in the College, and trained his

214 students to operate it (Moulton 1921:53). Out of this press
came scores of books, pamphlets and periodicals which he himself
had written or, with the help of his students, translated into
Tongan. Among those Moulton translated were two volumes of
world history, two volumes of Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, Milton's
Paradise Lost, *A Geography of the Holy Land*, and a *Life
of Jesus Christ*. The College magazine published, among other
things, world news and collections of outstanding Tongan poems.
[779] A complete translation of the Holy Bible was published by the
Foreign Bible Society in 1862. A hymn book and catechism were
also published.

797 Music was given special attention. Religious poems were written
by Tongan poets and poetesses and set to traditional tunes. These
533 songs really captivated the interest of the Tongans, for whom
538 they made Christian teaching and Bible stories more alive and
meaningful. Robert Young (1854:228) recorded a literal
533 translation of one of these when he visited Tonga in 1853:
539

A guilty world stood exposed to wrath,
But Jesus beheld it in love.
(Chorus of response)
And we weep whilst we sing his dying love.

In Gethsemane's garden he sweat drops of blood,
That for us he might slay the last foe
And we weep whilst we sing his dying love.

Thou saidst to thy few disciples there,
That sorrow oppressed thy soul.
And we weep whilst we sing thy dying love.

He was judged to cruel death,
Yet he opened not his mouth
And we weep whilst we sing his dying love.

We look to thy wounded side, once pierced
By the Roman soldier's spear.
And we weep whilst we sing thy dying love.

We pray and not faint in Jesus's name,
And worship for evermore,
And we weep whilst we sing his dying love.

(Both words and tune were prepared by a poetess, Siokāpesi Fehi'a.)

Moulton ran into some difficulty when he tried to introduce formal music training in his college. He thought that the best way to teach music to the Tongans was to use tonic solfa. However, he soon found to his embarrassment that some of the common combinations of notes of the tonic solfa were obscene in Tongan. He then ingeniously devised a special notation, using numbers (Moulton 1921:54): 874 533

to	lu	fa	ma	ni	o	no	tu	fi	va	a	hi	to
3	3̸	4	4̸	5	6	6̸	7	7̸	8	8̸	9	3̇

The Tongans are very proud of this notation and it has really enhanced their interest in and enthusiasm for music. Hymns and classical masterpieces were transcribed into the new notation and sung by several hundred voices in each choir The College itself, naturally, took the lead and its students spread its use to the villages throughout the country.

Charles Tucker and his wife introduced some improvement in teaching methods in Ha'apai as early as 1835 by grading students according to their progress. Matthew Wilson followed this up at Hihifo in Tongatapu in the early forties and found the method very popular among his students. Further attraction was also created by the introduction of the Glasgow method by Amos towards the end of the forties, proving the missionaries right in the belief that the method would suit the Tongans. 876 797

Meanwhile the infants' or children's school developed by Mrs Wilson at Vava'u proved so successful that it soon spread to the other islands. Young boys and girls now attended and it became very popular. Annual school feasts for the examination of the infant schools were organised at least at Vava'u and Ha'apai, and prizes were awarded for outstanding achievements. These school feasts captured the imagination and interest of the entire population of the two groups and became delightful annual events for the whole community. 872 872 527

In Tongatapu, school examination also became a big attraction. King George himself, the Queen and some of the chiefs became patrons of various schools. In his visit to Tonga in 1850 Lawry 873 [643]

873 was very impressed by a school from the small village of Tofoa,
conducted by a young woman who was trained by Amos. Young,
in 1853, spoke glowingly of the results of school examinations at
Nuku'alofa and in particular the school for young women of
which the wife of the Chief Justice was both patron and teacher.

The Methodists in England belonged to that section of the
797 English Dissent which held strong Sabbatarian views, and in Tonga
527 the sacredness of the Sabbath was an integral part of the missionaries' teaching. Tongan converts accepted this aspect of the missionaries' teaching with all seriousness. They regarded it in the same spirit as they observed the traditional taboos. Referring to this reverence for the Sabbath in Tonga, Young (1854:268) wrote:

> Never had I previously observed such respect paid to the Sabbath of the Lord. The day appears to be exclusively devoted to religious services, and nothing meets the eye or ear infringing upon the sanctity of that blessed day, but everywhere incense and a pure offering seem to be presented to the Lord of Hosts. If the people are beheld coming from their habitations, it is that they may go up to the house of the Lord, and inquire in his holy temple. If a canoe is seen in the offing, it is conveying a Local Preacher to his appointment in some distant island, that he may preach unto the people Jesus. If noises occasionally fall upon the ear, they are not those of revelry and strife, but of holy praise and fervent prayer going up to heaven.

[642] Observing the sacredness of the Sabbath later became a part
of the constitution of Tonga.

Consistent with their puritanical attitudes to work, the mission-
797 aries seriously promoted industrious habits and commerce. People
461 were encouraged to cultivate their land, build better dwelling
places, and produce coconut oil for sale. Contribution to the
797 mission was introduced and encouraged, as being part and parcel
431 of the kind of life expected of converts to Christianity.

The many and diverse attractions of the mission activities led,
797 among other things, to a redistribution of population in Tonga.
Converts tended to move from their home areas to the centres
166 where the missionaries resided, in order to attend the services and
receive instruction in their new religion. Others moved into the

mission centres because it was more convenient to live close to 797
the schools. Still others were attracted by the medical services
which the missionaries provided. The missionaries claimed that 166
one of the places thus created was Nuku'alofa, the present capital
of Tonga, and were very proud of it. Amos wrote of its develop- 797
ment: 368

> The modern town of Nukualofa is purely a creation of Christianity: and . . . its present population has been gathered by the gospel alone . . . Nukualofa was ever an obscure village, with a small population of less than one hundred persons, (except when fortified in time of war as a place of refuge for other villages,) until the *lotu* collected from all parts of the island a population peculiarly its own, which now amounts to upwards of one thousand two hundred; and the reigning Tuikanokubolu has constituted it the metropolis of his ocean empire. Thus Christian Missions are founding cities, each of which, we hope, will become 'an eternal excellency, the joy of many generations'. (*W-M Mag.*, 1854:870)

Some new centres were established as a result of the persecution 361
of Christian converts who were driven from their own villages.
Some of these joined Christian villages or towns, but others 798
started new settlements. The village of Fatai in Tongatapu was established by a man who had been driven out of Houma on account of his conversion. This redistribution of population in Tonga was a spontaneous response of the people to the new demands and challenges which confronted them, in marked contrast to what happened in Tahiti, for example, where the L.M.S. missionaries deliberately tried to move the people from their traditional habitats into new villages where mission activities were centred.

In the Christian towns and villages in Tonga the missionaries 797
were able to exert considerable influence upon the growing
Christian population, and as things began to settle, a new set of 771
superstitious beliefs began to gather round Christianity itself.
Natural disasters, sickness and misfortunes were now attributed by [784]
many to the anger of Jehovah, and prosperity and good health to
His good will. As the missionaries were viewed as men of God, [778]
their property was regarded as sacred. The mission property and
the Bible in particular were held in utmost reverence. The old

797 superstitious beliefs had now lost their former crude objects, but found new and more refined ones. There is no evidence to show
771 that the missionaries either deliberately encouraged or discouraged these attitudes. Such beliefs became firmly entrenched in the minds of the Tongans and persisted for many decades. I can recall as a child how a neighbour, whenever her husband was away and she was left with her children in the house at night, used to place an open Bible by the doorway in order to prevent evil spirits from entering and harming the children. In 1952, an old Tongan minister confessed to the President of the Methodist Church from his sick bed that his sickness was caused by his using as firewood to cook his food old pieces of timber left under the local church after it had been renovated. He asked the President to pray for his recovery. The reverence and awe in which missionaries were held helped to consolidate their work and further enhanced their role as political advisers.

79: Lātūkefu H,I,M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
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5 The Search for a Monarch

The missionaries who went to Tonga during the first half of 797
the nineteenth century inherited the political views of Wesleyan
Methodism in England at the time. Loyalty to monarchy, country
and constitution was unquestioned and could thus be regarded as
the basis of the Society's political views. It is not surprising that 797
in the course of their work in Tonga they deliberately and per-
sistently fostered the promotion of a central monarchical authority, 642
the creation of a kingdom, and the establishment of constitutional
rule in the country. The political disunity in Tonga, which made
their task of converting the people to Christianity extremely difficult, also convinced them that it would be in the best interests of the people for the country to be united under a Christian government. Furthermore, they believed that their work would be accomplished more readily if a replica of the constitutional monarchy of their homeland were to be established in Tonga.

They discovered, within the indigenous political framework of 797
the country, an institution which appeared to be potentially
equivalent to the familiar model of constitutional monarchy. This 643
was the *hau* or Tu'i Kanokupolu. Immediately they started to [642]
advocate that the Tu'i Kanokupolu was the central power in
Tongatapu and they maintained that the whole Tongatapu group [622]
should submit to his authority,[1] in spite of the fact that it was largely nominal and ceremonial and that the real power rested with the chiefs of the various *kāinga*. Their decision to support the *hau* rather than the Tu'i Tonga showed that they clearly under-

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[1] It was not until after 1845, when King George became Tu'i Kanokupolu, [634]
that the missionaries recognised this position as sovereign over the whole of Tonga. Before this, they appear to have believed that the power of the Tu'i Kanokupolu was confined to Tongatapu, for they recognised the supreme authority of Fīnau 'Ulukālala in Vava'u and Tāufa'āhau in Ha'apai. After Fīnau's death in 1833 they recognised Tāufa'āhau as supreme ruler of both Vava'u and Ha'apai.

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stood the intricacies of the Tongan political system. For, while the Tu'i Tonga was higher in rank. he had very little power over the chiefs and the people because of his remoteness from them, and he had gradually become a mere figurehead. The Reverend S. Rabone (Journal, 10 Feb. 1838), wrote of the Tu'i Tonga:

> This afternoon the Tui Toga arrived here on a visit this is the greatest personages in this Island but what a creature of imagination what a monstrous cypher he had a handful of people only, cannot speak a word in reference to the Government of the Island—nor anything that concerns it. It is not lawful to eat in his presence or at best not to face him eating or drinking—and there is lanquage only applicable to this useless being—as much utility to the Island as a large mole to a man's face.

The *hau* or Tu'i Kanokupolu, who had been installed shortly after the establishment of the mission, was Siosaia Aleamotu'a, a comparatively weak old man who was quite inadequate for the task which the missionaries envisaged. Rabone (Journal, 24 Mar. 1838) wrote:

> The King [Aleamotu'a] has paid us a visit from Nuku'alofa during the week. I begged him to speak to Ata on the subject of religion but he refused declaring it altogether useless but I do not think so, as Ata is known to have said that he waits for Tubou to tell him to lotu. And besides we have seen the influence that other kings and chiefs have in the lotu and the readiness of their people to obey them when they command, but Tubou is not the man.

Later in 1840, the same missionary (Journal, 21 Jan. 1840) asserted of the people of Tongatapu, that with regard to 'their own king they have no fear nor do they respect him', and on Aleamotu'a's death in 1845. he wrote that 'Of Josaia Tubou little can be said that is worth saying he lived an easy and comparatively a useless life' (Journal, 10 Dec. 1845).

It was King George who proved a much more likely candidate, and who appeared to have similar designs to their own, so that the missionaries placed their hopes in him, long before the death of Aleamotu'a. In a postscript in a letter to Nathaniel Turner (Watkin to N. Turner, 10 Oct. 1835, WML 1823-64) the Reverend James Watkin wrote:

> You will learn that we have removed the press from Toga to Vavau 797
> as a place of greater safety and as being more central, it has given
> offence to the big boy [Aleamotu'a] we have as a chief at the former 643
> place, but his being offended is nothing marvellous . . . Taufahau
> [King George] is worth a thousand Tubous [Aleamotu'a].

Later, in 1838, Rabone (Journal, 20 Feb. 1838), wrote:

> Perhaps no man ever obtained such influence in the Fry. Isles as he had nor is it likely anyone was ever half as much respected and beloved. The Xians love him. The Heathen fear him and all parties respect him—God be thanked for such a man such a Xian and such a king.

After Aleamotu'a's death in 1845, the missionaries exerted their influence upon the leading chiefs, particularly the members of the 'electoral college', to choose King George as the successor.[2] In giving the weight of their influence to King George they showed shrewd political foresight. Historians, in retrospect, have fittingly named him 'The Maker of Modern Tonga'. He succeeded in [642] uniting the whole of Tonga into a kingdom, introduced the rule of law and gave the country a constitutional government (see Lātūkefu 1970).

King George was the son of Tupouto'a and the grandson of 643 Tuku'aho, both of whom had been Tu'i Kanokupolu. His mother, Houmofaleono, was a daughter of Ma'afu of Vainī, the head of the Ha'a Havea, one of the main *ha'a* in the country and undoubtedly the most powerful group of chiefs in Tongatapu at the time. According to Tongan tradition then, King George was endowed by birth with the requisite *mana* for acquiring political supremacy.

When his father, Tupouto'a, died in 1820, the 'electoral college' delayed appointing a successor till 1827 when they decided upon Aleamotu'a, who was a brother of King George's

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[2] 'I visited several families this morning . . . [wrote Thomas] I conversed with Tuitoga people—with Tuibelehake, Lauaki—and others. It is said that some persons here, rather wish that another and not Joaji [George] should be appointed to office. I have spoken my mind to a few about it—as King Tubou nominated George at his death bed—and as there is no person so suitable for the office. I have laid the matter many times before the Lord, that his will may be done in this affair and that Tonga may have a man to govern it who will seek its good' (Thomas, Journal, 25 Nov. 1845).

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> all led us to expect much as a result of your personal decision and faithfulness. We have been gratified to hear of . . . your zealous labours in the cause of your own Redeemer, and your deep anxiety for the salvation and welfare of your people. We admire your self-sacrifice . . . to take this voyage, for the purpose of learning how you can best improve the temporal circumstances of your people . . . . (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 24 Dec. 1853:6)

Their clear acceptance of Tāufa'āhau's right to succeed is shown in Peter Turner's comment when Siosaia Aleamotu'a's health was failing in 1845, 'should Tubou be called hence—we expect King George will take his place. He is the only next heir' (P. Turner, Journal, 28 Nov. 1845).

The missionaries staunchly defended King George's right as legitimate successor when allegations were made by critics such as Peter Dillon, who called King George a 'blood-thirsty, usurping assassin' (Dillon to Thomas, 20 Nov. 1837). The Reverend Thomas West (1865:58), after citing the pedigree of King George and the circumstances which had led to his appointment as Tu'i Kanokupolu, declared:

> The assertions, therefore, . . . that the present King is a usurper, and that he has ascended the throne of Tonga by fraud and sheer force of arms, and simply from motives of selfish ambition, have no foundation whatever in truth.

King George's close association with the missionaries obviously facilitated his growing sophistication. Their teachings helped him to develop and refine his character, particularly those humane traits such as clemency and benevolence which later became such marked characteristics. His association with them aided his intellectual development and gave him increasing insight into the ways and means of dealing with the complexities which he and his country now had to face, His visit to Sydney in 1853 at the instigation of the missionaries proved to be a tremendous experience for him. In reply to the address of appreciation read to him by the former missionaries from Tonga, he said:

> When, in my own land, the missionaries used to tell me and my people of what God had done in England and elsewhere, we have listened with very great interest. Some of us believed, and some did

> not; and I therefore resolved in my mind to come and see this land. 643
> I found on my arrival that all I had heard previously was but a
> little thing compared with what I have seen since. I found that 797
> everything I had heard was perfectly true, and, like the Queen of
> the South, I found that only one-half had been told to me . . . And
> when I am sitting alone in any place, or when I lie down on my bed
> at night, my most ardent wish is that the people of my land were here
> to see all the great things that you have done, and to participate in
> my acknowledgements of your great kindness towards both me and
> them. (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 24 Dec. 1853)

His conversion to Christianity undoubtedly assisted him not only to achieve his ambition of welding his people together under a new political system but it helped to sustain and improve it. After his conversion he never looked back to the old gods. There were occasions of backsliding, but they were due to self-indulgence rather than to a deliberate return to his old religion. His interest in the study of the Bible grew, his literacy continued to improve, and his general experience of the wider world continually expanded.

The impingement of the missionary teachings on the career of
Tāufa'āhau may be discerned from some of his actions subsequent
to his acceptance of Christianity, which show that he was deeply
influenced by Christian ethics. When the rebellion in Vava'u was 643
put down in 1831, 'Ulukālala Tuapasi was determined to kill all
the ring-leaders, including his half-brother Lualala, who was their 797
leader. Only the timely intervention on their behalf by Peter Vī, 669
who was acting on instructions from Tāufa'āhau, saved their lives, 727
for he pleaded that they should not be killed, as this was contrary
to Christian teachings, but should instead be expelled from the
country.

Another occasion for clemency was when Matekitonga, son of Fīnau 'Ulukālala Tuapasi, being angered at King George's refusal to make him ruler of Vava'u, joined the rebels at Pea in 1852. After his eventual capture, the chiefs and warriors of Vava'u were so incensed by his treachery that they urged King George to kill him, but the King merely told them that Matekitonga had acted foolishly and granted him a pardon. He was allowed to return to Vava'u with the warning that he must cause no further trouble.

At the end of the war in 1852, all the rebel chiefs—the Ha'a

643 Havea—his father's formidable enemies, were forgiven and were
permitted to return to their respective places. When they tried
797 to thank him for this magnanimous gesture, he told them to
669 express gratitude to God instead, for if it were not for Him they
727 would all have been killed (Farmer 1855:408). Practically all
of them were made nobles after the constitution was promulgated
in 1875.

It may be argued that Tāufa'āhau saw political advantages in
643 granting pardons to his opponents, and that his so-called clemency
797 was merely a sham. If this were so, it would be difficult to understand
669 his refusal to get rid of Matekitonga when the chiefs and
warriors of Vava'u demanded it. There can be no doubt that
727 the clemency he showed to his enemies proved politically advantageous,
661 and probably he foresaw this, but the fact remains that
he himself attributed his actions to his Christian faith.

Benevolence was another characteristic which owed much to
643 missionary influence. Once his authority was secure he showed
797 genuine care for the welfare of the people. Dr Lyth, the first
[743] medical missionary to Tonga, told him in 1838 about the need
for a building to house the sick people brought in from various
islands; he immediately promised his warm and full support for
the project (Lyth, Journal, 2 April 1838). Convinced that
Christianity was the best way of life for his people, he himself
became not merely an evangelist, but also a crusader, in order to
[871] hasten conversion. He gave his full support for the promotion of
education. He also led the campaign to emancipate the commoners
[565] from the absolute and arbitrary rule of the chiefs and
[641] promoted the notion of the equality of all men in the eyes of
[657] the law. Later he bequeathed the revenue from the lease of Crown
lands to provide free medical treatment and free education for
all his subjects.

643 At the same time, King George recognised that religious conviction
and mere piety without hard labour would achieve little
797 in the promotion of the general welfare of his people. Accordingly
461 he exhorted them to work diligently. The following speech was
reported to have been given by him at a *fono* at Neiafu, Vava'u,
in 1833 when the people had moved there from their villages to
be close to the missionaries for religious instruction and medical

care. He pointed out to them that there was a shortage of food due to a recent hurricane and that they could not afford to be idle. 643 797 461

> Many of you are idle. and some are wasteful,—and others are thoughtless. We have not taken care of the abundance God gave us—in the time past. We eat to our fill. and then we threw much away. We should have made our bread. and should have had many stores of it. then we should have had food to eat in this time of want . . . God has been very good in giving us as good a land—but we must dig the soil. and plant or we shall not have much food. My mind is—that those who will not work should not eat, and you will do right to deny the idle young men—when they come to beg your food. There is another thing I wish to tell you about. That you must not all live at Neiafu; but you must go to your own places inland or to the islands: and you must build your houses—cultivate your fields and attend to your schools and to your chapels. And let the chiefs live with their people in their own places. and not remain altogether here. If you will do this you will have plenty of food and will have the blessing of the Lord upon all your labours . . . , there are some among us who make excuses when they are required to work more by saying they want to read the record of God. but such people cover their idleness by these excuses. It is very good to read God's Word. but you should not neglect your digging—nor your planting, nor your building by reading at improper times. You should do your work of this world. and read when your work is done. You have much time for reading if you will not sleep in the day,—and go about drinking your kava. (P. Turner. Journal, 30 April 1833)

In pursuing the difficult objectives of uniting the whole of Tonga under one ruler, and establishing Christian civilisation and the rule of law throughout the islands of the group, King George and his missionary supporters set themselves a formidable task. In the beginning they encountered only light resistance, but it was soon evident that the power-struggle could not be won easily, and that their ambitions and aspirations to establish a Christian kingdom could not be realised without bloodshed and war. The role played by the missionaries in this struggle, and their attitudes towards it, must now be critically examined, both as to the causes of the conflict and as to the manner in which the wars were fought. 643 797

6 The Religio-Political Wars and the Birth of a Kingdom

797 The missionaries who went to Tonga shared the attitudes of Methodists in England to the question of war; their abhorrence of warfare in general did not prevent them from loyally serving their king and country in time of war. John Wesley used his influence to avert the American War of Independence, but when it broke out he became one of the staunchest supporters of the British government (Edwards 1948:19). Their patriotism owed much to their belief in the Old Testament sense of kingship (Taylor 1935:25). They believed that a ruler was ordained by God and his authority was derived from Him.

797 669 Replying to Dillon's charges against the Wesleyan missionaries in Tonga that they were entirely responsible for the wars in 1837 and 1840, David Cargill (1842:7-9) wrote:

> 798 The Christians did not take up arms either to propagate their religion or abolish Heathenism. Their design was, to suppress rebellion, maintain the authority of their legal monarch, to defend their rights and privileges, and to preserve their lives . . . .
>
> When they appeared in arms, loyalty to their Sovereign, love of their country, love to their wives and children, and the desire of self-preservation, not hatred to the Heathen, or love of war, were the principles by which they were influenced.

Besides being loyal to king and country, the Methodists felt justified in going to war to combat the threat of the forces of anti-Christ. This was one of the reasons why they wholeheartedly supported the British government in its stand during the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars. This view was reflected in the missionaries' attitudes towards war in Tonga.

The missionaries also felt justified in supporting the wars in Tonga because they were convinced that the heathens would never become loyal subjects of the Tongan monarch unless they accepted

the *lotu* (Rabone, Journal, 16 Feb. 1840). They feared that 797
victory for the heathens would mean the end of monarchy, the
rule of law and, above all, their work in Tonga. From the begin- 669
ning of the mission the heathens were on the offensive. In Tonga- 798
tapu they had the numbers and strength to become a serious danger to the Christian minority. Their aggressive behaviour was due in part to a deep-seated suspicion that the new religion would bring on disaster, by provoking the anger of the gods. Many of the chiefs and all the priests were also afraid that this *lotu* would undermine their prestige and deprive them of their privileges. As a result, Christian converts were persecuted and, when they showed no signs of surrendering their new faith, the chiefs felt compelled to drive these determined few from their localities. In doing so, they unwittingly helped to create a more closely knit and potentially powerful community of Christians, who were later able to overthrow their far from united oppressors. The gathering place of the exiled Christians on Tongatapu was the small hamlet of Nuku'alofa.

Under the leadership of King George, the Christians began to 797
take the offensive, first in Ha'apai, where Tāufa'āhau systematic-
ally burned down the god-houses, destroyed effigies and turned 798
the sacred places into gardens or homesites during 1829 and 643
1830. As James Watkin (Journal, 25 April 1831) wrote:

> Part of one of these houses has been employed to erect a house which is appropriated to the good purpose of accommodating strangers and the ground that was devoted to the gods has been reclaimed for the use of man and is now covered with Banana and other trees bearing fruit to supply the wants of man. So that you see the Devil is losing ground.

Later, in 1833, when the fortress in 'Uiha had been demolished, and the god-houses and effigies destroyed, he also recorded that a residence for a teacher was built in the enclosure which had previously been regarded as sacred (Journal, 12 April 1833).

In 1831 King George extended his campaign to Vava'u, where 797
he was assisted by Fīnau 'Ulukālala Tuapasi. Sarah Farmer de- 798
scribed how Fīnau put the gods to test and then burnt them: 634

> the king [Fīnau 'U. Tuapasi] gave orders, that seven of the principal idols should be placed in a row. He then addressed them in language

797 798 634

> like this: 'I have brought you here to prove you; and I tell you beforehand what I am about to do, that you may be without excuse.' Then, commencing with the first, he said, 'If you are a god, run away, or you shall be burned in the fire which I have prepared!' The god made no attempt to escape. He then spoke to the next in the same way, and so on till he came to the last. As none of them ran, the king gave orders that the sacred houses should be set on fire. His commands were promptly obeyed. Eighteen temples, with their gods, were burned down. (Farmer 1855:211)

797 798 643 778 Peter Turner relates how King George and some of his warriors went to the god-house at Makave, a village near Neiafu, the capital of Vava'u. When the priest saw them he thought they had come to consult the gods, and he entered the house of the god and proceeded to pray for inspiration. The sight of this so exasperated King George that:

> He rose, went into the god's house, dragged out the Priest, and annointed him plentifully with mud from the gutter—and threw him on one sidè telling him as an old deceiver 'to have done with his foolishness'. He then went into the house, brought out the god, wrapped in a bundle of native cloth and fine mats; and to the astonishment and dread of some, began to disrobe the god, fold after fold was taken off until the great god was seen in the form of a small spotted shell, which fell to the ground, to the surprise—of some,—the shame of others, to see how they had been deceived, and some laughed out right. Fire was set to the house, and its glory ascended in flame and smoke. (P. Turner, Missionary papers:49-50)

797 798 643 Many were alarmed and took up arms to avenge this sacrilege but, when they saw that it was King George and his men, they became afraid and could not carry out their intentions. As a result, King George and his men systematically went on with this destruction throughout Vava'u.

[669] [634] The missionaries realised that traditionally King George and Fīnau 'Ulukālala were acting within the bounds of their authority, being rulers of Ha'apai and Vava'u. Religiously, they regarded it as a triumph of Jehovah over Baal. They were so excited about the success of this campaign that one of them declared, 'This tide of glorious intelligence that Vavau had become Christian spread northward and southward like a swelling tide' (P. Turner, Missionary papers:51).

The actions of 'Ulukālala and King George, however, sparked 797 off the first armed conflict in Tonga since the establishment of the Wesleyan mission in 1826. Lualala, 'Ulukālala's half-brother, led 798 the rebellion against 'Ulukālala. The destruction of the places of 643 worship was given as the pretext for this uprising. While there 634 was genuine provocation in these acts, the rebellion cannot be viewed in isolation, for it was an extension of the general power 669 struggle which had gone on for quite some time in Tonga. Lualala had his eyes on the rulership of Vava'u, for 'Ulukālala was ageing and his son, Matekitonga, was still very much a junior. The missionaries regarded the uprising as a rebellion against the legitimate authority in Vava'u and consequently they gave at least their moral support to 'Ulukālala and King George. However, through their influence, clemency was shown towards Lualala, and he and his followers were saved from being killed and banished from Vava'u.

When King George became ruler of both Ha'apai and Vava'u 643 in 1833 the whole of Ha'apai, except 'Uiha, had accepted Christianity, chiefly because King George wished them to do so. 797 There were a few objectors, such as Malupō of 'Uiha and his sons, whose refusal was due largely to their attachment to the old religion, but they remained politically loyal to King George. Some of the other chiefs of Ha'apai were also still attached to their old gods, but they dared not disobey the wishes of King George and so became Christians, at least nominally. Malupō and his sons were able to resist, on account of close kinship and political affiliation with King George. It will be recalled that the King's paternal grandmother was a Malupō, and both he and his father, Tupouto'a, were brought up at 'Uiha by Malupō and the 'Uiha people. Furthermore, Malupō and his sons had supported King George in his previous struggle against Laufilitonga at the war of Velata.

King George for his part was not seriously disturbed by 'Uiha's resistance. He sought no armed reprisal, but treated the whole matter in a rather humorous way. At the time that he became ruler of Vava'u, it was well known that there was some dissatisfaction among a few of the chiefs in Vava'u,[1] particularly the former supporters of Lualala, concerning the issues of religion and

648 the rulership of Vava'u. King George used this situation as a
797 means of tricking Malupō.

Before leaving on one of his visits to Vava'u he sent a message to Malupō, saying that he had heard it rumoured that there was a plot to assassinate him in Vava'u and he pleaded with Malupō to send the warriors of 'Uiha to Vava'u for his protection. After he reached Vava'u, he secretly arranged for the people of a village called Masilamea, well known for their gentleness and lack of fighting prowess, to lie in wait for the 'Uiha warriors near the spot where his large white pig was kept in an enclosure. When the 'Uiha canoe full of warriors arrived, King George informed them that the rumoured plot against his life was false. He then suggested that they should fetch his pig to kill it as provision for their return voyage. Two or three warriors remained in the canoe, while the rest set forth, unarmed, to fetch the pig. As soon as they had departed the canoe was seized. The others approached the pig enclosure, only to encounter the gentle Masilamea people who ambushed and of course outnumbered them, bound their hands behind their backs and led them to Neiafu, the capital. When King George saw his famous warrior cousins as captives of the most un-warlike Masilameans, he burst into laughter, saying, 'Toki taha a Masilamea' ('Masilamea's first')—a great humiliation for the 'Uiha warriors. He then spoke to them very strongly on the falsehood of heathenism and exhorted them to become
[798] Christians. The warriors were kept in Vava'u until he and his men sailed to 'Uiha, levelled its fortress and burnt down the god-houses and all the effigies. The warriors became converts in Vava'u, and when they returned to 'Uiha they proceeded to build the largest and most beautiful chapel in all Ha'apai (Lātūkefu 1968:142). Thus the last resistance in Ha'apai was settled without war or bloodshed.

648 Meanwhile the heathen chiefs on Tongatapu were enraged by
797 the news of the desecration and destruction of the sacred places
669 of Ha'apai and Vava'u, for it was clear that they feared the political implications of King George's success in this campaign. It increased their determination to resist, at all cost, any similar onslaught which he might be planning to make on Tongatapu. When he visited his great-uncle, Aleamotu'a, in Tongatapu later

the same year, he learned that the heathen chiefs of Tongatapu 643
were plotting to attack his canoes. He took his great-uncle's advice
to return to Ha'apai, realising the gravity of the situation which 797
could easily erupt into open conflict (P. Turner 1831-8:52). 669
However, this move did not appease the heathens, who continued to prepare for an offensive. 'All Tonga', wrote Watkin (Journal, 11 April 1835), 'with the exception of this place [Nuku'alofa] are building strongholds, sharpening their spears, and fabricating clubs with which to take away each others lives.'

After the rebellion in Vava'u was quashed in 1831, Lualala 797
had gone to Tongatapu and allied himself with the Ha'a Havea
chiefs, the traditional enemies of King George's father. This was 565
a politically significant move. Assisted by the chiefs of Pea, Lualala [712]
built the fortress of Ngele'ia[1] (Blanc 1935:37), which became
a formidable threat to the Christians at Nuku'alofa.

The Ha'a Havea chiefs were extremely upset when one among them, William Tu'ivakanō, became converted to Christianity. They applied so much pressure on him to give up the *lotu* that he eventually agreed to renounce his newly found faith in April 1835. The missionaries, however, persisted in their efforts to regain him, and, in September, Watkin was able to write: 'Tu'ivakano who apostatized some time ago resumed his profession of Christianity which he certainly did not renounce heartily but allowed political consideration to influence him to take that step' (Watkin, Journal, 19 Sept. 1835).

The Ha'a Havea chiefs reacted violently to Tu'ivakanō's reconversion. 797
They deposed him and drove him and his followers
out of his fortress of Hule and they appointed another member 565
of the family to the title. William and his people fled to Nuku'alofa, [558]
where other Christian refugees had gathered under Aleamotu'a, [643]
the then Tu'i Kanokupolu.

The renewed intensity of opposition forced the Christians to 797
fortify Nuku'alofa. They surrounded the hill where their chapel
stood with a stockade and ditch, so that the place might be used 712
as a citadel in case of war. Watkin (Journal, 25 Sept. 1835) 669

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[1] P. Turner (1831-8:58) stated that after remaining in Tongatapu for a while, Lualala went to Fiji and settled at Lakemba where he became 'zealous in the cause of Christ and ended well'.

797 712 669 [643] wrote, 'I hope the mere erection of the fortress will deter the heathens from farther hostilities and serve to check the disloyal spirit which has animated them.' Watkin's statement reveals the missionary view of the conflict, indicating that they regarded the Tu'i Kanokupolu as the supreme and legitimate ruler of Tonga; that hostilities against him and his followers were therefore rebellious; and that they were hoping that the erection of the fortress at Nuku'alofa might terminate these hostilities and thereby save the country from going to war. Subsequent events, however, proved these hopes to be futile.

797 At Hihifo, one of the late Ata's sons, Setaleki Ve'ehala, and his friends, who had been converted, were driven from their homes at Kolovai early in 1836. They established a little settlement on Setaleki's land at Masilamea, two miles from Kolovai. Many other Christians had to leave Tongatapu for Ha'apai and Vava'u in order to practise their religion unmolested. The missionaries were disturbed by the way things had developed in Tongatapu. One of them wrote:

> The heathens continue to rage and imagine vain things against the Lord and against his anointed and cause us some trouble and apprehension which require a strong faith to quell them knowing the bloody character and purpose of the heathen who compose the majority in this island. (Watkin, Journal, 26 Feb. 1836)

797 643 Aleamotu'a and King George valued the advice and the moral support of the missionaries, which they were constantly seeking, especially in times of crises. The Reverend Stephen Rabone (Journal, Aug. 1836) wrote:

> King George is indeed a fine man body and soul he is now preparing to leave for Haabai in the morning, not to return till after our District Meeting when King Josiah of Tonga will meet us and very much is expected as the result of their visit it is hoped it will prove a death blow to the remaining cause of Heathenism in Tonga.

This District Meeting was held at Lifuka, Ha'apai, in October and was attended by both Aleamotu'a and King George. There can be little doubt that the question of the offensive of the heathen chiefs at Tongatapu was one of the main issues discussed. This meeting of the *hau,* Aleamotu'a, and his deputy,

King George, only added to the antagonism of their opponents, 797
who openly showed their resentment when King George accompanied Aleamotu'a back to Tongatapu in November, as reported 643
by Rabone. 'The reception', he wrote, 'was not attended with any particular marks of kindness the Heathen had prepared for war foolishly supposing King George was bringing his people to fight . . .' (Rabone, Journal, 12 Nov. 1836).

King George returned to Ha'apai, but the situation in Tongatapu grew worse. 797
Rumours were spreading that the heathen chiefs, members of the 'electoral college' in particular, were planning to 643
depose Aleamotu'a and replace him with someone more loyal to 669
their cause. Aleamotu'a wrote to King George, informing him of the seriousness of the situation in Tongatapu. 798
The latter immediately departed for Vava'u to discuss the matter with the chiefs there. He then left for Tongatapu, accompanied by his uncle Ulakai and others in several canoes. They arrived on 1 January 1837 and on the sixth Rabone received news that the island was considered to be in a state of war and King George had ordered:

> the strong healthy men of these islands to go to Tonga that in case the Heathen should be foolish enough to fight they may have a force to meet them and in the name of the Lord to put them to flight . . . . Many are going in the morning. May they have a fair wind. (Rabone, Journal, 6 Jan. 1837)

The determination of the heathen chiefs to put an end to the spread of Christianity was fostered by both religious and political considerations. The scepticism regarding the traditional gods which the Tu'i Kanokupolu family had developed, partly on account of the failure of the gods to ensure their success in their endeavour to make the Tu'i Kanokupolu the supreme ruler of the whole of Tonga, was not shared by the other chiefs. The others had no reasons for doubting the power of their gods, for they had been quite successful, so far, in maintaining their independence. The Ha'a Havea, in particular, had won their wars against the Tu'i Kanokupolu family, and at this time were the most powerful and influential chiefs in Tongatapu.

The political considerations which influenced the heathen chiefs [565]
in their rejection of Christianity were bound up with their realisa-

797 tion that a victory for the Tu'i Kanokupolu and King George and
their new religion would mean an end to their arbitrary powers
643 over their subjects and deprive them of their privileges. They were
669 probably confident of their own strength, remembering how both
798 Fīnau 'Ulukālala and Tupouto'a, with their warriors from the
northern groups, had failed to defeat them at the beginning of the
565 century. The heathen chiefs were thus firmly resolved to halt the
spread of Christianity, and, if need be, to fight, in order to
protect both their religion and their political independence.

It has been alleged that the war between the heathens and
669 Christians, which broke out in 1837, was a purely religious conflict.
798 Basil Thomson (1894:350-1), who took this view, stated:

> It was a missionary war—a crusade in which the club and the Bible were linked against the powers of darkness; and no knight-errant ever went against the Crescent with greater zest than the new converts showed in their quarrel with their heathen countrymen.

This over-simplified view of a complex situation completely fails to take into account the underlying power struggle, which was much older and more basic than the religious issues which appeared on the surface to have precipitated this war.

The war began on 8 January 1837. The heathens chose the
669 Sabbath day on which to attack, thinking the Christians would
726 not defend themselves, but they were proved mistaken. According
to Watkin, who was an eye witness, the Christian fortress was well
guarded, and the attackers were easily driven off, although two of
the Christians were wounded. Watkin (Journal, 11 Jan. 1837)
wrote, 'They [the heathens] have therefore actually commenced
the war, and God will I trust vindicate his own cause'. King George
waited till the following day, then led his men to attack the
nearest heathen fortress of Ngele'ia which had been built by
Lualala with the assistance of the chiefs of Pea. When they came
in sight of the fortress, he called his men around him to give them
their orders, and before they launched their attack, they prayed
together 'and felt (according to their own expression) just as when
the revival of religion broke out' (Rabone, Journal, 17 Jan. 1837).
[727] In the surprise attack that followed all twenty-six warriors in the
fortress were killed, 'among whom were some of the greatest

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
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669 the fortress and wipe out his opponents. The King offered the
leaders of Hule terms of surrender, but they refused and the fort-
726 ress was stormed on 25 January. About three hundred men,
643 women and children were killed, Tu'ivakanō himself and his fol-
[727] lowers playing a leading part in this massacre.

It is interesting to note the more ruthless and aggressive stand
669 taken by King George during this war. In these two encounters the
power struggle was approaching its peak. Lualala had left Vava'u
643 and allied himself with the Ha'a Havea chiefs. The apparent intentions of this dangerous alliance must have awakened in him the old savagery and fighting spirit which had lain dormant for several years to such an extent that they momentarily overshadowed the Christian influence on his actions and life. Later in the 1840 war when he and his warriors besieged Kolovai, King George told his men:

> Our late war with the heathen, three years ago, was by the mercy of God, a victorious one. But, though we got the victory, in some things we went astray. We fought not as Christians should fight. Our object then was not to save, but to destroy. But you all now present, hear from me, that we do not so fight again. If, as may be expected, the enemy should come out of their fortress to-morrow morning, let every man endeavour to seize and save his man, and not one to shoot or strike, but in case of life and death. (Farmer 1855:317)

However, the serious threat which the heathen opposition posed not only to his own future, but to the future of monarchical authority and the rule of law, and also to his newly adopted religion, must all have spurred him on to crush the rebellion with ruthless vigour.

669 The missionaries did not condemn the indiscriminate slaughter
of the inhabitants of Hule. They regarded it as a divine judgment
727 —an inevitable consequence of the sinfulness of the heathens.
797 When the news of the massacre reached Vava'u, Rabone (Journal, 14 Feb. 1837) wrote, 'It does indeed appear that the Tonga heathen are given up to a reprobate mind and are bent upon their own destruction, for they have positively refused to "Lotu", and madly prefer dying in their sins'. While the missionaries boasted about the willingness of their converts to die for their faith they

79: Lātūkefu H,1,M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
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> 669 salvation to God & our prayers for them, some say why what are
> 728 they? They wonder they are alive but it must be because their friends
> have prayed much for them.

The fears of the heathen chiefs of Tongatapu that King George
669 might extend his campaign of destruction of the sacred places and
643 effigies proved justified. Everywhere King George and his warriors
went during the war they burnt down and destroyed god-houses,
798 objects of worship, and sacred places. The *vao tapu* (sacred wood) of the famous sanctuary of Ma'ofanga, which had been so sacrosanct that no one could approach it, on pain of death, was cut down and sold to the sailors for firewood. Many of the warriors from the north took back with them, as souvenirs, pieces of wood made into staffs from this sacred place. Later in June, when peace had been restored, Rabone (Journal, 23 June 1837) wrote:

> Last night we walked out to the Mafanga of all others the most sacred place in these islands . . . King George . . . burnt down the spirit houses and now all appears desolation he has planted bananas on the most sacred ground and I was glad to see that the Gods & Devils had not prevented their growth they look well and promise abundant fruit in their season.

798 It was soon clear that, in spite of the return to peace, the heathens had not abandoned their resolve to stop the spread of Christianity. Unfortunately, the Christians themselves furnished some provocation which gave the heathens a pretext for further hostilities.

The first incident occurred on 25 July 1837. Describing what
669 happened, Rabone (Journal, 25 July 1837) wrote, 'I fired a
778 loaded gun as a chief who was near the premises at the time
rushed in and seized me attempting dragging me about vocifer-
825 ating in the most devilish manner . . . .' Rabone did not say
797 what he was firing at, but Commodore Wilkes (1845:181) said
that it was a sacred pigeon which was revered by the people. It is
very likely that Rabone acted in ignorance. At Kolovai where he
was stationed it was flying foxes and not pigeons which were
565 regarded as sacred. In fact one of the most popular sports among
223 the chiefs was catching pigeons. However, there was a *fa'ahinga*
(clan) at Kolovai known as Matapā whose land was adjacent to

the mission house. These people had originally belonged to 669
Ve'ehala of Fāhefa, but had been invited by Ata to settle at
Kolovai. It so happened that Ve'ehala's god was a pigeon. What 778
appears to have caused the upset was that Rabone was seen 825
shooting a pigeon by the head of the Matapā clan, and he of 797
course would still revere the bird.

However, the rough treatment which the heathen chief gave 669
Rabone over the shooting incident grieved the Christians very
much. Referring to this, Rabone (Journal, 25 July 1837) 797
recorded:

> Almost all our friends from the Foui [the centre of the Christians at Hihifo] had arrived both female & male and all weeping. Ulakai and Setaleki [the two leading Christian chiefs at Hihifo] went to the vagabond and gave him a smart telling too . . . .

Another source of annoyance to the heathen chiefs was the policy of persuading, and in some cases forcing, influential chiefs from Tongatapu to go to Vava'u and Ha'apai, so that they would become converted there. 'Ahome'e, a great chief from Hihifo, went to Vava'u in 1837, and when he returned he told Ata that he had become a Christian, much to the discomfort of the heathens. King George visited Tongatapu in December 1837 and tried to influence Ata to accept Christianity, but was refused. When King George returned to Ha'apai in February of the following year, Rabone (Journal, 24 Feb. 1838) wrote:

> We rejoice that Fatu's son Finau is gone with him and also Mahe-'uli'uli . . . It is in this way that we expect the enemy must be weakened in Tonga at least this is one way viz the removing of certain influential characters to Haabai and Vavau where they will embrace religion return to this their own land and instruct their heathen relatives and people.

It was when Ulakai decided to seize five apostates from the fortress of Kolovai, in May 1838, and send them to Ha'apai that the already strained relations between the two factions deteriorated to a dangerous degree. The heathens closed their fortress 'for the preacher' and made preparations for war.

When the situation at Hihifo became too precarious, Rabone decided it was advisable to abandon the mission after he had

79: Lātūkefu H,I,M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
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669 797 been there for one year. His relationship with the heathens grew worse and in December 1839, just before war broke out, Peter Turner (Journal, 11 Dec. 1839) mentioned in his journal that he had been 'informed that as Bro' R. was going to preach a heathen called him to return & eat his [own] dirt'. This was of course regarded as a serious insult by the Christians. Unfortunately, the missionaries were not in a position to bring about any reconciliation between the disputing factions, because they had already committed themselves wholeheartedly to supporting King George and the Tu'i Kanokupolu even though they were acting contrary to the expressed policy of the Society. In August 1837 Ata and his followers removed by force an old man from his own people on the little island of 'Atatā, and sent him to the Christian settlement of Fo'ui, after he had decided to accept Christianity. This was an infringement of the agreement between the two parties. However, the Christians were infuriated by Ata's action, and Aleamotu'a conducted a *fono* at Kolovai on 17 August, at which he said to Ata and his people:

> Before the late war I told Lavaka and others that if they did not mind and resist they would be overtaken—they were and now . . . their bones are dry in scorching sun. I tell you the same. (Rabone, Journal, 17 Aug. 1837)

Rabone, who reported the *fono*, added, 'I pray God this event may be sanctified to the good of all'.

Soon after this, the chiefs of Pea applied pressure on one of their number, Moeaki, to give up Christianity. After hearing this, Aleamotu'a and Ulakai went to Pea and warned the Pea people 'that they might do as they would—but that the day they began to persecute the Xians the term of peace would be broken and they would again fight' (Rabone, Journal, 24 Aug. 1837).

The cause of the heathens was favoured by the fact that King George and his warriors from the north were no longer stationed in Tongatapu. It was further encouraged, in 1839, by the death of two very able Christian leaders; one was Uiliami Ulakai, son of Tuku'aho and brother of King George's father Tupouto'a; the other was Setaleki Ve'ehala, son of the late Ata and a nephew of [554] the existing Ata. Because of their rank, traditional *mana* and personal prowess as warriors they were revered by both Christians 669 and heathens. They had, on several previous occasions, managed 797 to exert their influence to avert armed clashes between the two [554] factions of the Hihifo community.

War broke out in January 1840. The incident which triggered it was the removal of some sticks from one of the heathen god- 669 houses by the Christians. Why they did so is not known, but the 798 heathens were greatly angered, and were probably awaiting an opportunity such as this to make trouble. They attacked and 669 killed four Christians, and war began. Aleamotu'a went to 726 Hihifo, to try to make peace, but failed. Several other attempts at a settlement were made, but they also failed. Eventually Aleamotu'a sent for King George who arrived shortly after with his warriors from the north. Kolovai was besieged and surrendered after a short time, but Pea, Houma and Vainī continued to resist.

Commodore Wilkes arrived in Tonga on 24 April and offered 669 to act as conciliator.[2] He was unsuccessful in his attempt and he 728 blamed the missionaries for his failure. However, one of the 797 missionaries wrote:

> An ill-arranged and fruitless attempt was made by Commodore Wilkes to bring the contending forces to peaceful terms. He seems to have acted upon the supposition that the heathen were the aggrieved and injured individuals; and when he found that these both duped him and robbed him, notwithstanding his good opinion of them, instead of manfully acknowledging that the representations made by the Missionaries were true, he left the islands in anger; and in evident chagrin at being outwitted and laughed at by the heathen, he

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[2] Most writers state that the missionaries requested Wilkes to intercede, but Rabone (Journal, 24 April 1840), who was present, recorded:

> Commander Wilkes arrived—several gentlemen immediately came on shore and invited Bro T & myself on board—we went and have had a long conversation—principally in reference to the heathen & the present state of Tonga—he expressed his earnest desire to make peace between the contending parties and for the arrangement of this affair has requested a meeting of the Chiefs tomorrow morning. May the blessedness of peace making be his portion.

Wilkes (1845:179) states, 'Believing that I might exert an influence to reconcile the parties, and through my instrumentality restore the blessings of peace, I proffered my services to that effect, which were warmly accepted by the Reverend Mr. Tucker'.

> 669 published opinions concerning the Missionaries of a damaging character, which had no foundation in justice or truth.[3] (West 1865:283)

728 797 It seems very likely too that the missionaries and their followers were hopeful that after the fall of Kolovai, the others would also surrender, but they were mistaken. They found that the resistance was much stronger and more determined than had been expected. As a result, they appealed to Captain Croker, who arrived on 21 June on the British sloop *Favourite,* to make peace (Thomson 1894:353-5). They regarded Croker's arrival as an act of providence; of it Rabone wrote (Journal, 21 June 1840), 'we view it as an interposition of our Heavenly Father and so hope his visit will be made a blessing'. Two days later he again wrote, 'we hope the coming of this vessel of the Lord--and that the interference of Capt. Croker may be owned of God and sanctioned by his Government tomorrow is the time fixed for the expedition' (Rabone, Journal, 23 June 1840). However, the expedition brought no immediate relief, for Croker was shot dead at Pea. When news of his death reached the missionaries they were confounded. Rabone (Journal, 24 June 1840) wrote:

> O what have we felt this day! Cap. C. dead—2 of the men likely to die to-night 17 or 18 men wounded . . . Guns etc left in the hands of the heathen. O my God! We stand confused and confounded! What shall we say or do? that ever a Cap C shd come here—a worthy—kind, good gentleman but no more!! Oh his poor wife and 5 or 6 children!! Lord, Lord pardon our sins and deliver us not unto the evil of our enemies. Great is the rejoicing of Satan and his host. A servant of God and England fallen . . . .

669 728 Although the death of Croker appeared to be a triumph for the heathens, it actually caused them great alarm, for they feared

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[3] Farmer (1855:320), claimed that the chiefs whom Commodore Wilkes saw were neutral and he did not contact the heathen chiefs who were directly involved in the war:

> Yet on the strength of his conversations with a neutral party, Commodore Wilkes concluded, to his own satisfaction, that the heathen party was desirous of peace, and that it was the fault of King George, and of the Missionaries, that the war continued to rage. Men who spend only eight days in a place ought to be careful how they express an opinion regarding the causes of the things that meet their eye.

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
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that more ships would be sent from Britain to revenge the Cap- 669
tain's death. They also grew tired of living within the confines 728
of their fortress. For these reasons they were easily persuaded
to accept peace. Fighting ceased after 26 June, an armed peace
was restored, and Tonga enjoyed this condition for more than a
decade. It looked as though Captain Croker's blood had not been
shed in vain after all, and that the missionaries' belief that he had 669
come by Divine Providence was somewhat vindicated, although 728
the peace which they desired had been accomplished in a more 797
tragic way than had been expected. Thomas, who was stationed
in Vava'u at this time, went to Tongatapu in August and discussed
peace terms with the heathen chiefs. King George stayed on in
Tongatapu with some of his men till the latter half of the following
year when they finally returned to their homes in the northern
groups.

Although these wars were triggered off by religious disputes,
they were endemic to the power struggle which had been going on 669
in Tonga for many years, since the quarrel between Tuku'aho and 798
Tupoumoheofo in the 1790s. Religion and politics were so 643
intricately interwoven in the causes of the wars and in the
determination of both sides to be victorious, that they may be
more accurately termed religio-political wars than merely mis-
sionary wars or crusades, as Basil Thomson arbitrarily claimed
them to be.

7 *The First Two Codes of Law: 1839 and 1850*

671 As Tonga gradually emerged from a fragmented society into a
642 centralised political system it had to acquire legal machinery
adequate to its changing requirements. The Tongan leaders had
178 no need to consult the missionaries for advice on matters relating
to pedigree or the succession to the various titles, but when it
671 came to questions of law in a Christian society, they were quite
797 aware of their own ignorance of jurisprudence and felt tremend-
ously dependent upon the missionaries for advice. The mission-
797 aries in Tonga were well aware of this need and they regarded
it as an integral part of their work. This has been well expressed
by the Reverend John Williams (1839:119), in reference to the
work of the L.M.S. missionaries in the South Seas:

> it would be criminal were he [the missionary], while seeking to elevate the moral character of a community, and to promote among it the habits and usages of civilized life, to withhold any advice or assistance which might advance these designs . . . The Missionary goes among them [the heathens], . . . Subsequently they become acquainted with new principles; are taught to read portions of the word of God, which are translated and put into their hands; and soon perceive that these ancient usages are so incompatible with Christian precepts, that such a superstructure cannot stand on a Christian foundation. To whom then, in this dilemma, can they apply for advice, but to the persons from whom they have derived their knowledge? And what less can the Missionary do than give it freely and fully?

The important implication of this statement is that the very nature of missionary endeavours will inevitably bring about an involvement in the politics of the society in which the missionary works. This situation is brought about by the nature of man himself, as Dr Philip (1828, I:vii), an early mission director, vividly pointed out. 'Man', he wrote, 'in his individual and collective capacity, is so constituted, that no improvement can take place in any part

of one or the other without diffusing its influence over the whole 797
man, and over the whole frame of society.'

The traditional Tongan society with its social, economic and 182
political institutions had been closely integrated with the traditional
religious system. When the influential chiefs and their people 797
accepted Christianity, the equilibrium of the old social system
was undermined and changes and adjustments became inevitable. 177
A deliberate effort was made to reconstruct Tongan society upon 797
the new Christian beliefs and values. It was to be based only upon
those old customs and traditions which the missionaries and their 177
chiefly converts thought suitable for the new design, and it was 185
to incorporate many new and imported elements.

The immense task of social reconstruction proved to be too 797
formidable for the chiefly builders, who were often at a loss as
to the nature of the new design. During the first two or three 185
decades, they were forced to rely heavily upon the advice of the 565
missionaries. These converted chiefs were already the political [622]
leaders of their various *kāinga,* and their continued reliance on
the missionaries ensured that the missionaries had almost as much
to do with political matters as they had with religious guidance.

There was a precedent for this, in the close alliance between 797
the priests and chiefs in pre-missionary Tongan society. It was
therefore not surprising to find the converted chiefs, who wished 185
to pursue their politics according to Christian principles, as early 565
as 1827, consulting the missionaries on political matters (N. 177
Turner, Journal, 29 Nov. 1827, WMMS 1818-36, item A2833). [793]

The result was a fusion of church and state matters. Residences
for the missionaries, school buildings and churches were built and 659
maintained by the people, often not on their own initiative, but 797
rather 'in obedience to the command (*fekau*) of the King. Their
conversion was a "mea Fakafetogia"—(a matter imposed upon
them by the government)' (Whewell to Eggleston, 4 Aug. 1856,
WMMSA 1852-79; item 170). Peter Turner (Journal, 24 May
1841) wrote, 'I must say that the people have done much for us
since we came. They have thatched our house—and the house of
Bro' Kevern. And they are about to put up a house for Bro'
Wilson and a house for an academy.'

The fusion of church and state matters caused some confusion [643]

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
OU9 Tonga OU9

659 as to the leadership of the church. In 1834 John Thomas reported
797 of King Josiah Aleamotu'a that, 'In the course of two years I
have spent with him he has interfered with me on several occasions,
643 he has got an idea that it is his duty to govern in the Church of
Christ, his place to appoint teachers or displace them—his place
to take into the Society and put out etc.' (Thomas, Diary and
letter book:153).

The consummation of this alliance between church and state occurs in the remarkable career of King George. In a letter to the Committee in London, the Reverend Charles Tucker wrote of him:

> You have heard, I suppose, that our excellent King is a class-leader and a Local Preacher. He is a fine fellow, a genuine Christian, a man of noble mind . . . We have the very flower of the people on the Local Preachers' plan, so far as rank, piety and talent are concerned . . . The King is as obedient as any of them to our directions. (*W-M Mag.*, April 1836:304)

[798] While the progress of the church and state alliance was hindered
on Tongatapu by bitter opposition from a strong and influential
band of heathen chiefs, it sailed before the wind in Ha'apai and
643 Vava'u where Tāufa'āhau's rule was uncontested. King George
829 was convinced that, in general, the ways of the *kau papālangi*
(Europeans) were superior to those of the Tongans, for he was
quick to see that they possessed superior wealth, knowledge and,
above all, power. He was responsive to innovations and was
prepared to learn all he could from Europeans and put what he
had learned into practice, whether it was in the field of culture,
economics, religion or politics.

563 Unlike Hawaii, Fiji, Samoa and many other Pacific islands,
which had quite large numbers of white settlers, Tonga, in the
first half of the nineteenth century, had only a small number of
Europeans and, apart from the missionaries, they were mostly
escaped convicts and runaway sailors. They did not own land or
establish businesses, but lived with various chiefs who had befriended
them (Dillon 1829, II:260), so they could not be classed
659 as settlers. The absence of a settler class to whom to turn made
797 the chiefs, especially Tāufa'āhau in the early days of his political
career, rely almost exclusively upon the Wesleyan missionaries for
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advice. In 1831 Peter Turner (Journal, 26 Dec. 1831) recorded that, 'The king came up this morning and wished to have some laws for the regulation of his servants . . .'. 659 797

The missionaries, for their part, were not only willing to give their advice, but they expected to be consulted on almost every important matter, so much so that when their advice was not sought by the chiefs they were deeply disappointed. Thomas noted in his journal, in February 1831, that in things of small importance he had been consulted by the chief, Tāufa'āhau, but it was a long time since Tāufa'āhau had taken much notice of him. Later, in the same year, Thomas was furious when Tāufa'āhau decided of his own accord to accept an invitation from Fīnau 'Ulukālala of Vava'u, who was then heathen, to a canoe race. He referred to Tāufa'āhau as 'headstrong', because he had not consulted him on the matter, 'but sent word to 'Ulukālala that at such a time he could come' (Thomas, Journal, 13 April 1831). 643 [563]

It is quite obvious that Tāufa'āhau's first venture into legislation was strongly influenced by mission teaching. He had great admiration for the prominent figures of the Bible and wanted to follow their examples. He told one of the missionaries, in the course of a conversation on political matters, that, 'he wanted to imitate Abraham and those of whom the scriptures speak' (P. Turner, Journal, 26 Dec. 1831). 643 779

Although there is no documentary evidence, it seems fairly certain that the missionaries told King George about the system of government in their homeland and that the King of England and his Parliament ruled the people according to a written code of law. It would also be surprising if the King had not heard from the missionaries and visiting sea captains about the laws and port regulations already existing in other Pacific islands such as Hawaii and Tahiti. 643 177

It is not possible to document the degree of Tāufa'āhau's familiarity with the British system of law, but it was under his rule that the first written law[1] in Tonga—the Vava'u Code (for the full Code see Appendix A)—was officially promulgated in a *fono* at Pouono, a *mala'e* at Neiafu, the capital of Vava'u, on 20 November 1839. According to Thomas (Journal, 20 Nov. 1839), these laws had, with a few exceptions, been acted upon in Vava'u 671

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1 [See category 671, pp. 221-225--Analyst]

671 for more than twelve months before the Code's official promulgation.
They were printed on 16 May 1838.

[643] Authorities have pointed out that this simple but remarkable
Code was largely Tāufa'āhau's own composition. However, the
[797] influence of the missionaries is quite apparent in the Code itself,
which has a long preamble written in Biblical language.

Perhaps the most striking feature of the Code is the bold
671 step it made towards limiting the power of the chiefs. This was
565 undoubtedly due, to a large extent, to the advice of the missionaries.[1]
They believed that all men were equal in the sight of God,
797 and they had long been disturbed by the arbitrary power of the
565 chiefs and the inhuman way they often treated the commoners.
The attitudes of the missionaries on the question may be illustrated
797 by the following instances. Tāufa'āhau decided to bury
without any ceremony an old woman who died at Lifuka, Ha'apai,
565 where John Thomas was working at the time. 'I told him [Tāufa'āhau]',
766 wrote the missionary after hearing what happened, 'I
wished to do towards a poor old woman as I would towards the
rich, and that God was no respecter of persons' (Thomas, Journal,
797 26 Mar. 1831). Again, a charge was brought against a chief of
565 one of the islands of Ha'apai, in a Quarterly Meeting, for
appropriating to himself yams belonging to other people, and
425 forcing them to cultivate his land for him without receiving any
wages, and also tabooing for the King certain pigs belonging to
the people. The missionaries' reaction against this action was
firm and decisive. One of them reported:

> We strongly expressed our disapprobation of such arbitrary methods of obtaining supplies either for the King or Chiefs as well as pronounce our views of the inconsistency of the same with the office of a Local Preacher amongst us and our resolution to retain no such persons as preachers from the time to come. (Rabone, Journal, 11 Sept. 1838)

671 This attitude of the missionaries is reflected in Section 4 of
565 the Code which reads:

> It is my mind that my people should live in great peace, no quarrelling . . . but to serve the God of peace in sincerity . . . ; they

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[1] Obviously Tāufa'āhau's own ambitions had a lot to do with this move. [643]

> [the commoners] will work for you [chiefs] as you may require 671
> them . . .'; but I make known to you it is no longer lawful, for
> you to *hunuki*, or mark their bananas for your use, or to take by 565
> force any article from them, but let their things be at their disposal.

The setting up of a court of four magistrates in Vava'u to sit 692
once a month and to have jurisdiction over chiefs and commoners alike was deliberately designed to put an end to the use
of the despotic club of the chiefs as the supreme arbiter in any
serious dispute or quarrel, which had hitherto been the custom
of the land. Murder and theft in former days had been regarded 682
with indifference unless the person murdered was equal to or of 685
higher rank than the murderer or unless the property stolen was a
consecrated article. The prohibition of these crimes again reflects [797]
the attitude of the missionaries towards the importance of the
individual and the value of personal property. Part of Section 1 671
states that it is the King's prerogative to command the death
sentence and if anyone attempts to injure or kill another he shall 643
be brought before a judge for sentence. 681

In the words of one of the missionaries, 'neither chiefs nor 682
peoples were hereafter to take the law into their own hands. The
rights of the parties in criminal or disputed matters, were to be 692
decided and maintained by the appointed and responsible courts
of law, after a fair and open trial' (West 1865:164).

The prohibition of adultery and fornication sprang from the 684
emphasis which the missionaries placed on the sacredness of sex— 797
'a belief that man and women could only excusably share the joys
of love after a ceremony in which with the sanction of church and
state, they pledged themselves to one another in life-long fidelity'
(Collocott, n.d.:199). To do otherwise was, in the eyes of the missionaries, a serious sin. One of them reported in his journal, 'In the course of the day, a case was brought before him (Leonaitasi—the King's representative)—of fornication . . . the couple were publicly flogged. May these chastisements be sanctified to the good of all' (Rabone, Journal, 22 Sept. 1836).

Fidelity in marriage and the sanctity of family life were always very important features in the teaching of the missionaries. After visiting a young man who had been assaulted by the husband of his mistress, Thomas (Journal, 20 April 1828) wrote, 'If each

684 man had his own wife at Tonga many evils would be avoided and
many sins destroyed'. In order to safeguard marriage Section 8
[797] decreed that a deserted wife might claim her husband's plantations
[671] and property while a woman who deserted her husband should
be brought back to him; if she refused to remain she could not
lawfully remarry during her husband's lifetime.

584 It should be pointed out that marriages in Tonga were frequently
arranged, by one's parents or by a chief, without reference
583 to the wishes of the couple who were betrothed. A marriage was
entered simply by the woman cohabiting with a man under his
586 roof and protection. She was expected to remain with her husband
until such time as he might choose to divorce her. Mariner
587 estimated that about two-thirds of the married women in Tonga
had been divorced and married again several times. The missionaries
[797] condemned this custom, not only because they regarded
it as immoral and sinful, but also because it had led to several
murders, when men of lower rank had married the former wives
of superior chiefs.

671 The great emphasis which was placed on the holiness of the
Sabbath and of church services by the missionaries is clearly and
527 unequivocally reflected in Section 2, which exhorts people to
688 abstain from work on the Sabbath day and to attend places
of worship, and which makes it an offence for anyone to disturb
the service or insult the minister of the congregation.

671 Another distinct feature of the Code is the importance given
to industrious habits and the cultivation of the land. Many missionaries
461 complained bitterly because the Tongans appeared to
them incredibly indolent. In a letter to the General Secretary of
797 the mission, the Reverend John Whewell asserted that the Tongans
461 were naturally indolent. 'Only the old and married people', he
wrote, 'profess to work. The young people spend their time up
to manhood in supreme indolence or in what is worse—voyaging
from group to group' (Whewell to Eggleston, 4 Aug. 1856,
WMMSA 1852-79, item 170). A few, on the other hand, argued
that the people were not entirely an idle race. Their aversion to
work was mainly due to the abundance of natural resources from
which their simple wants were supplied. Hence, there was no
strong incentive for them to work, but when it appeared necessary

they were capable of intensive labour to supply their needs. To the 797
missionaries, however, all idleness was a breeding ground for sin 797
and crime, and they determined to put an end to it. A reflection 461
of this sentiment may be seen in Section 3 which exhorts the chiefs
to show love to the people under them but to require them to be 671
industrious and perform their duties to the government and to [461]
the chiefs. It also states that the chief should apportion land to
the people, sufficient to enable them to procure the necessities of [425]
life and support a family. And in order to safeguard the gardens,
provision was made to that effect in Section 5 which prohibited [231]
anyone to allow his pigs to run loose and damage other people's
gardens.

Sale of rum and other spirits to the Tongans was a cause of 273
constant worry to the missionaries. One of the later missionaries
wrote to the General Secretary of the mission on the subject. 'What 797
will be said when a Tonga man drinks 3 bottles of strong spirit in
one day and laughs at it and says he did not take enough to make
himself drunk, and yet this is the case. Will not the curse of the
Holy one be upon those Europeans who thus bring the cup of death
to this (sic) . . . islanders' (Baker to Eggleston, 18 Dec. 1861,
Baker 1860-79). Some years later, when one of King George's
sons died, the missionaries did not hesitate to attribute his death [165]
to excessive drinking. The prohibition of the sale of hard liquor
by the new laws and its being punishable by 'a fine to the King 671
of Twenty Five Dollars'[2] and a liability 'to have the spirits taken 689
from him', was obviously a reflection of the missionaries' sentiment.

The missionaries' attitude to heathen customs and traditions
(especially those which had any religious connection) was one of 797
uncompromising intolerance. They identified Christianity with 183
'civilisation' and the latter with the habits and customs of an
English town or village, and anything contrary to them, such as
Tongan customs and traditions, was uncivilised or unchristian,
and therefore ought to be destroyed. Bishop Blanc (1934:38)
asserts that 'It seemed to be the aim and object of the former
[Wesleyan missionaries] to instill into the minds of the people the
idea that all pleasures were sinful. To this end they prohibited, 671

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[2] This was a Spanish dollar and it was worth four shillings sterling. 535

671 through Taufaahau, all the early dances and songs and many of
[533] the ancient customs; . . . Through the suppression of the ancient
songs, much valuable information regarding the early history of
[535] Tonga has been for ever lost.' Section 8 of the new law, consistent
689 with the teaching of the missionaries, specifically mentions tradi-
[304] tional customs such as tattooing, circumcision and 'any other
idolatrous ceremonies' which are punishable by fines.

681 Except for liquor retailing and drunkenness, for inducing seamen to leave their ships with the intention of staying in Tonga, and for allowing pigs to run loose and damage gardens, the laws did not stipulate any fixed punishments. Consequently, punishments for various crimes were left to the discernment of the magistrates.

681 Desiring to inflict penalties in accordance with Christian prin-
797 ciples, King George and his magistrates naturally consulted the
missionaries on the matter:

> The King [wrote one missionary] came up to ask our opinion about punishing those who violate the laws of the land. They have punished them of late by beating them in the face with the fist. We told the King that we did not like the manner of punishing culprits, but that like himself we were at a loss to give any new mode which would be useful as almost every kind had been tried and had failed . . . We recommend hard labour and to appoint officers to look after those appointed to work. (P. Turner, Journal, 28 Feb. 1842)

[798] The consultation of the missionaries on this matter gave rise to resentment, and mission houses at Neiafu were burnt down and Peter Turner (Journal, 18 Aug. 1845) told King George that the missionaries no longer wished to be consulted on the subject of punishment, since 'the most abandoned of our people might think that we influenced the judges to inflict certain punishments upon them'.

671 Thomas recorded in his journal on 20 November 1839 that the
Vava'u Code would be put in force at Ha'apai too, which group
643 was also under Tāufa'āhau's rule from 1820. It appears, however,
that these laws had been acted upon in Ha'apai long before this date, for Dr Lyth (Journal, 12 Dec. 1838), who was working at Ha'apai at the time, reported in December 1838 that 'The King [Tāufa'āhau] assembled the people from all the islands [of

Ha'apai] and gave them new laws. The meeting commenced by 671
daylight and was ended in about two hours.' 643

When Tāufa'āhau became Tu'i Kanokupolu on 4 December 1845, it appeared that the same Code—or at least the principles of the same Code—was applied to Tongatapu as well, and to the rest of Tonga, until the new Code was promulgated in 1850.

Knowing that the King would hold a *fono* with his people at Nuku'alofa on the morning of 9 January 1846, Thomas wrote to [797] the King the night before, hoping it would assist him in preparing for his meeting with his people in the morning. On the day of the *fono*, Thomas (Journal, 9 Jan. 1846) recorded:

> After prayer, I heard the people were assembled with their King—I went down and sat in a private place, in order to hear his address without his seeing me so that I may not be any hindrance to him.
>
> I think he spoke for half an hour. It was as good as a sermon to them . . . he spoke against the sins so common here—as Sabbath breaking—drinking to excess—adultery—fornication—stealing, etc., and instructed them to avoid such things, as being attended with much fatal consequences upon all . . . .
>
> He exorted them to many things and amongst others—that of contributing of oil towards the support of the cause of God—I hope much good will result from the truly Christian address.

Being conscious of the rapid advance of the general sophistication of his people, King George felt that there was a need for another more comprehensive code of laws with which to govern his country more efficiently. He frequently and earnestly consulted [797] the missionaries on the subject and at the end 'applied for their official help in framing them' (West 1865:212).

The matter was brought up in the annual meeting of the mis- 643
sionaries in July 1847, at Nuku'alofa. Lawry, the then General
Secretary of the Wesleyan Mission in the South Seas, who visited 671
Tonga and Fiji that year, presided over the meeting. After a care- 797
ful discussion of the whole question, the missionaries suggested that 659
the King should seek the advice and opinion of 'the highest English legal authority in New Zealand' on the matter. The King then wrote a letter on the subject and Lawry conveyed it to the appropriate quarter. In due course, the reply came advising the

643 671 797 King that the best he could do was to adopt a code of laws similar to the Society Islands laws published by William Ellis (1831: 176-92), making any modification necessary to suit the local situation.

659 The missionaries immediately prepared a translation of this Code of Laws which had been drawn up for Huahine in 1823, and placed it in the hands of the King and his chiefs for their consideration. The King and his chiefs held several meetings to discuss the laws. In these meetings they made many alterations and amendments as well as additions to the laws, and a rough draft was drawn up.

In June 1850, the King and some of his chiefs attended the annual meeting of the missionaries which was held at Neiafu, Vava'u, to seek the advice and opinion of the missionaries on the rough draft they submitted to the meeting. One missionary wrote:

> Upon carefully and unitedly examining and discussing the whole, we suggested several important alterations, which he [the King] and his native advisers were to consider for themselves, and to either adopt or reject as they might deem proper. We were very careful to impress them with the conviction, that these laws must be adopted and promulgated as their own and not as the laws of the missionaries. (*W-M Mag.*, 1851:511)

[695] One of the things advocated by the missionaries was some standard of appeal, so that the people would not be subject to the whim or caprice of any 'upstart native Judge, who may be as unfit for his office as a want of common sense can make him, but who may have got into office by mere favour or rank'. However, the missionaries found that the King's mind was not fully made up on the question, and he wanted to postpone it till he consulted with the chiefs of Tongatapu.

Accordingly the King and some of his chiefs from the northern groups sailed for Tongatapu in the mission vessel, *John Wesley,* to meet the chiefs there. Thus, in the first week of July 1850, King George held his court at Nuku'alofa during which 'the Code was finally completed and made law by public and regal authority' (West 1865:213).

671 In effect, the Code of 1850 (see Appendix B)[1] turned out to be a revision and enlargement of the Vava'u Code of 1839 with

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[1] [See category 671, pp. 226-237--Analyst]

only a few additional provisions from the Huahine Code. The 671
missionaries were a little disappointed with the outcome, since
several things they would have liked to have seen included were 671
absent; at the same time, they found in it much that was contrary 797
to their views. The sentiment of the missionaries was expressed
by Lawry who again visited Tonga at this time. On 5 July 1850, 671
he recorded in his journal:

> The King is holding his court, and they have now fully agreed upon 797
> a Code of Laws, which are to be published forthwith. They are not 643
> all that we could wish them to be; and this I told the King and [693]
> Chiefs; remarking especially on the mode of paying the Judges out of
> the fines levied on the offenders, which is sure to corrupt the seat [465]
> of justice; but the King's apology was, 'we must do things little
> by little'.

In spite of their disappointment, the missionaries believed that, 671
on the whole, the Code of 1850—with all its defects—was much
in advance of the 1839 Code, and that it would, 'no doubt, prepare 797
the way for something better still' (West 1865:213).

As in the 1839 Code, the influence of the missionaries was
apparent. Emphasis on industrious habits was again a feature. [461]
Article XXXVI declared that men must work and persevere in 671
labouring to support themselves and their families and to contribute to the cause of God and the Chief of the land. Anyone who 461
refused to work was to be denied food or other assistance. [686]

Quoting the above article as evidence, Thomson (1894:221)
claimed that the missionaries designed the Code mainly for their 671
own profit. 'Their hand', he wrote, 'is detected in the following 797
excellent provision, designed to check the growing indolence of
the people, and turn their labour into a channel of profit to the
reverend legislators.'

On the other hand, the missionaries felt that they were only doing their duty in trying to inculcate in the minds of the Tongans that it was 'the duty incumbent upon professed converts to the Christian faith, and especially upon all members of the church, of personally contributing to the support and extension of missionary agencies' (West. 1865:141).

In the Law referring to Women (Article XXXVII) the duties 671
of women included labouring to clothe their husbands and children. 562
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671 It was forbidden for any women to remain indolent, and they were
[562] not to be assisted or fed since 'Our assisting the indolent is sup-
porting that which is an evil'.[3]

[461] Sanctity of marriage was again an important feature of the
[581] 1850 Code in which Article VII declared marriage to be a
covenant which could not be broken during the lifetime of either
spouse.

797 The missionaries made no compromise regarding polygamy.
Giving up all but one wife was made one of the conditions of
595 acceptance into membership of the Church. 'I told the people',
wrote Thomas (Journal, 30 Mar. 1831), 'of many of their sins
particularly of the sin of Polegemy. I exhorted them to put away
their wives and keep one only and the Lord will then receive
671 them into his family'. This attitude is reflected in Article VII:
3 which made it unlawful for anyone to have more than one
595 spouse.

Dancing was a popular entertainment among Tongans. It was
535 mainly held at night time, and usually went on until the small
[832] hours of the morning. The excitement naturally whetted the sexual
appetite, and couples would melt into the darkness. This was, of
535 course, horrifying to the eyes of the missionaries who, like all
797 Evangelicals, viewed dancing with disgust, as a great enticement
to sin. Another reason for the missionaries' disapproval of dancing
[796] was the fact that it was often performed in association with the
old religious ceremonies. Their views were expressed in Clause XI
671 which forbade dancing and heathen customs with a penalty of one
535 month's hard labour for the first offence and two months for
further offences.

689 The puritanical views on modesty, which the Wesleyan mission-
797 aries held, made it imperative for adequate and proper clothing
to be worn in public by the new converts. 'To dress otherwise,
291 leaving the body healthy and glad in the sunshine and fresh air

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[3] Knowing the privileged position women occupied in Tongan society,
Neill could not understand this seemingly extraordinary law. 'It is the
husband', he wrote, 'who was, and still is, the working partner and
[462] breadwinner in the Tongan home' (Neill 1955:98). It may be pointed
out, however, that women had the responsibility of making the *ngatu*
[287] (tapa cloth) mats and so on, which were needed in the home, and
this was the work to which the clause referred.

was uncivilised, or worse' (Collocott, n.d. (a): 199). Blanc (1934: 797
43) has claimed that the European style of clothing was detri- 291
mental to the health of the Tongans:

> Being used to anointing their bodies with coconut oil when leaving their houses, and if caught in the rain receiving no hurt therefrom, they neglected to change into dry clothes after a wetting, and so developed colds and chest troubles which later turned to the dread scourge of consumption.

The missionaries' view on this matter can be seen in Article XLI [671]
which stated that everyone had to be clothed.

The missionaries, however, cannot be blamed completely for
clothing the people. The Tongans themselves were eager to [829]
imitate, though imperfectly, the way the Europeans dressed, for
they, particularly the leading chiefs, believed that it was part of progress.

The General Secretary of the Wesleyan Mission was very dis- 797
appointed that the promulgation of the 1850 Code had not been
brought about earlier, since he could see no reason for the long 671
delay, and he implied that the missionaries, being the advisers,
were to be blamed for it. However, Peter Turner explained that [648]
the Tongans were very jealous of any foreign interference, and sometimes even questioned the motives of their missionaries, whether they might not wish to bring them under some foreign government. This was the reason why they had not done more to promote a code of laws like those of the Society Islands and Hawaii. He wrote in June 1850, a month before the promulgation of the second Code of Laws in Tonga, 'We have left them to feel their own wants, and we hope now they will make some move towards improvement in civilization and political economy' (*W-M Mag.*, 1851:511-12).

Among other reasons, the two Codes are important for the 671
fact that they formed the basis of the future constitution of Tonga.
They took two very important steps. Firstly, they limited the 642
power of the chiefs, and thereby raised, to some extent, the social, 671
economic, religious as well as political status of the commoners.
Secondly, by limiting the power of the chiefs they consolidated the 642
new and powerful position of the *hau*. 565
[643]

671 The *Law referring to the King* (1850 Code) proclaimed that
643 the King was the root of all government and that it was for him
to appoint those who should govern. He had power to command
the assembly of his chiefs to consult with him on whatever he
might wish to have done. He was the Chief Judge and the ultimate
judicial authority in disputes. Finally, he had powers to impose
whatever taxes seemed proper.

671 The analysis of the two Codes and the evidence available indicate
that although their influence was quite apparent in the Codes,
● 797 the missionaries could not, and did not, dictate the laws to Tāufa'āhau
643 and his chiefs. That they did not do so can be attributed
to the strong personality of Tāufa'āhau, and the chiefs' suspicion
[648] of any foreign interference in the affairs of their country. Having
accepted Christianity, Tāufa'āhau and his chiefs sought the advice
of the missionaries, that they might govern the country in accordance
with Christian or 'civilised' principles. The missionaries
offered their advice, but it was left to the King and his chiefs
to decide what laws were most suitable for their people. It is quite
obvious that the decisions the King and his chiefs had made were
made by means of the new 'light'—dim though it might have been
—which they had now received through the teaching of the missionaries.
671 The eventual success of these laws can be attributed to
797 the fact that it was the Tongan leaders who decided the final
content of the codes of laws they wanted, and it was to the credit
of the missionaries that they promoted and encouraged such a
policy. This was in direct contrast to the situation in Tahiti where
the L.M.S. missionaries, on their own initiative, drew up a code
of laws and then invited the chiefs to ratify it.

8 *Renewed Resistance and the last Civil War, 1852*

Upon his succession to the position of Tu'i Kanokupolu in 1845, 643
King George immediately assumed supreme authority throughout
the whole of Tonga. The laws he had promulgated in Vava'u in 671
1839, and which were later revised in 1850, were now applied
to the whole kingdom. The heathen chiefs did not find it easy to
observe many of the laws, which were influenced by the mis- 671
sionary teaching they did not accept: prohibition of Sabbath 797
breaking, fornication, and the exercise of the chief's traditional
rights over the commoners' property. Moreover, they resented the 668
loss of their independence and power. These underlying elements of discontent were in due course brought to the surface by the sympathetic support of the Roman Catholic French priests who made no secret of their determination to undermine both the Protestant and British influence in Tonga.

In 1842, the first Roman Catholic mission was established in 797
Tonga and became an effective counter-influence to the Methodist missionaries in the affairs of the group. The decision to send Roman Catholic missionaries to the South Seas can be traced directly to the influence of the Irish adventurer Peter Dillon. At his instigation, Bishop de Solages, who had been interested in sending missionaries to the South Seas, submitted a scheme for carrying the Gospel there.[1]

Dillon had outlined his plans for sending French Roman Catholic missionaries to the South Pacific in a letter to the Bishop in 1829. There he proposed that a party be sent via South America on board the yearly French government cargo ship which could land them at various islands in the Pacific. He envisaged himself as the leader of such an expedition and stressed his own connections with the Polynesian chiefs, saying he could persuade them to accept the missionaries. Although Dillon's letter was forwarded to the Prince de Polignac, Chief Minister of the French Government, to secure support for the scheme, Dillon was not in fact chosen to lead the expedition (Davidson, n.d., chapters 19, 20, 21).

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[1] Bishop de Solages contacted the Cardinal Prince de Croy, the first president and patron of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, requesting him to submit a proposal for sending French missionaries to the South Seas to the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda at Rome. The Cardinal complied and wrote to the Cardinal Prefect of the Sacred Congregation in September 1829 (see Keys 1957:41).

This scheme was approved in Rome on 22 December 1829, when the Sacred Congregation, at the direction of Pope Gregory XVI, divided the prefecture of the South Seas into two portions. Eastern Oceania was confided to the Picpus Fathers, the first Vicar Apostolic of Eastern Oceania being the Right Reverend Monsigneur Rouchouze, who had been working in Hawaii since 1827. His jurisdiction covered the Hawaiian Islands, Tahiti, the Marquesas and other eastern Pacific Islands. Western Oceania, comprising the area between the Cook Islands and New Zealand, was confided to Bishop de Solages. The Bishop died in 1833 and the project had to be postponed for another two years. In 1835 Pope Gregory XVI established the Apostolic Vicariate of Western Oceania and the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda sought a Vicar Apostolic for the Vicariate, and a body of priests to assist him. Eventually this important task was entrusted to the young chaplain of a boarding school for boys in the Diocese of Lyons, Jean-Baptiste François Pompallier.

On the advice of the Archbishop de Pins of Lyons, who had been working with the Marists, Pompallier turned to the Society of Mary for his priests. Several Marists offered themselves for this new venture and the Archbishop sent their names and that of Pompallier to Rome, with the recommendation that the latter be made the Vicar Apostolic of Western Oceania. Archbishop de Pins also recommended the Marist society to undertake the work of that region, urging that approbation be given to the society in order to encourage and strengthen it. These recommendations were approved in Rome by Pope Gregory XVI in April 1836.

One of the factors which assisted the success of the Roman Catholic mission was the high calibre of its priests. Pembroke and Kingsley (1872:251) have accurately observed that the

Roman Catholic priests who were sent out to the South Seas were 'more highly educated and cultivated than the greater part of those sent out by the various Dissenting bodies'. Bishop Pompallier was himself a scholar and a man of piety and zeal. Father Chevron who, with Brother Attale, was entrusted by Bishop Pompallier with the task of establishing the Catholic mission in Tonga was also highly educated. He had entered the Ecclesiastical College at Belley at the age of 15 in 1826, studied philosophy in a seminary for three years before becoming a teacher, and in 1831, at the age of 24, he was ordained priest. Most of these Marist priests, in addition to being well trained, were dedicated men, sincere in their beliefs, unequivocal in their sense of vocation, and faithful to their calling. Perhaps their spirit of dedication may best be shown in a letter written by their leader, Bishop Pompallier, to the members of the Council of the Propagation of the Faith at Lyons:

> As for us privations and death are a gain, . . . Ah, the more we survey this distant mission, the more we find their difficulties insurmountable to human prudence left to itself alone. But we are full of confidence; nothing is impossible to Jesus Christ. It is He who sends us by His august Vicar, our Holy Father the Pope, who has blessed us. Besides, there are the promises of the Divine Master; . . . .
> We congratulate ourselves as being poor instruments in the Hands of God. We congratulate you, gentlemen, with gratitude, with respect and with affection . . . .
> We cannot forget you in the lands that we must water with our sweat and perhaps, happily, with our blood . . . . (Keys 1957:51-2)

One of the Protestant missionaries claimed that it was 'unreasonable, ungentlemanly, and unchristianlike for a body of Roman Catholics to come to these shores and enter into other men's labours' (quoted in Brookes 1941:78). While it is difficult to dispute the truth of this accusation, it is fair to remember that these men, like the Protestant missionaries, were only following the sincere belief of their church. At this particular time the Roman Catholic church was preoccupied with 'heresy' as much as with heathenism. On 12 March 1832, de Solages wrote to Pope Gregory XVI and also to the new French King, Louis Philippe, 797 'begging for facilities to offset the progress of Protestant missionaries in Oceania' (Keys 1957:42).

The accepted Catholic view as expressed by Bishop Blanc, a later historian, writing in the Tongan Catholic paper, *Taumua Lelei,* is as follows:

> The reason for the decision made by Pope Gregory XVI [to send the Roman Catholic priests to Tonga] was his carrying out the commandment given to the Catholic Church by Jesus Christ, saying that it [the Church] should spread and continue to spread His Will and His Commandments to all people of the Earth, so that they should know the one True Church and follow it . . . .
>
> There is no other Church which Jesus Christ gave that command but the Catholic Church. Consequently the servants of the Church had to go out to all parts of the world where there are people, irrespective of whether they were still pagan or belonged to any other Church or religion.
>
> In Tonga there were people who were still pagan and others had joined the Protestant Church, but they had not yet known the true Religion and this was the purpose of sending Bishop Pompallier by the Pope and for the same reason, the Roman Catholic priests sailed to Tonga.
>
> They came in order to lead into the Catholic Church, both Pagans and Protestants and this is the real task of the True Servants of Jesus Christ throughout the world, because they hold fast to the Commandment which was given by the Lord to the Catholic Church, to teach all peoples of the world. And there was no such commandment to any other Church. (4 July 1931—translation)

It was with such a conviction that the Roman Catholic priests went to Tonga and, because of this uncompromising attitude, which matched that of their Wesleyan counterparts towards them, the clash between the two parties became inevitable.

797 648 Like the marriage of convenience between the Methodist missionaries and the Tu'i Kanokupolu family in Tonga, the Roman Catholic mission in Oceania was wedded to the French government. The Catholic missionaries appreciated the advantages of having the protection and assistance of the French government, and, being Frenchmen themselves, they naturally relished the possibility of their work promoting the interests of France.[2] Bishop

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[2] It appears that from the time of Napoleon I the anti-church sentiment in the French government forced the church to emphasise its patriotism in its seminaries (Keys 1957:25).

de Solages, for instance, had emphasised the military value to France of Pacific outposts in his proposals for the South Seas mission.

After his return from Rome, Bishop Pompallier paid two visits to the French royal family. On the first occasion he saw only Queen Amélie, who promised him a gift for the mission. On his second visit he managed to see both the King and Queen, and also the King's sister, Madame Adelaide, who was notably devout and is said to have had much influence on her brother. The Bishop received from Louis Philippe an order for 1,500 francs and letters of introduction addressed to 'The Commanders of the French Squadron, stationed in the Southern Ocean, Valparaiso', dated 24 September 1836, and signed by the then Minister of the Navy and Colonies. The letter reads:

> This letter will be handed to you by His Lordship François Pompallier, Bishop of Maronea, Vicar Apostolic of the Western Islands of the Pacific who, in the course of his august mission, may often perhaps require the support and good services of the ships of state. I request you to receive this prelate with the honours and the attention due his office and his person, and I most particularly desire you to seize every opportunity of giving him the assistance which his situation may require and which yours will enable you to afford. You will give similar instructions to the commanders of ships under your orders. I shall witness with pleasure all that they and yourself may do to be useful to his Lordship the Bishop of Maronea. (Keys 1957:48-9)

Bishop Pompallier (1888:12) later stated that he had reason to attribute his 'deliverance from civil intolerance and the annoyance of the English Protestant ministers in Oceania' to this 'powerful and efficacious protection' that the King accorded him.

The furthering of nationalism appeared to be the prime motive in the French government's enthusiastic and unrestrained support of mission work. The resurgence of nationalism which followed France's defeat at Waterloo led to an intense rivalry and desire to outdo Great Britain. French nationalism was closely linked to Roman Catholicism and it was the ambition of the French government to revive French prestige and restore France's position as a world power and enlightened nation, by such means as spreading the state religion, particularly in those parts of the world where

797 648 English Protestantism was gaining ground. After the fall of Napoleon, the French government was often dominated by anticlericals who sought to curtail the church at home, but at the same time gave unqualified support to Catholic missions abroad (Oliver 1961:98), because they served a national purpose.

Laplace, in the narrative of his cruise around the world in the late 1830s, commented upon Great Britain's extensive influence in Oceania and how her influence might at any moment be converted into political rights. He also pointed out that 'the foundation of Britain's position was religion, therefore it might be undermined by a technique similar to that which the English had used to build it' (quoted in Brookes 1941:92). Louis Philippe had the reputation of being an opportunist who was prepared to be friendly to the church if such a policy was advantageous, and who favoured the missionary effort because he believed it would advance his colonial ambitions. However, political motives were not the sole basis for the French government's support, if one considers the comments made by Father Colin, founder of the Society of Mary, on the attitude of the French officials. Writing to Bishop Pompallier he said:

> They all ask for French establishments in the most important islands of Oceania; and they look for success out of missionaries' influence. They say if these islands are made Catholic they will be made French . . . I do not think that in these new projects the French Government is inspired solely by politics. It is also intent upon protecting religion and people. There is general indignation at the behaviour of Englishmen who are said ruthlessly to destroy savage peoples. (Keys 1957:148)

All the evidence indicates that the Roman Catholic priests went to the Pacific with the full blessing of both the church and the French government, and with the double purpose of winning the islanders, heathens and heretics alike, to the 'one true Catholic Church' and at the same time promoting French national interests in those islands, particularly where British interests might be undermined.

797 Pompallier and the members of his team left France on Christmas Eve 1836 and they finally reached Valparaiso in June 1837, where they were received by the Picpus missionaries. They re-

mained there, stranded, for two months awaiting a vessel that 797
could take them to their destination. In August 1837 they departed on board the *Europa* on a course to the Gambier Islands and Tahiti, where they chartered a small schooner called the *Raiatea*, which belonged to the American Consul, Moerenhout (later French Consul at Tahiti). With the aid of this schooner they were able to reach their destination with greater freedom and speed and at less expense.

When they finally reached Vava'u, which was the first port of call, Bishop Pompallier managed to obtain two interpreters, one a Frenchman and Catholic, the other an American and Protestant. Through these two interpreters, according to the Bishop's own 797
account, he established social communication with King George,
who, in the absence of the two Wesleyan missionaries, John 643
Thomas and William A. Brooks, showed him cordiality and kindness and agreed that two of his company could remain on the island. However, when Thomas and Brooks returned two or three days later, the Bishop learned from one of the interpreters that the missionaries 'had done nothing but beset the mind of the King in order to constrain him not to receive any member from my company on his island'. Being unable to speak the language, the Bishop raised no objection and bade the King farewell, promising him that when he had learned the language he would return to see him again and then 'he [the King] would understand all things better according to my wishes and hopes for the happiness of himself and his country'. According to the Bishop, all he wanted to do was to leave two of his company in Vava'u to guard the mission stores and to correspond with the mission stations they expected to establish elsewhere (Pompallier 1888:17). His real intention in wanting to do this, however, is not clear. According to his biographer, 'The King at first agreed . . . that the Bishop should leave two of his company at Tonga to study and teach there' (Keys 1957:62).

However, the Wesleyan missionaries who had been working 797
there since 1831 were not convinced that the Bishop's plan to leave two of his company in Vava'u was as simple as he tried to make it appear. Consequently, they voiced their objections to the Bishop. According to John Thomas's account of the incident, the

797 Bishop honoured them with a visit the day he and Brooks arrived back from Ha'apai after attending their District Meeting. After offering to give them any supplies they might want from his vessel, the Bishop told them that he wanted two of his company 'merely 797 to remain' in Vava'u. The missionaries replied that it should be the King's decision. The Bishop then informed them that the King 643 had led him to believe that it was a matter for the Wesleyan missionaries to decide.

> I then requested his Lordship to let us know his object as we understood he had Missionaries on board, and if he wished to know whether or not we wished him to leave Missionaries here to act as teachers of religion, we begged most respectively to ashure (sic) his Lordship that we did not wish him to do so as our people were all Christians, and under our care and to have Missionaries of another creed and discipline would not be for the good but evil of our people, but that if his Lordship merely wished to leave two persons on shore here, we begged to say again, it was for the King to decide and not us . . . .
> His Lordship regretted that we should object to his leaving Missionaries here and said that were he in our case he should not do so . . . I told him it was the good of the people I sought and I was sure, it would not lead to edification but confusion, if there were other Missions here, as the people were one, under one King and as one family also we had come to them in their heathen state had sought them and brought them to the path of truth and goodness, and it was only just that we should wish to keep them as they were our children, the fruit of our labour in the Lord. (Thomas, Journal, 27 Oct. 1837)

The Bishop then assured the missionaries that he did not want his men to act as teachers or interfere in any way with religious matters.

> We informed his Lordship [continued Thomas] that as they were Missionaries it was not to be expected but that they would interfere with religious subjects. We thought that was a duty they owed to the Society which had sent them but, on that ground only it was we objected to their being here, but if it was merely to remain here I stated again it was for the King to determine.

The Bishop, however, persisted in his belief that John Thomas had it in his power to decide the matter. Thomas then offered to accompany him to the King and hear what he had to say on the subject. The Bishop accepted the offer, and they all set off to the King's house. Thomas described this encounter:

> We found the King sitting on his mat. I took my seat by him, as in the Tongan fashion, but his Lordship did not Nofo ki lalo [sit down]. He then proposed to the King by means of the Frenchman whether or not he would allow two men to remain at the islands. The King asked for what purpose? His Lordship replied that he merely wished them to remain to learn the language. The King asked for what purpose? He said he wished them to know it. The King said he had told him before he did not wish them to remain here. The Bishop pressed the King to allow it saying they should not interfere with his people and that he could send them away anytime, say in two or three months, if a vessel called, and moreover he expected a vessel to call here. The king said it was not true that they would not interfere with religion that the Bishop had already interfered by telling him before we came home that his the Bishop's was the old religion and consequently the true one, that what we taught was new and lately sprung up, and the King said they must not remain but go away for he did not need them here, and as they had now a vessel they must go away in it.

Despite the numerous discrepancies between the two accounts of the incident,[3] several facts appear certain. The Bishop's account shows an unfortunate lack of knowledge, or appreciation, of the real character of the King. He clearly underrated the degree of conviction with which King George had accepted Christianity through Methodism. During the past three years he had been deeply involved in the religious revival which began in Vava'u and then spread throughout Tonga. He identified himself with the Methodist mission and was instrumental in gaining new members. Obviously, he watched with pride and satisfaction the growth of the mission, and for the Bishop to tell him that the Catholic church was the old, and therefore true, church, implying that the King's own church was not, must have been a great insult to him, arousing in him (if he had not had them before this incident) some feelings against both the Bishop and the Roman Catholic

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[3] Several factors may explain these discrepancies. There were the obvious difficulty of direct communication, the use of unreliable interpreters, the fact that the Bishop wrote his little book several years after the event, and also the understandable bias on both sides.

797 643 church. The Bishop's allegation that the Wesleyan missionaries decided the matter for the King, implying that the King was a puppet of the missionaries, was based on an underestimation of both the intelligence and character of King George. It was quite natural for him to seek the advice of his missionaries in cases such as this one, for he was well aware of the limitation of his knowledge of the white man's laws and way of life, let alone religion, but in the end he always made his own decisions. John Thomas himself often complained that the King did not take any notice of him. Another missionary wrote of him:

> He happens to have a mind of his own, and like the Hero of Waterloo ignores any Second in Command. (Amos to Eggleston, 26 Oct. 1857, WMMSA 1852-79, item 170)

797 The Wesleyan missionaries felt justified in their objection to the establishment of a Catholic mission in Tonga where their own mission had already been established. They feared that this would only confuse the people and bring difficulties to their work as well as to the country as a whole. Events which followed in the forties and fifties proved them right. They also had good reason to doubt the real motives of the Bishop in his attempt to leave two of his men in Vava'u. The missionaries were well aware of the train of events associated with the landing of Catholic priests in Tahiti in 1836.

However, one cannot overlook the fact that there was a decidedly anti-Roman Catholic bias among the Wesleyan missionaries. They had inherited this outlook from the parent body at home, and in Tonga they made no secret of their hostility to the expanding work of the Catholic priests. Their letters during the 1840s and for the next two or three decades after the establishment of the Roman Catholic mission in Tonga were full of these anti-Catholic sentiments.

The Wesleyan missionaries had, however, underestimated the calibre of the man with whom they were dealing. Bishop Pompallier had tremendous determination and strength of character, and he had no intention of giving up easily. He kept his word to the King that he would come back, but before that he decided to strike his first blow at the Methodists by establishing mission stations in 'Uvea and Futuna. With regard to this unexpected move the Bishop afterwards wrote:

> I at once gave the captain orders to set sail for the islands of Wallis ['Uvea] and Futuna . . . I had learned during my stay at Vavau that the Protestant missionaries intended establishing their mission in these two islands, whither I myself was going before them and without their knowledge. They thought I was going to Ascension Island . . . Such, indeed, was my intention . . . It was only at Vavau, that intolerant and first-inhabited island I visited within the bounds of my jurisdiction, that God caused me to conceive the resolution of carrying the work of salvation to Wallis and Futuna, in order to save these two islands from Protestantism and the intolerance which it had established at Vavau, and finally to bring to the true fold this interesting people, who as yet had not exchanged paganism for heresy. (Pompallier 1888:18)

Meanwhile, Dillon, after his return from the Pacific at the end of 1838, continued to maintain his contact with France and the French missionaries. In a letter to Father Colin, in February 1841, he alleged that, after Captain Croker's death in 1840, the Tongans had banished their cruel oppressors, the British missionaries, from Tongatapu, and were now asking for French missionaries and for the protection of the French Crown:

> if his Majesty Louis Philippe [he declared] would now come forward I could procure for him the sovereignty of Tonga and all the Friendly Islands at the trifling expense of a few thousand francs. (Dillon to Colin, 10 June 1841, cited by Davidson, n.d., ch. 28:32)

Dillon also suggested that perhaps a French colonising company could be formed to buy land in Tonga under his guidance, and that the mission should begin work in Fiji. He informed Colin that he had written to friends in Tonga telling them to advise the chiefs not to let the Wesleyans return and to expect Roman Catholic missionaries soon. He made a further suggestion that 'perhaps the Marists should abandon New Zealand now that it had become British and concentrate on Tonga and Fiji, where they could benefit France as well as the Catholic religion'.

After carefully considering Dillon's proposals, Father Colin rejected some of them but approved of Dillon's suggestion that missionaries should be sent to Tonga and Fiji. He decided to support this idea by sending missionaries to Tonga.

In 1841, when news reached Pompallier of the murder of Father Chanel at Futuna, he wrote to the captain of the French corvette *L'Aube*, M. Lavaud, on 6 November 1841, expressing his indignation at what he believed to be the apathy of Captain d'Urville of the *Astrolabe* in not visiting the missions at 'Uvea and Futuna while he was in those waters, but instead taking as a passenger to a neighbouring island the 'intolerant' John Thomas, at whose instigation the King had banished him and his missionaries from Vava'u four years before. The Bishop complained that he could not understand why no ship had visited 'Uvea and Futuna, despite the letters he had sent to the French stations and consuls at Valparaiso, Tahiti and to the ministers of foreign affairs and of the admiralty.

Lavaud immediately placed the corvette *L'Allier* and her commander, Captain du Bouset, at the Bishop's service. With this protection Pompallier fulfilled his promise to return to Vava'u. According to his own account:

> We left Akaroa with the *Sancta Maria* and the corvette the *Allier* towards the end of November. The first stoppage we made was at the harbour of refuge in the Island of Vavau. It was Christmas time, and I celebrated the Holy Offices with great solemnity on board the *Allier*, which was anchored off the shore. The Commander, M. Bouset, rendered the Catholic Bishop military honours off this island, firing a salvo of artillery; then he called together all the chiefs of the tribes to a great meeting on shore, where, with dignity, loyalty, and firmness, he read them a well-deserved lesson on civilisation. He reproached them with the civil intolerance (imposed by the Methodist missionaries) they had shown me nearly four years before, in refusing to allow me to stay on their island. He exacted from them that, for the future, they should not behave in a like manner to any French subject, whosoever he might be. All the chiefs received the advise of the noble commander with docility.[4] (Pompallier 1888:78)

Referring to this incident, the Reverend Stephen Rabone (Journal, 1 Jan. 1842) wrote that the chiefs of Vava'u were asked whether they had heard what the French had done at Tahiti and other places. He claimed the Tongans were aware of their intention to 'force Popery' upon them and that they could often be heard praying earnestly and sincerely to the Lord to steer the French vessels in any direction but to their islands. In his opinion, the conduct of the Roman Catholic priests only served to affirm the common notion 'that it is a work of great mercy with them to convert us hereticks tho' by fire and sword to their system —than to enlighten the minds of dark and untaught heathen'. He claimed that there were many other heathen islands where the Roman Catholics could expand 'all the resources of their charity', but they would not go there because 'agitation' was one of their watch words. He deplored the use of a man-of-war to threaten a few quiet, unarmed natives, adding that in such an unequal contest they might indeed gain something:

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[4] Brookes (1941:84) claimed that, 'The French government and the French commanders consistently confused the issue in Oceania by insisting that the expulsion of French missionaries was a deliberate insult against their nationality, when the crux of the situation was obviously only the question of freedom to proselytize'.

> but He, whom they profess to follow has left directions enforced by his own example diametrically opposed to such doings. Such conduct can therefore never receive his sanction and blessing. May the Lord consume this and every other deadly error with the breath of his mouth and save these poor Islanders from the curse of Popery. Amen & Amen.

Bishop Pompallier and the two vessels left for 'Uvea and Futuna, where he stayed for the following five months, to smooth out some of the difficulties in the work of his mission stations there. On 9 June he finally left Futuna, taking with him Father Chevron and a catechist, Brother Attale. They departed aboard the *Sancta Maria* which was accompanied by a large canoe in which were more than thirty Tongans from Tongatapu who had been living in 'Uvea for some years and had been converted to Catholicism. They now wished to return to Tonga to help convert their people and they had asked the Bishop for at least a priest and a catechist, 'to sustain them in the practice of salvation and to endeavour to obtain the conversion of all their island' (Pompallier 1888:79).

After four days, they arrived at Lakemba (Fiji) and were met by another party of Tongans, one of whom was Fifita'ila, son of the celebrated Fa'ē of Pea. At this stage there had been no firm

791 decision as to where the mission station should be established, for the Tongans from 'Uvea did not agree among themselves. However, Fifita'ila advised them that their only hope would be with Moeaki of Pea. The Bishop inquired who Moeaki was, and was informed that he was a chief of high rank whose paternal uncles, Tākai and Fa'ē, and grandfather Lavaka, were responsible for making the present *hau,* Aleamotu'a, the Tu'i Kanokupolu. This information pleased the Bishop (*Taumua Lelei,* June 1931:4).

On 30 June 1842 they arrived at Pangaimotu and the Bishop sent two messengers to inform Moeaki of the new mission and of the proposal to establish it under him in Pea. Moeaki and Lavaka welcomed the Bishop's proposal and invited him to Pea. On 2 July the Bishop and Father Chevron conducted the first mass held in Tonga under a tree at Pangaimotu. Next day, the Bishop's
[643] party landed on the main island. They first called on Aleamotu'a, but he would not accept the new mission, saying that they already had one. He directed them to Moeaki. That day, the Bishop and Father Chevron held the first mass on Tongatapu, in the house of Moeaki. His wife Fie'ota and their three children, and two others, joined the church that day.

[643] Aleamotu'a had not expected that Moeaki would accept the Catholic Mission, since he was at that time a Methodist and, when he found out that Moeaki had accepted the new mission, he became very angry and repeatedly sent messengers to urge him not to do so. Meanwhile, Fie'ota pleaded with Moeaki to turn Catholic, and Lavaka added his weight in support of her, so that finally Moeaki was converted to Catholicism on 7 July 1842. Bishop Pompallier then left Father Chevron in charge of the mission with Brother Attale as his assistant.

On his return to New Zealand Pompallier wrote to Lavaud, on 19 October 1842, and gave an account of the work he had done:

> From Fiji I went to Tongatabu where I passed ten days. The Wesleyan party by its missionaries and the chiefs protested furiously against me, but I opposed it calmly by word and authority. I have been told that this island has ten or twelve thousand souls. About nine or eleven thousand are in favour of me.[5] The great chiefs of

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[5] The Bishop was either misinformed or misled to believe this. Farmer (1855:368) claimed that the number of people who joined the Roman Catholic mission had never been more than 300 at any one time.

> Bea have received one of my priests whom I offered them with a catechist. The principal chief of Bea has already turned to the Faith with several others of his celebrated fort, where I said the first Mass on 2nd July . . . We touched at Vavau, the intolerant island which takes upon itself to yield nothing of its intolerance for the French, in spite of the letter and threats of M. du Bouzet. (Keys 1957:189)

The founding of the Catholic mission in Tonga was a staggering blow to the Wesleyan missionaries, for obviously Bishop Pompallier had scored a victory over them at this stage. They were absent, attending a District Meeting, when the Bishop and his followers arrived at Tongatapu. Expressing deep disappointment and indignation, John Thomas reported to the Committee in London that upon returning to Tongatapu he found:

> to my great grief, that, during our absence, the Roman Catholic Bishop had succeeded in placing a priest at the Bea where the Chief Moeaki, a man who professed Xty, but who was not a member, or even baptized, has embraced the heresy; and as the Bishop has brought a number of Tonga men from Wallis's Island, who have embraced their dogma, he will have the means of greatly annoying us. It is thought that had Tupou [Aleamotu'a] exerted himself, he might have prevented this evil from taking place. (*W-M Mag.*, Mar. 1843:261)

Apart from Pea, two other Catholic centres existed on Tongatapu, one at Holonga and the other at Kotongo (Kolonga). Both were formed from the people who came from 'Uvea with Bishop Pompallier in 1842, and who had returned to their own places of origin.

Having now established their roots in Tonga, the priests proceeded with vigour and enthusiasm to pursue the task which they firmly and sincerely believed God had called upon them to perform: namely, the conversion of all Tongans, Protestant and heathen alike, to the 'true faith'.

According to Methodist accounts, the priests travelled for a time to the various places where the Wesleyan missionaries were already well established, 'endeavouring to subvert the faith of the native converts', and 'in the prosecution of this object, they resorted to every species of calumnious misrepresentation' (West 1865:290). They alleged that at Hihifo the priests told the people

79: Lātūkefu H,I,M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
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791 the Methodists were misleading them, for they were of Mr Wesley's religion, which only began one hundred years ago 'and Mr Wesley was no better than Jovili [Siovili] (an imposter, who was in the Navigator Islands a few years since, and who deceived many)' and, also, that their Bible was full of error (Farmer 1855:365).

Later, Peter Turner (Journal, 1 Dec. 1848) recorded that, while at Mu'a, he 'procured a small book belonging to the Romish party' which the priests had given to a heathen there. An extract from it reads:

> It is three hundred years since Luther was separated from the Church of Jesus Christ and commenced his religion of mere men and that Wesley has only lately been separated from Luther and begun his religion himself—just according to his own mind.
> That the curse of Luther and Wesley are the same and also the curse of Lucifer: for Lucifer was separated from God, because of his refusing to attend his majesty; and Luther and Wesley were separated from the Church, and for their refusing to listen to the Church were driven away that they might be like him (viz the devil).

Realising the importance of the Tongan language to their work, the priests applied themselves to learning it, having been greatly assisted by the fact that it had already been reduced to writing by the Methodist missionaries. and aided by their earlier contacts with Tongan speakers at 'Uvea. A few years later, one of the Wesleyan missionaries admitted how greatly he admired the [871] way in which the priests had mastered the language. Their command of the language enabled them to establish schools by the late 1840s. Like the Wesleyan missionaries, they trained and sent more gifted members as teachers in the various places where they had converts. Peter Turner (Journal. 5 Nov. 1848) wrote:

> It is very evident that the priests are following our example in some things.
>
> 1. In sending some—to act as teachers in the various places in wh.^{n} they have a few.
> 2. They are now commencing schools.
> 3. And in going out among the people.

In spite of their untiring efforts, the priests were not very successful in converting the masses to their faith as they had

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
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hoped to do. The Reverend George Miller reported in 1845: 797 'Popery, hitherto, thanks be to God, has not made much progress in Tonga. Many of the heathen see that it is the old thing in a new garb' (*W-M Mag.*, 1846:158). Later, in 1850, another Wesleyan missionary wrote, 'there are now 4 Romish Priests on Tonga, but they are losing their influence among the people, and with all their seeming compliances, and "pious" fraud, they are cast into the background. The reason for this is, we have God and truth on our side' (*W-M Mag.*, 1851:510). As will presently be shown, the Wesleyan missionaries succeeded in convincing their converts that 'Popery' was a system of lies and that the French missionaries were agents of France, whose real intentions were to create disturbances which could be used by their country as an excuse to annex Tonga.

Since the priests failed to make much impact upon established Methodist areas, they abandoned the itinerant system and concentrated their efforts upon the few centres in which they had established themselves. In addition to Pea, Holonga and Kotongo, these now included Ma'ofanga and Houma.[6]

The priests were as aware as the Wesleyan missionaries of the importance of converting the influential chiefs to their work. Once 797 643 they had learned that the highest chief in all Tonga was the Tu'i Tonga, Laufilitonga, who lived at Mu'a and who was still a heathen, they concentrated all their efforts upon trying to win him. Father Chevron first visited him in 1842, but Laufilitonga rejected his overtures. In 1843 Bishop M. Douarre arrived from France on his way to New Caledonia. He and the other priests paid Laufilitonga a visit. The Tu'i Tonga showed them sympathy and promised that he would accept Catholicism. However, when the new Vicar of Central Oceania, Bishop Bataillon, first visited Tonga in 1844 Laufilitonga still refused to be converted.

The Wesleyan missionaries were equally unsuccessful. Peter Turner (Journal, 6 Mar. 1843) alleged that when he and John

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[6] After the 1840 war a few of the Ma'ofanga people continued to live at Pea. Some of these people were converted to Catholicism after its establishment there in 1842. They returned to Ma'ofanga and started the Catholic mission there. Father Chevron, after repeated failure, finally managed to obtain a few converts at Houma, which had recently become a Methodist area (see *Taumua Lelei*, July 1931:3).

797 643 Thomas went to Mu'a to see the Tu'i Tonga, he ran away to the bush and refused to see them. It seems that political issues were involved. Bishop Blanc points out that the main reason for Laufilitonga's not accepting either Catholicism or Protestantism was that King George, who had defeated him in war many years ago, had accepted a foreign religion, and the missionaries supported him. When the Catholic mission, another foreign religion, arrived, Laufilitonga could not understand that there was a vast difference between the two, and so he preferred to remain heathen (*Taumua Lelei*, July 1931:3-4).

However, Father Chevron persisted and finally Laufilitonga recognised that the two missions were not the same and permitted Father Chevron to reside at Mu'a in 1847. In the following year, 1848, he decided to accept Catholicism and attended the mass on Sunday, 24 September. He was baptised by Bishop Bataillon on 30 September 1851.

797 643 668 The Wesleyan missionaries claimed that the conversion of the Tu'i Tonga was an integral part of the priests' general plans to destroy their influence on the people of Tonga. They alleged that the priests were secretly encouraging the 'spirit of disaffection, which the termination of the war of 1840 had not removed from the minds of several important heathen chiefs' (West 1865:291). They claimed that after King George was appointed Tu'i Kanokupolu in 1845, the priests began, at first secretly and then openly, to try to undermine his authority. The Reverend Thomas West (1865:291) wrote that the priests:

> first of all attempted to advance the claims of their principal convert, the Tuitoga, to the supreme government. They asserted his right not only among the natives, but to captains of merchantmen, and ships of war, belonging both to England and France; whilst they denounced King George as an ambitious usurper.[7]

At an encounter with two of the priests from Mu'a, who were on board the *Mary Jane* anchored at Nuku'alofa, Peter Turner (Journal, 5 Nov. 1848) accused them of trying to make the Tu'i

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[7] From a traditional viewpoint, the Tu'i Tonga would have been an equally legitimate claimant as was King George, but the former, Laufilitonga, was not as gifted for leadership, nor nearly as powerful, as his rival.

Tonga King of Tonga, among other things. 'These things', he 797
wrote, 'I told to the priests and showed them how unbecoming it
was for them to meddle so much with the chiefs and the Govern- 643
ment of the Islands.' 668

Turner then wrote two long letters to King George, 'giving an account of the state of affairs in Europe and of France in particular'. In the same letters he urged King George to come to Tongatapu, noting that 'A word from him goes a long way with many of the heathens'.

King George reacted promptly, as West (1865:291) recorded:

> No sooner, however, did the latter become acquainted with these facts, than he manned a few canoes, and sailed direct to Mu'a, where he publicly charged the priests with the offence, and where he also confronted the Tuitoga. The latter denied all participation in any attempt to advance himself to civil power; and declared further that he had no right to it, nor did he wish it.

The effect of this meeting was quite significant, as West points out that the Tu'i Tonga's 'public disavowal of all claims, as opposed to those of the lawful sovereign, effectually prevented any further open attempts on the part of the priests, to be his advocates'.

Again, according to the Wesleyan missionaries, when the 797
priests failed in their bid to undermine King George's power by
making Laufilitonga King of Tonga, they adopted another method. 643
This was to claim that the chiefs of Pea, Mu'a and Houma had 565
every right to rule their people quite independently of King George 668
and his laws.

Although the Ha'a Havea chiefs had agreed to support King George and to accept his authority, at the *fono* which he held after his installation as Tu'i Kanokupolu they still remained uncooperative. It was claimed that their reason for resisting King George's laws resulted from the priests telling them that to submit to these laws, which King George had promulgated with the guidance of the English missionaries, meant submitting to the King of England and not to King George. The priests also promised the chiefs their support and the support of French men-of-war (P. Turner, Journal, 5 Nov. 1848).

643 669 723 565 King George then decided to move his court to Lifuka, Ha'apai, leaving the administration of Tongatapu to Ma'afu and Lavaka, two of the leading chiefs of the Ha'a Havea. It seems very probable that King George did this in order to test their loyalty. If they faithfully carried out their responsibilities and maintained peace and order on Tongatapu, he would be satisfied, for that would prove that there was no further hostility or resentment towards his authority and the law of the country. But if, on the other hand, they seized upon this opportunity to rebel and undermine his authority, then with his solid following in the rest of Tongatapu, Vava'u and Ha'apai, he could easily crush any rebellion.

643 669 565 Ma'afu and Lavaka chose to rebel. They started to rebuild the fortress at Pea. When news of this reached King George, he sailed for Tongatapu to investigate the matter, but Ma'afu and Lavaka denied the rumours and King George returned to Ha'apai, after the promulgation of the 1850 Code of Laws. However, the truth could no longer be contained, and, when an appeal came from the Governor, Sūnia Haumono, and his friends in Tongatapu, King George decided to move his residence to Nuku'alofa in 1851. At this stage Ma'afu and Lavaka openly defied his authority and gave asylum to any fugitive from the laws promulgated by the King. Vaea and Fohe, two other Ha'a Havea chiefs, fortified Houma, ready to support Pea in the event of war.

● [797] In spite of repeated efforts on the part of the Wesleyan missionaries,[8] the Ha'a Havea chiefs had determined to defy the

[8] West paid a visit to Vaea, chief of Houma, and during their interview a conversation occurred, which West (1865:310-11) later recorded:

> Vaea, in the course of our interview, said, 'You see us armed, not that we are at war, or wish to fight, but because Tubou' (the hereditary name of the Tongan kings) 'is angry with us, and because he is preparing to attack us. He wants to force us to become Christians; but sooner than that shall be, we will fight and die.' To this assertion I thought it my duty to make the following reply:—'It is no business of mine to meddle with your political affairs; but I will say this, that King George does not, and never did, wish to compel you to become Christians: he leaves that to your own free choice. He only asks you to keep the general laws of the land, and to abide truthfully by your voluntary oaths of allegiance to his person and government. As the proof of what I say, you may go

authority of King George and, if attacked, to fight. Basil Thomson 643
(1894:355) who was a particularly severe critic of the Wesleyan 669
missionaries, had this to say: 'The priests had set their followers 565
on the road that leads to civil war, and for the misfortunes that
overtook them they have only themselves to thank.' 797

King George declared war on Pea and Houma on 1 March
1852. He asked the French priests to leave Pea in case harm 643
might come to them, but they replied that it was not the way of
Catholic priests to desert their followers in their time of distress. 669

Meanwhile, M. Nallier, the commander of a French vessel 797
from Tahiti, the *Henri*, arrived in Tonga on 13 April with Bishop Bataillon on board. Nallier informed the King that he had orders from the French Governor at Tahiti to remove the French priests to Tahiti if he found them in danger, and if they so desired. However, after being told the cause of the war and the steps the King had taken with regard to the personal safety of the priests, the Commander replied:

> 'If they wish to go away, I can remove them to Tahiti; but if they choose to remain, the consequences are with themselves. You, as King, have done your duty in offering them protection; and if they get shot by accident, they will nobly fall in the performance of their duty, and no Government in the world will complain of either you of them.' (West 1865:323)

Bishop Bataillon, however, addressed a letter to the King asking him whether it was true that the purpose of the war was to destroy the remainder of the heathens and the adherents of the Roman Catholic mission. The King replied:

> The report you heard . . . was a lying report. This is not a religious war, but a civil war . . . The object of the present war is to subject the rebels to the government of their country. There is one thing however, I must make known to you. It appears evil in my eyes that your converts in general have joined the heathens in opposing my rule. (Farmer 1855:405)

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to the Christian towns all over the country, and you will not find one place fortified for war, or a single man carrying musket or club. Go and visit the king, as is your duty, submit to the laws, and desist from your warlike preparations and conduct, and I pledge my word that all will be well with you.'

669 Skirmishes occurred between both sides, with the loss of several lives on both sides. 726 On 21 April, the King, 'not wishing to sacrifice human life unnecessarily' by storming the heathen fortresses, resolved to besiege them, in order to starve the rebels into submission. Pea was besieged by four divisons from Nuku-'alofa, Mu'a, Ha'apai and Vava'u, and Houma was entrusted to Ata and the Hihifo warriors. 797 Apparently there was a hope among the rebels that the Bishop would return with a French man-of-war 669 by the end of April. After a while, however, the priests decided that one of them should go to Tahiti to inform the officer commanding the French men-of-war of their danger. Consequently Father Calinon left for Tahiti on the *Atalina* on 27 June. Undoubtedly Father Calinon's trip raised considerable hope among the rebels for French intervention to settle the war in their favour. But after a month of expectation, Houma could not hold out any longer, and on 11 July, Vaea and Fohe surrendered. Commenting on this, West (1865:329) wrote:

> It was known that only one thing had . . . sustained their courage and hopes. They had heard that one of the Romish priests at Bea had sailed in a ship bound for Tahiti, with the avowed purpose of obtaining the interference and assistance of a French ship of war, on behalf of the heathen and Roman Catholic rebels, under the cloak, of course, of rendering protection to the French priests and their property.

Meanwhile, Pea held out a little longer, believing that a French man-of-war might arrive on any day to assist, and at the same time the King instructed his army to attack Pea immediately if a French man-of-war were sighted. On 9 August a ship appeared and everyone waited anxiously to ascertain if it were the long-expected French ship. However, it turned out to be the H.M.S. *Calliope*, commanded by Captain Sir Everard Home, a personal friend of King George. Sir Everard offered protection to the priests of Pea in his ship, but the priests declined the offer saying that they were in the fort for the sole reason of administering to their people and that they were prepared to lay down their lives, if necessary, for the sake of their calling.

[643] However, on 17 August 1852 Pea surrendered and on the following day its fortifications were levelled and Sir Everard Home

79: Lātūkefu H,I,M-4,5 (1964-196[illegible]) 1974
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witnessed the way in which King George did everything he could to save the lives and property of the French priests. Before leaving Tonga, Sir Everard wrote to King George verifying his actions on these matters. 797 669 643

Meanwhile, Father Calinon returned in a small vessel, 'and when he found the war ended, declared that he would have ample reparation in due time. He subsequently departed for Tahiti, where he lodged certain charges and claims, against the Tonguese, before the French Governor' (West 1865:337). Eventually the long awaited man-of-war, *La Moselle*, arrived on 12 November, with Calinon on board. Its commander, Captain Belland, made inquiries regarding the complaints lodged in Tahiti by Father Calinon. Apparently the captain was quite satisfied with the King's account. West (1865:338-9), who was present at the inquiry, wrote:

> On every point Captain Belland seemed satisfied. The king was armed with abundant documentary evidence, and proved himself a capital diplomatist . . . At the conclusion of the enquiry, Captain Belland desired me to say to the king that he was perfectly satisfied with his entire conduct. 'Tell him,' said he, 'that I have seen and conversed with many chiefs, in the South Sea Islands, but I have never met his equal. The French have acknowledged his authority by directing me to him as supreme ruler in Tonga. He must, however, employ his authority in protecting all foreigners from insult, and must allow his subjects to choose what religion they please; but all must submit to the law of the land. Tell him also that, should any Frenchman be guilty, in future, of such intermeddling with his government as has been proved orally in this case, he has only to procure proper documentary evidence of the fact, and the French Government will not fail promptly to punish the offender by his removal from the country, or otherwise, whether he be a priest or merely a layman.

Belland then decided not to submit to the King the 'documentary claim for heavy pecuniary compensation, on behalf of the Roman Catholic missionaries for damages to their property'. He also decided to take Father Calinon back with him to Tahiti.

9 *The Aftermath and the 1862 Code of Laws*

643 With the favourable resolution of Tonga's internal political
648 struggles by the end of the 1852 civil war, King George focused
his attention on establishing and maintaining Tonga's independence by trying to secure its recognition by the major powers. This
objective now became his main ambition, for his own political
643 position by this time appeared quite secure. One of the things
that concerned him most during the next decade was to improve
671 the country's legal system. Both he and the missionaries were
797 well aware of the inadequacy of the 1850 Code for good government. The Reverend Robert Young, who was sent by the Wesleyan Missionary Committee on deputation to the South Seas in 1852-3, stated (Young 1854:442) that King George was aware of the defects of the Code, and he himself had reason to believe that before long the King and his chiefs would revise it. The missionaries entertained the same hope, but it was not in fact fulfilled until some twelve years later.

A new and more comprehensive Code, revising and enlarging
671 previous laws, was drawn up and promulgated by the King and his
chiefs in 1862. Basil Thomson (1894:223) called it a constitution,
671 because the Code included provisions which were 'constitutional'
in nature, in that they furnished a framework of government.
642 Clauses I, III and V, for instance, were concerned with the powers
and duties of the King and his assembly, the judges and governors,
respectively (see Appendix C)[1].

671 The promulgation of the Code produced great excitement
among some of the friends and supporters of the mission who
797 regarded it as a remarkable achievement on the part of the missionaries. With obviously deep feelings, the Reverend W. M. Punshon, a prominent member of the Missionary Committee in London, declared:

> The Friendly Islands demand a little notice at our hands. A very remarkable instance of the collateral results of Missions has been

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[1] [See category 671, pp. 238-251--Analyst]

> there furnished us during the year: I allude to the code of laws enacted by King George and the chiefs of Tonga. This extraordinary code is a model of jurisprudence . . . in plain straight-forward speech, it announces its meaning, which nobody can misunderstand. It is not faultless, of course. You do not expect the first Code of Laws of any nation to be absolutely without blemish. That is not very common, even in British legislation . . . I claim for Christianity first and foremost, a tribute of recognition and of thankfulness; and I claim for your earnest, loving, and unostentatious pioneering Missionaries of the Friendly Islands the tribute that is due to heroes, and the recognition of that sublime greatness which shall outlive the lapse of time. (*W-M Mag.*, 1863:750-1) 671 797

However, these sentiments were not shared by the enemies of the mission, who viewed this Code of Laws with utter contempt. They regarded it as a political blunder instigated by men who were unqualified for such a highly specialised venture. Thomson (1894:222-3) afterwards wrote: [642]

> King George—to his credit be it said—long resisted the importunities of the missionaries to grant his people a Constitution, and ape the form of government evolved in Europe from centuries of civilisation . . . In 1862 he yielded, and signed a bran-new Constitution, drawn up by the missionaries, after a model devised for the King of Hawaii by a Mr. St. Julian.

Both Punshon and Thomson, though diametrically opposed in their attitudes towards the mission, shared the view that the missionaries were largely responsible for this Code. However, it is necessary to question the correctness of their assertions. What part did the missionaries in fact play in this historic event? Did they participate in the drawing up of this Code upon the official request of the King and his chiefs, as they had done in the case of the 1850 Code of Laws?

The second half of the 1850s and the first half of the sixties witnessed a steadily widening rift in the 'marriage of convenience' between the state and church in Tonga. This rift prevented the missionaries as a body from giving King George and his chiefs the kind of assistance they had previously offered, in their role as political advisers to the King. Many causes contributed to the rift. 797 643 659

Many chiefs and their peoples had accepted Christianity, not on

797 the grounds of personal conviction but for reasons of loyalty to, or
fear of, powerful King George and his Christian followers. They
643 met in classes and performed religious obligations largely because
659 the King wanted them to do as he and his supporters did. For
a time, the emotional fervour of the religious revivals, which
797 spread with such intensity in the second half of the 1830s and also
in the 1840s, affected even these nominal Christians, so that
scarcely anyone remained untouched by revivalism in one way or
another. But the effects were not lasting, and gradually the
excitement and enthusiasm wore off, particularly amongst the
chiefs. Some began to realise that they had a heavy price to pay
for their conversion, for they were required to surrender many
of the privileges which for centuries had been regarded as the
exclusive birthright of their socio-political class. They began to
wonder if they had made a sound choice, and some began to react
against the missionaries.

Some of the novelty attached to the work of the missionaries
[212] had worn off. Literacy, early the prerogative of the missionaries,
had become common to most Tongans by the latter half of the
1850s, when many could read and write and teach others to do
[214] the same. Nor were the operations of the printing press any longer
regarded with awe and wonder, and its exciting effect upon the
minds of the people was fast disappearing.

797 The monopoly of the Wesleyan missionaries in the use of
medicine, which for two decades had won them admiration, affec-
758 tion and respect, was now seriously challenged by the Roman
Catholic mission. Owing to the great demand for medicine and its
short supply, since the Committee provided an insufficient amount,
the Wesleyan missionaries were forced to buy extra supplies of
medicine and also to charge a small fee for its distribution. The
Roman Catholic priests had meanwhile decided to distribute their
medicine free among their members.

John Thomas (Journal, 6 May 1856) wrote:

> The priests, it seems spare no pains in order to make converts, or rather to prevent the people from the right way of the Lord. In case of anyone taking medicine from them that is understood to be a sign of their turning—and some one is sent at once to perform worship in the house, and thus introduce popery into that family. And then,

> while we require a small remuneration for our medicine—they give 797
> it, and give it at any time. But we had to fix a time to give it, and
> to require our people to come at that time—or go back, in some 758
> cases, without it, as we have other duty to attend to, besides preparing
> and serving out medicine.

The missionaries' monopoly of trade, because of their possession of 797
ample supplies of articles for barter, was similarly affected. The 439
challenge this time came not only from the Roman Catholic
priests but also from traders who had by now established themselves in the various islands of Tonga.

The absence of respectable settlers in the islands before the 671
fifties had made it inevitable that King George and his chiefs relied
almost completely on the missionaries for advice concerning the 643
previous two Codes of Laws and also Tonga's foreign relations. 797
However, this situation was altered by the presence of other 563
European settlers in Tonga, from the mid-fifties onwards, who seriously challenged the missionaries' role as unofficial political advisers.

Another factor threatening to undermine both the prestige and 797
popularity of the missionaries was the pride of the chiefs. Conscious of the fact that the chiefs had been their protégés in 565
religious and educational matters, the missionaries tended at times 643
to adopt a patronising attitude which the chiefs resented. One missionary wrote:

> The missionaries or some of them are not one with the King and the chiefs. The old missionaries know what they were, remember how they have taught them and that all they are they owe to them; on the other hand, the chiefs are beginning to be ashamed of being reminded what they were, and wish people to remember what they are—and are only—this is certainly one cause, that the missionaries are at a distance with the King or rather he with them . . . . (Baker to Eggleston, 21 April 1863, Baker 1860-79)

All these things contributed in one way or another to the gradual decline of the prestige of the missionaries in the eyes of the chiefs and helped to widen the gulf between them. Even King George, himself the hero and protector of the Wesleyan cause, was no exception.

643 As early as 1850 there was obviously some strain in the
relationship between the King and John Thomas, then chairman
797 of the Wesleyan mission in Tonga. On the day he left Tonga for
England for the first time after almost twenty-four years of continual
service in Tonga, Thomas (Journal, 21 Feb. 1850) painfully
recorded, 'many natives now come to take leave . . . but
the King and I leave in not a good state of mind . . . I regret he
[648] should have so far yielded to the enemy.' Apparently one of the
reasons for these strained relations was due to his suspicion that
Thomas had used cunning in order to try to obtain Tonga for Great Britain 'merely because [he] advised the King at a time when they feared they should have become the slaves of the French, to apply to the English Government for protection—to offer themselves to be the friends—or subjects of the English (for England has no slaves)' (Thomas, Journal, 19 Nov. 1849). When Thomas finally left Tonga in 1859 he wrote with obviously heavy heart:

> The King is not coming, so I shall not have the privilege of bidding him farewell. He is busy, it seems, building his house . . . One of his sons, as he is called, expresses his great surprise at this part of the King's conduct—That any house building should have been so important as to detair him from seeing me before I left. (Thomas, Journal, 15 Dec. 1859)

671 While the decrease in missionary influence was obvious in the
177 framing of the 1862 Code, non-missionary influence was quite
marked. This was partly brought about by a revival of interest
[535] in some of the old Tongan customs and forms of entertainment,
which may account for the disappearance of the provisions prohibiting dancing and all heathen customs, and partly by the growing contact of the Tongan leaders, especially King George, with non-missionary Europeans.

563 The chiefs in Tonga valued the skills and services of Europeans.
It had been, at one time, a matter of prestige among the chiefs
643 to have a European resident. King George himself had employed
a few Europeans in the palace as early as the 1840s, including
563 an ex-convict from Australia, to the utter disgust of the missionaries.
The King established close associations with the new Euro-

pean settlers in Tonga, met and received advice from friendly sea captains and British Consuls. 643 563

The missionaries told Lawry that:

> The King has learned from the captain of the 'Meander' that he ought to hoist his flag, and the ships of war would salute the same. The King has come to us and said. 'I will fix the flagstaff in the ground, and you will please to prepare the flag'. (Lawry 1851:95)

Thomas (Journal, 27 Oct. 1849) reported:

> The Consul Pritchard has interested himself greatly in behalf of this place—he has proposed to the King a few alterations as to the Port Regulations—also will write and advise him. as to some better mode of employing persons who have to work for the government.

An intimate friendship developed between himself and Sir George Grey, Governor of New Zealand, who exhibited much interest in the affairs of Tonga. In one of his letters to the King, Sir George wrote: 643 648

> This subject of the Education of your son, and of the children of some of your principal chiefs should constantly occupy your mind. The best mode of accomplishing it would be to send your son accompanied by some other children to New Zealand. I have myself no children my only little boy having died, and Lady Grey and myself would take every care of your son whilst he continued here. He could live with us whilst the other children could be sent to the Educational Establishment of the Wesleyan Missionaries. (Grey to George Tupou, 30 April 1849)

These wider ranging contacts must have had some influence on the King's political thinking. They certainly coloured his estimation of missionaries of the 'Thomas school' with their paternalistic attitudes, and he was further driven to seek help and advice from non-missionary sources. 643 177 [797]

By far the most penetrating non-missionary influence on the Code came as a result of the King's visit to Sydney, and his subsequent political correspondence with Charles St Julian, law reporter of the *Sydney Morning Herald,* and later Hawaiian Consul in Sydney.

King George embarked on the mission vessel *John Wesley* for a trip to Sydney in 1853. The idea was originally suggested by Rabone. The missionaries believed that it was a good idea for 643 177 648 [797]

643 King George to visit New South Wales to see how the people of
177 civilised countries lived and managed their affairs. The King
eagerly accepted the idea and was ready to leave Tonga on a
648 man-of-war, 'but the Missionaries, fearing that influences unfriendly
● 797 to his spirituality might possibly act upon him in such a vessel'
(Young 1854:213) persuaded him to wait for their own vessel,
the *John Wesley*.

The extent of the impact of this new experience on the King's
643 mind remains a matter for conjecture, but one wonders whether
177 he may not have received a similar impression to the one expressed
by his son, Tēvita 'Unga, when he visited Sydney in 1872. When
648 'Unga returned to Tonga, he told the people that he had discovered
on his trip that 'rulers' in Sydney were not all ministers
of religion but businessmen (W. T. Rabone to his father, 5 July
[671] 1872, WMMSA 1852-79). There was one experience, however,
which left a marked impression on King George, and which was
643 later reflected in the 1862 Code of Laws. In Sydney he encountered
poverty. It has been said that he saw many poorly
177 dressed people, obviously ill-fed, sleeping in the parks. He asked
735 about these people, and was told they were homeless people who
had no place to go. This state of affairs was greatly surprising to
King George, who could not understand how there could be
homeless and poverty-stricken people in a land as large and
obviously rich as Australia. His heart was so full of pity for the
plight of these people that he determined that such an appalling
situation should never be allowed to arise in Tonga (informant, Her
643 Majesty the late Queen Sālote). The King was also very impressed
177 with the leasehold system of land tenure which he saw in Sydney,
and he made up his mind that the land in Tonga should be distributed
423 among his own people along similar lines.

This appears to have been the origin of King George's idea
of legislating for the individual ownership of land—a revolutionary
change in the system of land tenure in Tonga. The prohibition
643 of the sale of land which appeared in Clause II of the 1862 Code
423 was only a legislation of customary land tenure, but the notion of
177 individual ownership of land by leasehold was something quite
new.

671 One can observe the influence of his overseas experience in

> King George not only recognised by all the maritime powers and 643
> invested with an extended role if the conditions precedent of qualifying
> his government to fulfill international obligations were complied with. 177
> But ere this be, he must give up his canoe progress, feasting and cava
> parties, must have an organised government, and an effective code 648
> of Laws impartially administered. must relieve the lower orders from
> the exactions of chiefdom. must encourage industrial improvement,
> must give up his local preachership and stand neutral between all
> sects and classes of his subjects. (St Julian to Eggleston, 13 Jan. 1858)

In general his arguments were valid and sound. However, he failed to appreciate the fact that there were problems peculiar to each region which would inevitably influence not only the kind and degree of change to be made. but also the appropriate time for such action.

St Julian was a Roman Catholic and he was also, at this time,
seeking a government appointment in the South Pacific islands.
His attempt to offer advice to King George was resented by the 643
missionaries, for they viewed it as an encroachment upon what
they regarded as their sphere of influence. Their resentment was 648
intensified by St Julian's attack on the credibility of King George, 797
the avowed champion of their cause. Not surprisingly, when St
Julian sought an exequatur from the British government to act 648
as British Consul in Tonga, a letter was addressed on their behalf 797
to the Colonial Office, 'offering reasons against the appointment
of Charles St Julian Esq. to the Office of the Consul of the British
Government in Tonga, or the Friendly Islands' (Hoole to Lython,
27 July 1858, WMMSA 1852-79).

The missionaries saw the advantage to Tonga of adopting a
constitutional government and of being recognised as equal by all 642
the great nations of the world; yet despite their belief 'that the 797
Tonguese [had] better capabilities, and greater facilities for be- 648
coming an important people, than even the Hawaiians' (West
1865:393), who, in fact, had achieved international recognition
for their independence, they felt that such sweeping reforms and
alterations in the political condition as those proposed by St
Julian ought to be brought about gradually. King George appeared [643]
to have shared their opinion for a time, but events of the following
years reveal that he was forced by circumstances to adopt many
of the measures suggested by St Julian.

797 Evidently the Roman Catholic priests were dissatisfied with
Captain Belland's decision in 1852, which exonerated King
669 George's conduct during the civil war, and they determined to
728 continue the fight. Three years later Father Calinon succeeded in
having the case reopened, and in January 1855 he returned to
643 Nuku'alofa with the French Governor of Tahiti. The Governor
648 believed that King George had been treated too leniently by Captain
Belland. The King was then 'required to sign on 9 January
a treaty of peace and friendship reminiscent of those dictated by
French Naval Officers in Tahiti and Hawaii in earlier years'
648 (Morrell 1960:314). The treaty had already been prepared in
advance for him to sign. It stated that there was to be perpetual
peace and friendship between Tupou and Napoleon III; the
Catholic church was declared free in all the islands of Tonga and
its members were to have all the privileges accorded to Protestants;
those who had been exiled or deprived of their property on
account of religion were to be allowed to return to their homes
and have their property restored; French subjects residing in Tonga
and visiting ships and crews were to be protected in their persons
and property by the King; French ships were to enjoy the most-favoured-nation
privileges in regard to anchorage pilot dues and
other charges; and King George's subjects were to have a right
to the advantages accorded to the French in Tonga in all French
possessions (West 1865:388-90).

648 Wood has rightly pointed out that the treaty was important as
the first official recognition, by a foreign nation, of King George's
643 sovereignty and Tonga's independence. It showed that he was regarded
'as fit to rule his country and to prevent trouble happening
648 to Europeans resident in Tonga' (Wood 1932:56). Although this
was quite true, the treaty was evidently designed as a means of
797 promoting the interests of the Roman Catholic church and consequently
of French imperialism. It gave the Catholic priests renewed
648 determination, after the humiliating setbacks they had suffered in
797 both their failure to achieve the conversion of the masses to their
faith and in their political manoeuvring which had led to the civil
669 war of 1852. The fall of Pea removed the last obstacle to King
George's rule throughout the kingdom, and was at the same time
a tremendous blow to the Catholic cause which had associated

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
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itself with the rebel elements. However, equipped with the rights 648
now sanctioned by the treaty, they wasted no time in pursuing
the restoration of their lost prestige and the fulfilment of their 797
objectives. On a wide variety of fronts they launched their assaults [669]
with vigour, beginning with political agitation.

Soon after the departure of the Governor the priests began to
visit various districts, including some such as Hihifo where they 797
had not a single adherent, in order to establish a permanent residence. Later, in July 1858, Father Calinon and another priest
arrived at Lifuka, Ha'apai, intent upon establishing a Catholic
mission there. The Governor of Ha'apai, Siosaia Lausi'i, tried to 797
temporise, saying that he had to obtain permission from the King,
who was at Vava'u at that time, before allowing them to land. 648
This refusal gave Father Calinon an excuse to appeal to the French 643
frigate *La Bayonnaise*, which had arrived in Tonga. Its captain immediately sent for King George and Siosaia, the Governor. King George tried to explain that the Governor had acted in accordance with the laws of the land, and that he did not realise that he had broken the treaty in doing so. He appealed to the captain to have the matter judged by a third party and failing this he offered to pay compensation for any inconvenience that might have been caused to the priests by the Governor's action. This offer was refused and the captain demanded that King George should 'depose the Governor, Josiah; . . . convey the French priests, their servants and their baggage to Ha'apai; and . . . grant them a piece of land and build them two houses equal in every respect to those occupied by the Wesleyan Missionaries' (*Wesleyan Missionary Notices*, Jan. 1859:17).

The only concession, made at the suggestion of Father Chevron, was to give the Governor of Ha'apai three months in which to carry out these undertakings. 'The King had no alternative,' wrote Thomas, 'and in [a] few days, his own vessel had to take the Priests on board with their things and remove them to Lifuka—where the Protestant chiefs and people are working almost night and day in order to get these houses built' (Thomas to Eggleston, 19 Aug. 1858, WMMSA 1852-79).

Referring to this incident Whewell wrote (to Eggleston, 16 648
Feb. 1859, WMMSA 1852-79), 'I fully understood "The Treaty" 797

79: Lātūkefu H,I,M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
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648 a copy of which I sent you, two years ago, to give them a legal right to go anywhere in the dominions of King George of Tonga.
797 That was its plain verbal meaning to my mind, though that never was the King's idea of it.'

In 1860, Father Calinon wanted to conduct a Catholic burial in the Wesleyan cemetery. Governor Siosaia was approached and, after consultation with the Wesleyan missionaries, he sent a message to the priest to say that he could bury his dead at any other burial place but the Wesleyan. Father Calinon regarded this as an insult, for 'he sought a piece of ground only four feet by four to inter in for the time being, which was refused and this being the case, he considered himself persecuted by the natives, and that the treaty had been broken which granted equal privileges to Catholics and Protestants—therefore considered himself justified in bringing the matter to a man of war' (Stephinson, Journal, 7 Aug. 1860). He then sent his complaints to the priests in Tongatapu, who were to present them to the commander of a man-of-war. As a result the captain of a French warship, which called at Tonga in March 1860, demanded that Siosaia be deposed, threatening that otherwise he would 'carry off King George to New Caledonia' (Morrell 1960:315). His demands were carried out, and Siosaia was deposed.

Eventually, however, the priests became aware of the fact that their involvement with the power of the French Navy did more harm than good to their cause. Father Chevron wrote (to Father Poupinel, 11 Nov. 1861):

> We find that this visit [man-of-war] . . . has been a lesson for us not to rely too much on the assistance for our Missions from the French Government. We would have given a better account of ourselves had we settled matters with the chiefs ourselves. We thank the good God for the lesson and we propose to go ahead in the knowledge that the only thing we can expect from the French Government is unpleasantness, even if it seems to be anxious to defend our rights . . . .

797 The Roman Catholic priests appeared to show more understanding and sympathy towards the customs and traditions of the Tongans than did the Wesleyans. Their open encouragement of some traditional practices was a direct challenge to the intolerance

of the Protestant mission and it flouted some of the laws formulated by King George under Wesleyan influence. The priests deplored the blanket prohibition of all heathen customs in the 1850 Code of Laws.

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It remains true that the Roman Catholic priests showed greater tolerance towards Tongan traditional culture, but their motives for doing so were not clear. It is difficult to decide whether they were prompted by a genuine understanding and appreciation of Tongan traditions or were more tolerant on account of their Gallic Catholic background, which was relatively free of puritanical austerity, or whether they were primarily motivated by a desire to undermine the work of the Methodist missionaries. The last may well have been the case, since in other groups where Roman Catholics were predominant their priests did not show the same tolerance as was shown in Tonga. The Roman Catholic mission at the Gambier Islands was an example of this.

The Wesleyans, however, had only one interpretation and viewed the priests' attitude on these matters as a deliberate attempt to entice away their followers. One missionary wrote in 1863:

> Of late Popery has been making desperate efforts in this part of the Circuit. They have been practising the old heathen games, thinking that, although they could not bring over the people by persuasion, or buy them with presents, they might attract them with these games. The Gospel, however, still triumphs. The games had not the effect expected. The people say, 'if this is religion, what need had we of the Gospel? Did not we do these things when we were yet heathen?' (*W-M Mag.*, 1864:270)

A year later another missionary wrote that the French priests had been breaking the Sabbath by assembling the people to sing songs and play different games on the Catholic mission premises 'as part of the religion, to keep them [the people] out of mischief' (*W-M Mag.*, 1865:175).

The continuing opposition of the priests and their attempts to involve French men-of-war in their political agitation only strengthened anti-Catholic and anti-French sentiments, particularly among the chiefs, who were jealous of any foreign interference in their country. These experiences helped to deepen King George's conviction that there was a tremendous need to establish a govern-

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797 ment which would be recognised and whose laws would be
respected by the civilised nations of the world, if the independence
648 of Tonga was to be assured.

It is clear that at the time of the preparation of the 1862
797 Code, relations between the missionaries of the 'Thomas School'
643 and the King were so strained that they were all, collectively and
individually, out of favour with the King. They were therefore not
[671] in any position to be asked by the King and the chiefs to offer
advice on the drawing up of the Code.

[659] When John Thomas left in 1859 the Reverend Thomas Adams
became the chairman of the mission. Adams was a very able
797 man and was on very good terms with King George. Unfortunately
Adams's wife died in 1860 and he had to return to England. The
Reverend W. J. Davis, who had served in Tonga from 1848 to
1856, was sent back to Tonga from Australia and was to be the
chairman of the mission from 1861 to 1866.

797 Within a year of the start of his chairmanship, Davis became
involved in a head-on clash with the King and his chiefs over
643 the funeral of King George's son, Vuna, who died on 2 January
764 1862. The chiefs and relatives of the King had decided to revive
the old custom of *tukuofo* (presentation of gifts at funerals),
644 which was still prohibited by the Society, but had been made legal
by the state the previous year. Davis, standing firm by the rules
of the Society, decided to dismiss all the chiefs and people who
were involved in this matter from membership of the Society. The
King took it as a personal insult and decided to resign all his
positions in the church, and the Queen did likewise (Stephinson,
Journal, 5 Mar. 1862).

797 The members of the Methodist Overseas Mission Committee in
Sydney were obviously disturbed by this dramatic development, for
643 they knew only too well how much their work in Tonga depended
on King George and his support. The chairman, however, defending
his stand in the dispute, wrote to the Committee declaring,
'We must be prepared to do battle with the enemy in high places'
(Davis to Eggleston, 18 Mar. 1862, WMMSA 1852-79). To
which Eggleston, the secretary of the Committee, replied:

> If this means 'do battle with those who speak evil of dignities and bring the discipline of the church to bear upon slanderers and back-

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> biters' I think you have the word of God on your side . . . . But if 'doing battle' is opposing George and his chiefs in their political measures, or giving countenance to their slanderers and defamers neither God nor man ought to wish prosperity to such conduct. (Eggleston to Davis, n.d., WMMSA 1852-79)

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Among the younger missionaries, there was one who had arrived in Tonga in 1860 and who had a rather different outlook. He was not highly educated, but was gifted, vigorous, full of enthusiasm and very ambitious. He appeared to be more liberal than the senior missionaries. This young man was Shirley Waldemar Baker, who was destined to make a name for himself in the history of Tonga.[1] Apparently King George felt that this young missionary was the very one they needed, for it was to him that the King turned for advice. Baker wrote in 1863:

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> With regard to the new laws, the King asked me my advice and opinion etc. I replied I was a junior minister, it would be better for him to ask one of the Senior Brethren, he said he would not ask me to do or say anything which grieve another—he asked me not as a minister but as a friend. I said on those conditions I would give him any advice or anything he wanted, the result is that most of the new laws are the result of my conversations with the King. I wrote them and they were printed almost exactly—I told his Majesty not to take my advice but to use his own judgment upon them—that I would bear no responsibility, he replied he should get all the advice he could and use his own judgement. (Baker to Eggleston, 21 April 1863, Baker 1860-79)

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There have been some doubts raised as to the part Baker claimed to have played in drawing up the Code. Because Baker had only been in Tonga for two years, some argued that his knowledge of the language was barely sufficient for such a difficult job. It has also been alleged that Baker did not have the necessary training for this kind of specialised task. 'It may be supposed', argued Consul Layard, 'that this gentleman, from his antecedents, is not especially qualified for making the part of a legislator, and yet he manufactures new Constitutions and Laws, which are accepted.' Baker answered:

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[1] For a fuller account of Shirley Baker, see Rutherford 1971.

> 797 I was not aware it was the part of the instructions of Consuls to
> investigate the antecedents of the missionaries. Before entering the
> 659 ministry I was studying the profession of my choice; that of the law,
> and under one who afterwards proved himself to be amongst the
> 671 first of the profession: hence I have perhaps as good an idea as
> some others. (L. and B. Baker, 1951:12)

671 When one examines the 1850 and 1862 Codes of Laws closely
one finds that about 75 per cent of the main clauses of the 1862
Code were taken out of the 1850 Code with changes of wording
671 and alterations in the arrangement of clauses. In the 1850 Code,
for example, the law concerning land is found in Clause XXIX
425 which reads:

> *The Law referring to the Soil*
>
> It shall not be lawful for any Chief or people in Tonga, Haabai, or Vava'u, to sell a portion of land to strangers (i.e. foreigners); it is forbidden; and any one who may break this law shall be severely punished.

Whereas in the 1862 Code it is found in the second clause and reads:

> *The Law concerning the Land*
>
> It shall in no wise be lawful for a chief or people in this Kingdom of Tonga to sell a piece of land to a foreign people—it is verily, verily forbidden for ever and ever; and should any one break this law he shall work as a convict all the days of his life until he die, and his progeny shall be expelled from the land.

797 The fact that a considerable proportion of the 1862 Code
of Laws was a reproduction of the earlier 1850 Code shows that
659 even if Baker's knowledge of the Tongan language was imperfect
671 at the time and the story of his law studies a fabrication, he could
still have managed to play the part he claimed to have played
in drawing up the Code. Baker had nothing essentially new to
contribute to the Code, for most of the provisions which appeared
to be new were merely the results of the logical development in
671 King George's own political thinking. Even the laws concerning the
565 emancipation of the people, the credit for which Baker had claimed
for himself, seem to stem from King George, who, as early as 1839,
421 had legislated against the old custom of *hunuki*, that is, marking or

tabooing for the chiefs things belonging to the commoners, particularly 671
food crops. A section of the 1850 Code pertained to 565
the taking of anything forcibly (1850 Code, XIII).

This provision certainly went much further than the first one [421]
in 1839, although other provisions in the Code still allowed the [466]
chiefs to order their people to work for them.

In order to make the necessary reforms, King George called a 643
meeting of his chiefs in 1859, at Nuku'alofa, which was followed
by one in 1860 in Ha'apai and another in Vava'u in 1861. The 565
King found it very difficult to obtain the chief's agreement to the 671
reforms which he himself wanted to make in the laws. The chiefs
were unwilling to part with their remaining privileges. In the
famous meeting at Pouono, the ceremonial ground at Neiafu, 643
Vava'u, in 1861, many chiefs opposed the Emancipation Edict, 565
complaining that the King had already deprived them of their 671
power and consequently of much of their prestige, and now he 466
was going to deprive them of the only remaining privilege upon
which they were dependent for their living—the *fatongia* (enforced
labour). 'What would happen to us?' asked Tungī, one of
the leading chiefs, 'we cannot fish, we cannot till the land, we
cannot do anything for our living. Why don't you just take the
ngia and leave us the *fato?*' (informant, Siola'ā Soakai).[2]

The King, however, saw the answer to the chiefs' complaint in [427]
the rent which was to be paid to them by the land-holders for
their tax allotments.

The 1862 Code with its forthright declaration of emancipation 671
for all the people and their chiefs marked a culmination of the
earlier developments when it enacted that: 565

> All chiefs and people are to all intents and purposes set at liberty 641
> from serfdom, and all vassalage, from the institution of this law;
> and it shall not be lawful for any chief or person, to seize, or take
> by force, or beg authoritatively, in Tonga fashion, any thing from
> any one. (Clause XXXIV:2)

It should now be apparent that Baker's part in this Code was 671
limited to discussing it with the King and to committing these 797
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[2] *Ngia* for *ngeia* meaning prestige derived from power; *fato* for *fatongia*,
enforced labour. It is a play on words. 659

671 laws to writing at the request of the King himself. These were important functions, of course, for the King and his chiefs were 797 neither capable of deciding whether the laws which they wished 643 to enact were in accord with the legal requirements of civilised 659 countries (a thing which the King especially wanted to achieve) nor of setting the Code down in written form.

643 The rift between the King and the missionaries did not affect his acceptance of the Christian principles which they had taught 797 him. He appeared to be absolutely convinced that the way of life that Christian civilisation had to offer was the best way of life for his people. Even when he decided to give up his positions in the Society as local preacher and class leader, he never ceased to be grateful for the work done by the Wesleyan missionaries for Tonga. In a speech which he delivered on a school examination day at Nuku'alofa in 1863, King George said:

> I wish to express publicly my thanks on behalf of myself and the Government to you the Wesleyan Missionaries, and through you to your Conference, for the strenuous, and generous efforts you make to instruct and elevate the people of this Kingdom. I feel that it is just and right for me to do this. I do not do it by way of flattery . . . I state now what is the true feeling of my heart. I cannot shut my eyes to the fact that whatever of good we have among us; civil or social, domestic or national, temporal or spiritual . . . we owe it all under God to that noble Christian Institution 'The Wesleyan Missionary Society', and you its indefatigable agents . . . . (Whewell to Eggleston, 27 Oct. 1863, WMMSA 1852-79)

He went on to say that thanks should be expressed by deeds as well as words and promised to replace the old chapel with one as good as he and his people could possibly build free of charge to the Society. He then donated 2,000 dollars towards the cost of the proposed new chapel. King George always supported the actual work of the mission, what he resented was the paternalism of the missionaries. Together with this was his suspicion that the missionaries were plotting against the much treasured independence of Tonga by trying to get the island kingdom for Great Britain.

The King still valued the missionaries' opinions on certain 693 matters. One of the things which worried them, for instance, was 465 the method used for payment of the judges. It consisted of the

distribution of convicted persons among them, as labourers. The 693
missionaries believed that this kind of payment by convict labour
would easily corrupt the seat of justice. They feared that the 465
judges' decisions could easily be influenced by the knowledge that
they would be paid for their work by having the prisoners who
were about to be sentenced to work for them. In response to this [671]
a section of the 1862 Code requires that judges and the public
officials should be paid salaries and that criminals should work
for the state (Clause XXXVI:2 and 3).

The missionaries were not happy with leaving the punishment 797
of offenders to the discretion of the judges. A spokesman for the
missionaries discussed this with the King in 1850 after the pro- 681
mulgation of the Code of Laws of that year, but the King's reply 693
was that he and his chiefs wanted to do things step by step 643
(Lawry 1851:81). However, the experiences of the intervening
years appear to have convinced King George that the view of the
missionaries on this question was correct. In the 1862 Code there
are specific penalties mentioned for infringements of the law and
it is no longer left to the discretion of the judges.

Another matter which had caused some concern to the mis- 643
sionaries was the absolute power of the King, which they believed 797
was far too great. While they were satisfied that King George
exercised this power with great prudence and equity, they feared
that such power would probably be quite unsafe in the hands of
his successors. A response to this may be seen in the provision [671]
concerning the King which makes him subject to the laws in the
same way as the people (Clause I:3).

From the start, the missionaries had recognised the importance 797
of education in lifting the general standards of the people. One
missionary wrote: 'a great work remains to be done. There are 871
multitudes of young persons growing up, who, if not blessed with
a proper *training,*—physical, intellectual, moral, and religious—
will be the pests of society, and worse than heathen, if possible'
(*Wesleyan Missionary Notices*, Jan. 1859:10).

At first the Tongans showed great interest and enthusiasm for education but by the fifties many had become apathetic and the majority had ceased to attend school. One missionary wrote in 1857:

> We stand by our schools, and are trying to prosecute this department
> 797 of the work with vigour. It is very arduous and often discouraging,
> 871 through the indolence and indifference of the people. Civilization
> and commerce are not yet sufficiently advanced to make them feel so
> deeply the importance of secular knowledge, as to impel them onward
> in its pursuit as ardently as to conquer the natural indifference of
> a tropical constitution; hence we are often discouraged; but 'though
> faint we yet pursue'. (*Wesleyan Missionary Notices,* April 1858:53)

[671] The missionaries were very concerned about this situation. They discussed the matter with the King and his governors and the results can be seen in the provisions of the Code which make education compulsory (Clause XXXII).

Naturally, they were pleased about this, for it must be remembered that the only schools which existed at this time were mission schools. One missionary wrote of this law:

> I am thankful to entertain the hope that the King, in conjunction with his chiefs, has enlarged our field of usefulness, by compelling parents to educate their children . . . many of the parents took their children away from the school, or allowed them to neglect it; but this will not be the case in future. The people have been set at liberty by a good King, and one of their best interests has evidently not been overlooked in the enactment of such a law. Wisdom is the handmaid of Religion, and we hope that our labours to extend the Gospel, by religiously educating the rising generation, will produce much fruit. (*Wesleyan Missionary Notices,* April 1863:355)

King George seems to have been convinced of the wisdom of
671 establishing a public revenue, as St Julian had emphasised in
651 his letters. Customs duties were levied on wines and spirits, arms
and ammunition. A licence of 100 dollars per annum was required
for the sale of spirits, and every male over 16 was to pay a poll
671 tax. Finally the new Code gave powers to the government to
resume uncultivated lands which were not used by the people
423 as a further incentive for the productive utilisation of land, thereby
indirectly promoting the growth of the economy (Clause XL).

The missionaries gave the promulgation of the 1862 Code a
671 mixed reception. Baker praised the event very highly, while
797 another missionary, Whewell, wrote critically:

> [651] The doings of this parliament will affect our work in its most fundamental organizations and institutions . . . in a way you little

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> anticipate . . . Our Native Agencies have heretofore been free from all Government work and all taxes—for their work's sake—They are now to be on a level with others in everything—many will leave the work unless we can pay them a small salary. Without this they cannot pay their taxes. It would be easy to pay this if it were likely that contributions would now be equal to years gone by, but this is not probable, because the amount of direct taxation—12/- per man annually—besides ground rent is more than they can do . . . And if the people be so heavily taxed we shall have little oil to send up to the committee year by year . . . The meaning of all this is easily explained. Many of our head chiefs are worldly as the New Zealanders. They have long looked with an anxious eye on the shipments of Mission oil and Europeans have not been wanting to tell them what a fine revenue for them this oil will make. They are now trying it. The result on your balance sheet will be anything but agreeable I fear. (Whewell to Eggleston, 28 June 1862. WMMSA 1852-79)

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There were other missionaries who feared that the emancipation of the people might encourage the commoners to revive the old heathen customs and ways which were unacceptable to Christianity. In the mission report of 1866 it was stated that:

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> The many and great changes introduced by the operation of the new code of laws, and the state of unrestrained freedom now enjoyed by the people, have not in all cases been wisely used. One complaint is, that some of the young men, taking advantage of the liberty the law gives, are attempting the revival of customs and practices which, since the prevalence of Christianity in the Islands, have not been allowed. (*W-M Mag.*, Jan. 1866:926)

However, they were more optimisitc about the long-term effects of the change stating that 'we doubt not it will prove a blessing in the end' (*RAWMMS*, 1866:22).

Three decades later, Basil Thomson (1894:222-3), blaming the missionaries for the Emancipation Edict, wrote:

> The missionaries had perhaps read of Peter the Great and Wilberforce, and they too panted to win the grateful admiration of posterity. To their heated fancy the people appeared as slaves, because they yielded service without fixed wages, and nothing would content them but a formal liberation. They did not stop to reflect that these 'serfs' were fed and clothed by their chief, and that as members of his household they enjoyed privileges which men of their low rank could not hope for in other societies.

671 Thomson was quite wrong here. The emancipation laws did not
565 have the mere object of freeing slaves. Tonga's emancipation was
641 the freeing of the people from the bondage of an institutional
system akin to feudalism. Wood rightly points out that 'though the
serfdom that had existed in Tonga was not comparable to a condition
of slavery under masters of another race, as in America,
yet the ancient absolute power of Tongan chiefs over the lives and
property of their people was out of keeping with the position of
the country even in 1862' (Wood 1932:56-7).

The favourable reactions to the Code, from both Australia and
671 England, were heartening to King George, who wished to obtain
[649] the recognition of the world at large for his government. The
Tongans, apart from the chiefs who resented the infringement of
[651] their privileges, welcomed the Code with enthusiasm. For many
of the commoners, in particular, the new codes brought opportunities
[422] for greater prosperity, through the distribution of tax
allotments and the abolition of the chiefs' rights over their people's
property, though later some felt the burden of taxation just as
heavily if not heavier than the traditional *fatongia.*

The beneficial effects were reported by the British Vice-Consul,
671 A. P. Maudslay, in 1879 when he wrote to the Marquis of
429 Salisbury:

> In 1862 . . . every taxpayer was, under the most solemn oaths taken by the King and chiefs, guaranteed a good title to his town plot and country land, with liberty to bequeath his title to his heirs and successors. This plan was . . . a great success. Feeling secure of their lands the people set to work to plant coconuts with so much industry that in a few years the exports of the country were increased enormously. (Maudslay to Salisbury. 23 Jan. 1879, Britain 1876-1880)

The Code of Laws of 1862 was mainly due to King George's
671 own progressive thinking and matured political judgment. Certainly,
643 it was not forced upon him by the missionaries, nor did
797 it come as a result of their importunities, as Basil Thomson would
have us believe. The relationship between King George and the
senior missionaries had become so awkward at this time that he
did not ask the missionaries, as a body, for their advice in preparing
this Code. However, he had maintained friendly relations

with some of the younger missionaries, such as Thomas West, 671
Thomas Adams, Richard Amos, and especially Shirley Baker,
and he had consulted with them. In addition, he had turned to 643
non-missionaries, such as St Julian, for advice. He had also 797
discussed the reforms which he wanted to make with his chiefs in their meetings before the Code was finally drawn up and promulgated.

Nonetheless, the missionary influence in the Code was quite marked, for several reasons. Firstly, there was the King's continuing religious conviction. Secondly, there was the contact with the younger missionaries, mentioned above, particularly with Baker who was responsible for drawing up the Code in written form. Finally, the 1862 Code drew heavily upon the earlier 1850 Code which the missionaries had helped to formulate.

79: Lātūkefu H,I,M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
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10 *The Growing Separation*

643 The deterioration in the relations between the Wesleyan mission-
aries and King George and his chiefs, which was already evident
797 during the latter part of the 1850s, became increasingly apparent
during the following decade. During this decline in the political
influence of the missionaries generally, only one of them, Shirley
[642] Baker, began to emerge as a significant political figure. He was to
play a leading part in bringing about the Constitution of 1875.

The King's social ties with the mission had been restored by
[346] 1863 when he resumed his normal relationships with the Society
and personally supervised the construction of a new chapel at
Nuku'alofa which was to become the biggest and most beautiful
[659] chapel hitherto built in Tonga. However, he did not restore the
senior missionaries to their former place as his political advisers
and confidants and the gulf between church and state, evident at
the time of the 1862 Code of Laws, was to become ever wider.
648 One of the reasons for this was the missionaries' change of attitude
with regard to the independent sovereignty of Tonga. While the
797 country was secure from external threats the missionaries appeared
to be reasonably satisfied with the internal management of the
kingdom by King George and his chiefs. However, after the
decisive actions of the French in Tahiti during the 1840s, which
proved beyond doubt that the European powers had entered the
Pacific and were bound to disturb the politically vulnerable islands
of the region, they felt some concern. They realised that the weak
indigenous governments were no match for any major power,
backed by warships and guns, and that Tonga was no exception.

It was natural for the Wesleyan missionaries to look to Britain, their homeland, for protection. When Thomas advised King George and his chiefs to give their country to the British, he was expressing a genuine conviction that the interests of both the mission and Tonga would best be served by placing the country under British rule. However, this well-meant advice met with vehement opposition and bitter resentment from the King and his chiefs. They regarded it as a deliberate imperialist design on the part of the missionaries to enable the government of their home country to annex Tonga (Thomas, Journal, 19 Nov. 1849).

The newer missionaries, however, were more cautious than their predecessors, and were very careful not to express their opinions on this extremely delicate subject. The rebuff suffered by John Thomas was sufficient warning to them to avoid advocating such action. Although their real attitudes might not have been different, the only expressed view on record concerning this touchy subject came from the Reverend James Thomas, who was, with Moulton and the other missionaries, bitterly opposed to Shirley Baker's involvement in Tongan politics. In a fit of anger he declared that if Baker's political motto was 'Tonga for the Tongans', his was 'Tonga for the British'. Needless to say, King George and his chiefs reacted violently to this declaration. When James Thomas left Tonga in January 1877, he was warned that if ever he came back he would be charged with treason.

Relations were not improved when the missionaries gave very little support to what they believed were futile and dangerous overseas campaigns. In 1863 King George contemplated sending troops to Fiji to settle the disputes there between the Tongans and Fijians, particularly over land questions, and he also demanded £12,000 compensation from Cakobau for the damages and losses the Tongans suffered in 1855 when they assisted Cakobau in his fights in Fiji. The Reverend Frank Firth wrote (to Calvert, 2 Feb. 1863, Calvert 1855-79), from Vava'u saying that the chiefs and people there were thoroughly opposed to the war.[1] They felt that Tonga had nothing to gain in Fiji; also two of their chiefs were going to Tongatapu to try to persuade King George to negotiate and not involve the country in war. When the King eventually decided to abandon his scheme, Whewell jubilantly wrote (to Calvert, 4 Mar. 1863, Calvert 1855-79), 'the projected visit of King George and his warriors is quite given up. The letters of the

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[1] King George was driven to demand this huge sum by his annoyance after hearing that Cakobau had prepared to cede the whole of Fiji, including the Lau group, to Great Britain (Calvert to Eggleston, 28 Mar. 1863, Calvert 1855:79).

648 797 two consuls have led to the happy result. The good and wise among the Tongans are in raptures of joy.'

The missionaries opposed these schemes not out of disloyalty to King George and his government, but out of a conviction that they were exceedingly dangerous not only to the King and his people but ultimately to the work of the mission which was their main concern in Tonga. They were convinced that King George had been ill-advised by ruthless Europeans, intent on profit-making and adventure. One missionary claimed that the King was misled by Europeans, who urged him to invade Fiji by saying to him, 'now is your time, Tubou. England will not accept Fiji: if you go we, the Europeans and half-castes will to a man join you, and, you will walk through Fiji without any difficulty' (Calvert to Rowe, 19 Nov. 1961, Calvert 1861, 1866). It was also said that the King's demand for £12,000 was 'advised . . . by Mr St Julian, a papist, who is said to have lately paid his debt in Sydney without money' (Calvert to Eggleston, 5 Mar. 1868, Calvert 1855-79). The missionaries were grieved by the loss of time, money and property spent on the preparation for the intended invasion of Fiji. They also believed that the excitement it caused was extremely harmful to the moral and religious beliefs of the people. On the other hand, King George was deeply hurt by the failure of the missionaries to give him any moral support or even sympathy in what was for him an extremely important affair. It was not an easy matter for him to lose what he claimed to be his by right (Dyson, Papers of . . ., VI:72). The disagreement over his plans for the Fijian invasion obviously further widened the rift between himself and the missionaries.

The King's suspicion of the missionaries was further aggravated by their hospitable and friendly reception to the British Consul, William T. Pritchard. 'H. Majesty's Consul from Fiji is here', wrote one missionary, 'just leaving for Fiji again. I hope his visit will do good here. It will be the means of better understanding between King George and the British Authorities in Fiji' (Whewell to Eggleston, 7 May 1862, WMMSA 1852-79). This was a rather naive belief, on the missionary's part, for it was well known in Tonga that Pritchard was very much against the Tongans in Fiji, and that he had been working hard to invalidate King George's claims to land there. In 1859 he had drawn up a document to the effect that the Tongans had no land rights in Fiji and had compelled Ma'afu, King George's representative in Fiji, to sign it. Ma'afu later explained to King George that he had signed the document under duress (Derrick 1963:143). 648 [797]

On 20 April 1862, three days before his arrival in Tonga, Consul Pritchard had written a report on 'The Claim of Tonga against Fiji' (Britain, Consul, Miscellaneous Papers . . .). He stated in its conclusion:

> Viewing the question from the various points raised, I cannot admit that King George has substantiated a case against Thakombau, which can authorize a departure from the settlement contained in the declaration signed on the 14th Dec., 1859, by Maafu, as King George's representative, in which are these words (Article II) 'All Tonguese claims in or to Fiji are hereby renounced'.

While in Tonga he wrote:

> Every day from 23rd April to the 5th May, the matter [the intended invasion of Fiji] was discussed, but . . . I could not obtain any satisfactory result. I therefore felt it my duty to state plainly, through the able interpretation of the Wesleyan missionaries, on the island, that whatever consequences injurious or even prejudicial to the interests of property of British Subjects, which might result from an invasion of Fiji by Tonga, King George alone would be held responsible and Thakombau fully exonerated. (Pritchard to Colonial Office, 15 May 1862, Britain 1862)

In the end, he succeeded in obtaining a solemn pledge from King George that he would not make war in Fiji.

Under normal circumstances the extension of hospitality and friendship to the British Consul by the missionaries would not have caused concern to anyone, but in this particular situation it was different. It was well known that Pritchard had been doing everything in his power, though unsuccessfully, to get the British to annex Fiji. In so doing it was necessary to invalidate Tongan claims to land in Fiji and destroy Tongan interests there, and he certainly did so very effectively. The open and enthusiastic welcome which the missionaries, who were already under suspicion, extended to Pritchard was looked upon with considerable disfavour by King George and his chiefs. 648 797

439 Another cause of much displeasure to the King and his chiefs
was the growing friendship between the missionaries and the
563 traders who, during the 1870s, persistently and arrogantly opposed
[797] the Tongan government. There had been a steady increase in
the numbers of traders settling in Tonga since the latter half of
439 the 1850s. They disliked the restrictions placed by the govern-
563 ment on various features of their trading ventures. Sale of land,
for example, was strictly prohibited under any circumstances,
656 making it impossible for them to secure complete ownership of
[425] land, and sale of spirituous liquors was severely restricted. At
[273] first the traders blamed the missionaries for these prohibitions,
[797] but later they realised that the missionaries had become increas-
ingly isolated from politics. They regarded it as unthinkable that
439 they, who belonged to the 'Anglo-Australian' civilised race, should
be governed by laws produced by a half-civilised King and his
563 chiefs. One of them wrote:

> They will find their efforts to stay the tide of immigration useless . . . and England, being aware of the justice and importance of protecting, if not actually governing her subjects in these seas, the Anglo-Australian race will settle and find a living in the Friendly Islands, in spite of all the laws passed by Kings and chiefs. (*Fiji Times*, 22 Oct. 1870)

648 The belief that the British government would eventually annex Tonga was also shared by some visitors who went to Tonga. A traveller named Holt, who went there on a trading vessel in 1865, suggested in an article which appeared in one of the New Zealand papers that more people with small capital should take up business ventures in Tonga, for in a few years they would make a fortune. With regard to the question of security, he said that Britain would certainly take Tonga in the very near future (*New Zealand Advertiser*, 19 June 1865).

A few years later the principal traders sent a petition to the Governor of New South Wales complaining of the manner in which Europeans were treated, and what they were subjected to in Tonga. They requested the Governor to 'define a limit to the arbitrary authority of a government which to say the least, is and only can be semi-civilised' (Rutherford 1971:50).

563 439 This disrespect for the laws and government of Tonga led some traders to defy the decisions of the law courts with contempt and arrogance. Philip Payne, one of the leading traders in Tonga, refused to comply with the court's order to pay eight shillings damages to the owner of a piece of tapa cloth damaged by his horse, arguing that he did not order his horse to do the damage! He also insisted that his case should be tried by a captain of a British man-of-war.

563 797 439 In the main, traders and missionaries, with a few notable exceptions, viewed each other with hostlity and treated each other with disrespect. But an entirely different relationship developed between these traditionally hostile factions of the European community towards the latter part of the 1860s and during the following two decades. Miss Eliza Ann Palmer of Sydney, who went to Tonga as a guest of the Reverend and Mrs William Stephinson from 1869 to 1871, recorded in her diary that she and Miss Payne, daughter of the aforementioned trader in Tonga, joined a missionary party which went to 'Eua one night. On the following morning Stephinson sent for a sheep farmer on the island named Parker, a hostile opponent of the government, who arrived with his horses and cart and took the party to his property (see Rutherford 1971:104). Later on in her account of the trip she wrote of another European settler: 'Mr. Young spent the evening with us, and brought his native wife. He is a well educated gentleman and belongs to one of the best families in England and yet he is content to bury himself in 'Eua with his Tongan wife' (Palmer, Diary, 1869:32-6).

563 797 648 439 The sharing of similar political sentiments seems to have been a strong factor in bringing the missionaries and European traders and settlers closer together. They had in common a distrust of the direction in which the Tongan government was heading. They also had no faith in its ability to withstand the test of strength of international power politics in the Pacific. Consequently they looked to their home government for protection, and later they were in accord in their united stand against one of their countrymen, Shirley Baker, who decided to align himself with King George and his chiefs in their struggle to maintain Tongan independence,

563 and who was therefore accused of being a traitor to both his
797 church and his country.

Although the missionaries and traders shared a common polit-
439 ical objective, they differed widely both in their motives and in
648 their approach. The former were paternal and benevolent in their
motives, restrained and tactful in their approach: the latter were
generally selfish and vindictive in their motives, forthright and
arrogant in their approach. Unfortunately for the missionaries,
the King and his chiefs were not in a position to understand the
subtleties of the situation. The very fact that the missionaries had
social relations with men who were openly in opposition to and
defiance of the legitimate government of the land, and who made
no secret of their desire for Britain to take Tonga, and who also
boasted of the certainty of Britain's doing so, must have been
797 very galling to the King and his chiefs. It was little wonder that
659 the gulf between the missionaries and the Tongan leaders in the
field of politics grew increasingly wide.

The missionaries were not unmindful of their changed position with regard to local politics. They realised that they had been relegated to the background. They openly expressed their disapproval and criticism of some of the measures adopted by the King and his chiefs for the political development of Tonga. They favoured a slow, more gradual pace for the political progress which would coincide with the people's understanding of civilised ways. Just a month before the promulgation of the 1862 Code of Laws the Reverend George Lee wrote to the General Secretary of the Mission in Sydney:

> The restless love of change and the Athenian desire for something new so prevalent among the Tonganese seems to be encouraged or have means for gratification in connection with them. And as the King and Chiefs seem inclined in many things to relax the severity of punishments for crime or suspend or abolish them in favour of a more free and as they call it Sydney-like policy—though in many things their laws are far too lenient now—Many of the bad characters are in hopes of such a change in the constitution of the Islands government as will leave them to face no act as their depraved natures suggest unpunished, uncensured by those in power and unrestrained. (Lee to Eggleston, 16 May 1862, WMMSA 1852-79)

When the 1862 Code was promulgated the missionaries received it with rather mixed feelings. On the one hand they claimed it to be the direct result of the work of the mission. 797 671

> The year 1862 [said the Tonga Circuit Report], is to be immortalized in the annals of Tonga, and the 4th day of June is to be kept for ever as a day of public rejoicing being the date of the signing of the Magna Charta of Tonga. King George has long been known and styled 'the Alfred' of the Friendly Islands; and truly his great desire seems to be to give his people a code of just Laws, and establish among them a wise and popular administration. This is one glorious consequence of a faithful acceptance of Christianity. (*Wesleyan Missionary Reports*, 1863:35)

One missionary wrote enthusiastically, 'New life and thoughts are arising . . . —liberty is proclaimed—on the 1st of January [1863] the Tongan flag will not wave over a slave that day—Such is the glorious success of the Gospel . . .' (Baker to Eggleston, 19 Dec. 1862, Baker 1860-79).

On the other hand, there were misgivings felt by the missionaries about certain aspects of the Code and their probable consequences. They were fearful of a general resurgence of heathen customs and traditions, which for decades they had laboured unceasingly to eradicate, as a result of the emancipation of the people from the power of the chiefs, and also the dropping of the clauses making these customs and practices illegal. In the years that followed directly after the promulgation of the new Code, they claimed that the unfortunate effects which they had predicted were in fact taking place. They accused the government of yielding to the pressure of English precedent in allowing matters such as fornication to go unpunished. They claimed that there were many who at first interpreted this move as a legalisation of sin and a public expression of the will of the King and chiefs regarding indulgence in vice. 'Many of the heathen games', they lamented, 'though given up [were] not positively prohibited by law, and the natural tendency of the unconverted [was] to revive long gone usages' (*RAWMMS* 1866:25). The obnoxiousness of the situation for the missionaries may be seen in the following passage from the annual report of the mission for the year ending April 1863: 797 671 183 671 797

> 671 797 This year will be memorable in the *Church* History of Tonga, as the year of sifting and testing the principles and piety of the church . . . We have to report a very serious decrease, as our schedule will show. The occasion of this decrease, is principally the 'Great Fakataha' . . . The designs of this great national movement were good and laudable, but its influence has been destructive to the piety and spirituality of many of our people. The Tonga people are impulsive, and as human nature is not more immaculate here, and the restraints of education and example are not so strong as in civilized society—the moral influence of this Parliament has been a *great* evil to the *Lotu* people—a temporary one we hope—but an evil, and one which we cannot but deeply deplore. (*RAWMMS* 1863:35)

671 797 565 641 The note of pessimism contained in this report was repeatedly echoed throughout the following years. The releasing of the people from a state of semi-barbarian servitude to one of almost unrestrained liberty was seen by the missionaries to have brought about a variety of deleterious results. The Ha'apai Circuit Report of 1865 stated:

> The circumstances attending the sudden introduction of liberty to a community of Tonguese are far from being favourable to the cultivation of the religious element. Their ideas of liberty are associated with what is hostile to the advancement of their best interests. Hence the abounding licentiousness among the young, the impatience felt towards everything that would tend to restrain bad habits and lead to virtue. Profligacy, theft, and bad conduct were never so prevalent as at the present time. We not only have to lament over the ungodliness of those who are without the pale of the Church but also because of many who did run well, but whom Satan hath hindered. (*RAWMMS* 1865:31)

671 797 651 Another feature of the Code that caused the missionaries much concern was its taxation provisions. They argued that the marked decline in support of the church was caused by heavy taxation. The *Report of the Australasian Methodist Missionary Society* (1866:22) stated:

> The chief reason, however, which we believe has operated to the exclusion of many from the Church, is to be found in the extreme poverty of the people, in consequence of the new Governmental regulations: by which the tax has been increased by one third, thus rendering the Quarterly contribution to God's cause a formidable difficulty. And though this is enforced with all christian affection and

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> love, yet such is the apathy of some, that they prefer quietly to retire 671
> or remain aloof from the Society, rather than make the required effort,
> and so maintain their position in the Church. On account of this we 797
> have lost not a few . . . .

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The missionaries had reason for alarm, for in addition to the decrease in attendance there was a sharp drop in the amount of 797 money they sent from Tonga to the Committee in Sydney. In 1862 the mission sent the Committee £2,330 5s 6d, partly in cash and partly in coconut oil, but the amount had decreased to only £1,232 13s 1d in 1864, a drop of about 47 per cent, and £532 7s 6d in 1865, a drop of about 75 per cent. This was indeed a grave matter for the missionaries, particularly when they knew that the Committee in Sydney had a tendency to measure the efficacy of their work in terms of pounds, shillings and pence.

The 1862 Code was also blamed for the young people's growing 671 indifference to education. 'Our Institution', said the Ha'apai Circuit Report, 'has also received our attention, but we do not number 797 so many at present as in former years, arising from various causes, 871 one being that the new political changes have exercised a worldly influence upon the minds of our youth' (*RAWMMS* 1864:33). This was a worry to the missionaries, particularly when it was so obvious to them that education played a vitally important part in the success of the mission's work.

Faced with all these difficulties and disappointments, the missionaries 797 applied themselves vigorously and enthusiastically to the task of revitalising every facet of their work. Effective attempts were made to gain new converts and to reconvert the apostates, and the annual subscription to the mission fund was successfully raised to £3,770 in 1866 (*RAWMMS* 1867:110). Education [871] received considerable attention and it certainly showed a marked sign of reviving. In fact the missionaries achieved their purpose to a remarkable degree. But their preoccupation with the revitalisation of the mission's activities led them consciously or unconsciously to restrict their sphere of influence. By so doing, they unwittingly strengthened the inherent narrowness of outlook which had already become a formidably negative factor in the church-state relationship.

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797 [659 This outlook, which discouraged vision and imagination and bred intolerance, was due in part to the policies of the mission, in its particular emphasis on the life to come rather than the here and now, and the prohibition of its members to meddle in politics.[2] It was partly due also to the calibre of the men who carried out the work of the mission. Most of them appeared to be of average intelligence but without proper training and the result was that their energy and drive were not matched by their vision or imagination. For them, the mission was an end in itself rather than a means to an end, and they considered that everything should revolve around it. Their maxim seemed to be 'Tonga for the mission' rather than 'the mission for Tonga'. Hence they objected to 'excessive' spending of money by individuals or groups on anything but the mission collection.

There were, of course, a few exceptions. The Reverend Egan Moulton was one of these. He came from a scholarly family, and although he had not received any university training, he was well educated and intelligent. 797 878 He held a broader and more liberal view of the work of the mission. When he founded Tupou College in 1866, he decided that the college should become an institution upon which 'Church and State, in their many divergent channels of departmental usefulness, were to centre their hopes and expectations . . .' He planned that 'from it the Church would draw its supply of ministers, stewards, officials, and teachers . . . While from it also the Government could seek its clerks, magistrates, and other officials' (J. E. Moulton 1921:47). He permitted students nominated by the government to enter the college.

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[2] Part of the instructions given by the Committee of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society to the Rev. Samuel Leigh and other missionaries in 1821 read:

> Should you acquire influence and consideration with the natives of the places of your destination, as we trust by the blessing of God you will, you may be placed in circumstances of some difficulty arising from the quarrels and different views of the various chiefs. Your plain line of duty is to take no part in their civil affairs, and to make it understood that interference in these matters is no part of your object, and that you are sent to do good to all men. This, however, will not prevent you giving them such advice as may be beneficial to all parties when it is desired. (Loose printed enclosure in Thomas, Draft letter book)

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Moulton's fresh approach and wider and more liberal outlook 797
met with severe opposition from his colleagues. Most of his
opponents objected simply on the grounds that Moulton had in- 873
dulged himself in an expensive project which would be of little benefit to the mission. Some of them argued that the sole purpose of the college should be to train young men for the work of the mission, and the Training Institution, conducted by Amos in the fifties, was cited as the model to be followed (Greenwood to Rabone, 10 Aug. 1872, WMMSA 1852-79).

King George's greatest ambition was to preserve the independ- 648
ence of Tonga, and he realised that one way of achieving this was to gain international recognition of his government. Accordingly there was a need to establish an efficient system of government which would be acceptable to the civilised countries of the
world. The mission, although quite effective at the local level, was [197]
not equal to assisting in these ambtitions towards international politics.

In his description of the functions of a legislative council in 648
a letter written to King George, St Julian wrote: 177

> Such fundamental principles should be laid down as would form what is termed a constitution and all subsequent Legislation should be in strict accordance with these principles. In the first instance not much Legislation would be needed. But little probably beyond the Code of Laws which Your Majesty has already promulgated . . . But with the rise of the Kingdom will arise an absolute need of Legislation upon many points with which it is now unnecessary to deal. (St Julian to Tupou, 26 June 1855)

The question of acquiring a written constitution for Tonga 643
had been occupying the King's mind for some time. A number 642
of significant events had made him realise, more than ever before, the urgency of the need for Tonga to become recognised by the main powers. First there had been Consul Pritchard's serious attempts to get Britain to annex Fiji in the late fifties; then the increasing involvement of the powers in Samoa and elsewhere in the Pacific in the seventies; and finally the actual annexation of Fiji by Britain in 1874. King George fully appreciated the value of having a constitution as the basis of the laws of the country,

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643 but he had to find someone who was capable of drawing up the
642 much needed document.

As the affairs of government became increasingly complicated,
particularly its external affairs, the King recognised the need for
643 the services of a European adviser in the government, as pointed
645 out by St Julian in his letter of 26 June 1855. He therefore
adopted an Englishman named David Jebson Moss as his son,
[644] gave him the name of Tupou Ha'apai, and made him his secretary in 1864. The Reverend James Calvert of Fiji referred to
him as King George's 'soapy secretary' (Calvert to Rowe, 1 Nov.
1866, Calvert 1861, 1866).

Moss went to Tonga from Fiji during the 1850s. He was very
645 proud of his Tongan name, and went to considerable trouble to
identify himself with his new country and its people.[3] He appears
to have been enthusiastic and hard-working, but lacking ability
[642] and common sense.[4] Although Moss gave King George and his

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[79] [3] In 1864 Moss was deputed by King George to settle disputes between
the Tongans and Fijians concerning certain islands in Fiji, to which
645 the Tongans had laid a claim. Referring to Moss, a newspaper correspondent wrote:

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> This delegate has become a naturalised subject of Tonga, and has discarded his proper name, and has received the Tongan name and title of Tubou Haabai, by which he prefers to be known and addressed. He signs his new name when writing, and it gives no small offence to his dignity to address him by his baptismal cognomen . . . But the delegate does not rest contented with mere adoption of the Tongan name; on all state occasions he acts the character of dispensing with his European civilised garments, and appearing in the garb of a Tongan—to wit, a massy tappa, or native cloth, round his waist, and with a plentiful unction of sandalwood-scented coconut oil on his bare breast, arms and legs.

The correspondent, William Graburn (Levuka, Fiji, 14 January) stated that Moss's attire and demeanour brought derision from the Fijian chiefs and met with contempt from the European settlers and helped to prejudice his mission from the outset (from a newspaper clipping, no source or date, in A. R. Tippett's scrap book).

[4] The same writer tells that Moss hoisted the Tongan flag over certain Fijian islands which had been purchased by Europeans from their Fijian owners and caused damage to some property, causing the traders to protest to the British consul about his actions. Graburn continues:

> It is much to be regretted that the settlement of the long-exising disputes between Fijians and Tongans should ever have been entrusted to one so unfortunately incompetent to adjust them as Tubou Haabai, as the matter is a grave one, involving perhaps peace or war between the two nations.

government several years of useful service, it was evident that 645
he was definitely not the man to be entrusted with the highly 642
specialised task of drawing up a constitution—a task for which 797
the Reverend Shirley W. Baker was destined.

Baker, like many of his missionary colleagues, had received 797
little formal education, but he was quite gifted, highly intelligent and full of imagination and drive. He was, on the one hand, a great and enthusiastic worker, more liberal than most of his colleagues, and also an ambitious and daring opportunist. On the other hand, he had a passion for fame and a lust for power, and possessed an unlimited capacity for making enemies. The conglomeration of these qualities which formed the idiosyncracy of the man also formed the basis for both his achievements and his later downfall.

Physically, Baker was short but stout, very healthy and strong, and impressive rather than attractive. He was born in London in 1836 and there are conflicting accounts of his early youth (see Rutherford 1971:1-5). One version states that at the age of sixteen 'he found the alluring gold fever so strong that he ran away from them in the old land, hid himself as a stowaway on board a ship for Australia' (Roberts 1924:12), and tried his hand at gold mining in Victoria. In 1855 he had become a teacher at a Wesleyan school on the goldfields in the Castlemaine district. He was ordained a Wesleyan minister in 1860, and was sent to Tonga as a missionary, arriving there on 14 August 1860.

Soon after Baker's arrival in Tonga, a very firm friendship 797
developed between him and King George. This friendship, accord- 643
ing to Baker's daughters, became a source of annoyance to the
senior ministers. Besides requesting Baker to draft the 1862 Code [659]
of Laws, the King sought his advice on the design for a Tongan [671]
flag, and in 1864 Baker made a formal presentation of a flag
to the King and his chiefs (L. and B. Baker 1951:8). In 1866 [186]
he was forced to return to Australia on account of his wife's ill health.

In his letters to the Committee in Sydney during his first term 797
in Tonga, Baker rightly pointed out that the root of most of the troubles in the mission could be traced to the paternal and somewhat out-of-date attitudes of the older misionaries. He claimed

that what they needed in Tonga was new blood, new ideas, and a fresh approach. He argued that a little prudence on their part would fix the trouble. At the same time he casually referred to his own popularity with the King and his chiefs. 'I would not wish', he wrote, 'to be thought to speak unkindly of any of my Brethren. I believe that they have one and all done what they have conscientiously thought to be right (whether it is turned out so is a different thing)' (Baker to Eggleston, 21 April 1863, Baker 1860-79). Later, in another letter, he wrote:

> I am thankful to-day the Lord has given me favour in the sight of the King and chiefs . . . I believe that more can be done by kindness than by strife— . . . Our Fathers who so nobly bore the heat of burden of the day cannot realize the noble tree that has grown up the fruit of their toil—They see Tonga under the old regime . . . New life and thoughts are arising. The Tongans are no longer children. They are just rising into manhood and must have a reason for everything. (Baker to Eggleston, 19 Dec. 1863. Baker 1860-79)

Reaching Sydney in 1866, Baker wrote a long letter to the Committee in which he gave a glowing account of the farewell speeches made by the Tongans in a valedictory service held for him and his family in his circuit before they left Tonga. He told how the people had wept as they spoke, and how the Governor had spoken on behalf of the King and his fellow chiefs, praying that God would so order it that they might return to them:

> I can only say that I wept, [wrote Baker] and felt as much in parting from my Haabai flock, dark though their skin may be, as though I was parting from a people of my own nation, and my own tongue.
>
> Many have endeavoured to cast a slur upon their love, and to doubt the genuineness of their attachment; let those do so who will. I believe in it, for in my greatest trial, in the hour of my deep affliction, in the day of need, they rallied round me, my grief was their grief, my sorrow their sorrow, and ever shall I remember their little acts of kindness with heart felt gratitude . . . .
>
> . . . despite all the dangers in voyaging—debilitating and depressing as is its climate, tropical as is its heat, coarse as its fare, and strange and rough as may be its customs. Yet, nevertheless, I love Tonga . . . I love its prayer meetings, its love feasts, its simplicity, and above all, its love to the Gospel and to Methodism. (*Wesleyan Missionary Notices*, Oct. 1866:583)

It would be difficult to question the sincerity of Baker's motives for criticising the work of the mission, or the genuineness of his deep affection for Tonga; but when his remarks are viewed in relation to the later course of his career, one wonders whether these seemingly innocent remarks were not also part of a clever design to further his own ambitions. His remarks implied that the failure of the other missionaries to get on with the chiefs disqualified them for the task in hand, while he himself, with a more up to date approach, had gained the confidence and deep affection of the King and his people. When the Reverend George Lee returned to Australia in 1868 and the chairmanship in Tonga fell vacant Baker was back in the following year as the new Chairman of the District in spite of the fact that Stephinson had been in the District for about twelve years continuously. 797

Baker's obsessive desire to make a name for himself and to achieve power inevitably coloured his later activities. It was probably at the root of the somewhat doubtful stories which he told of his own origin and educational achievements.[5] It certainly made him fanatically intolerant of any rival to his fame, or any opposition to his power and authority. It also made him bitterly resentful if his work received no praise or recognition from the mission authorities in Sydney. In their report to the Committee, the members of a deputation which was sent to Tonga with Baker in 1869, praised Moulton's work in the College very highly.[6] This was far too much for Baker to take. He saw Moulton and his 797 873

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[5] Baker claimed that he was the son of an Anglican clergyman who was the headmaster of the Oxford Home Grammar School, London, and that he was educated 'for the ministry, but had a greater desire to become a lawyer, and pending his decision he went out to Australia to visit his uncle Parker, who was Crown Protector of the Aboriginals'. This is the version told by his daughters (L. and B. Baker 1951:5), and part of it is told by Roberts (1924:12). However, neither of these claims has been satisfactorily proved. Rutherford, after an exhaustive search, could find no trace of Baker's alleged father in any records nor was the existence of the school substantiated (Rutherford 1971:2). Even the relationship between Baker and his alleged uncle Parker is in doubt, and no one seems to have any knowledge of the origins of his doctorates.

[6] The deputation's report claimed that Tupou College was 'a positive wonder', and Moulton 'a cyclopedia of accomplishment' (*Wesleyan Missionary Notices*, July and October 1869:148).

797 work as a threat to his own prestige and honour. So he decided to do all he could to crush both Moulton and the College. He
873 started a campaign against the College, which eventually developed into a bitter dispute.

Baker charged Moulton with creating a false impression to the world, of things taught and accomplished in the College. He alleged that the College was a nuisance and hindrance to the work of the mission, and was only causing unpleasantness. However, the Committee gave their support to Moulton, and Baker, resentful and disappointed, wrote to the General Secretary in Sydney:

> I feel tempted to resign . . . You say you hope that God in his mercy will defend the College and make it a great blessing—I can only say Amen. I have done more for the College than any other man . . . yet the Committee and the Conference are not satisfied. (Baker to Rabone, 5 July 1872, Baker 1860-79)

797 In an attempt to win the favour of the Committee, Baker turned all his energies and gifts to the task of fund-raising, knowing full well that the Committee was badly in need of money. He certainly had a flair for collecting funds. At his first missionary meeting in December 1869, the contributions came to £5,480,—£4,558 in cash and £922 in oil—and this amount was nearly £3,000 in excess of local expenses and was equal to the combined contributions of all the Methodists in Australia. Baker duly received the praise he had worked for when the January 1870 issue of *Missionary Notices* gave the full details of this 'noble sum . . . contributed in one year by this earnest and devoted Christian Community'. However, Baker did not enjoy this praise for long, for the dubious and ruthless methods he employed in raising funds antagonised the traders, who were in friendly relationship with the other missionaries, brought unfavourable comment from contemporaries, such as the Earl of Pembroke and Dr Kingsley, on the work of the Committee, and also provoked severe criticisms from his own colleagues. 'The Earl and Doctor' (Pembroke 1872:251) described the missionaries in Tonga as 'canting sharks'. Moulton wrote (to Rabone, 10 Sep. 1872, Moulton 1855-79), 'It's a great mercy the Earl and the Doctor did not come to Tonga or they would have made statements more astounding than they did', and George Minns wrote:

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> I cannot report such improvements in the general condition of our mission work. Our success is represented by £.s.d.! The disparity between our finances and our spirituality—is so great that I cannot find sufficient courage to address a letter to the Missionary Notices! . . . The Miss. affair is in a large measure the effect of excitement and will collapse as sure as I am Geo. Minns. Let us wait a few years . . . , for there are difficulties ahead. (Minns to Chapman, 26 Jan. 1874, WMMSA 1852-79)

Frustrated by his colleagues' opposition Baker wrote:

> I believe Messrs. Moulton and Minns want me out of the district . . . My life at present is a perfect misery & I do not think I am called to endure it any longer.
>
> Permit me to remark when I took charge of the district we used to draw some hundreds a year from the Committee. Now we send up thousands over and above our expenses . . . I think I have done my duty to Tonga—Methodistically in advancing Tonga as a nation. I may truthfully say no one will ever be able to leave their mark as I have done—through me they are free, most of their laws they owe to me—and yet all I get from my brethren is persecution—so I think now my children are growing up and my wife's health is failing it is time for me to leave. (Baker to Chapman, 9 June 1873, Baker 1860-79)

In fact Baker was worried over the security of his position, and he was unable to hide this fear. He wrote to the General Secretary:

> I want you to give me your official opinion, not only for my own guidance but also for the future guidance of the district. The simple question was put by one of the highest chiefs here to this effect—'Who would have been superintendent of the Tongan Circuit if Mr. Moulton had happened to be appointed Chairman' . . . If after my success I am not worthy to be chairman I am not worthy to have any position in the Wesleyan ministry here, especially to have one 4 years my junior to be placed over me. (Baker to Chapman, 9 June 1873, Baker 1860-79)

But when he found out that the Conference had made no change, he excitedly wrote:

> I need not say that not only myself—but also the King and Queen and chiefs and people were all anxiously waiting to see the decision of Conference, had it been against me I believe trouble and disaster would have ensued, but I am grateful the great Head of the Church so ordered the deliberations of Conference that all is peace. (Baker to Chapman, 13 May 1874, Baker 1860-79)

● 797 Baker then ceased to talk about leaving Tonga any more. 'As regards my asking to return', he wrote to Chapman, 'I know I shall never be happier than in the mission work . . . by God's will I remain at my post until it appears it is His will for me to go . . . so I will work on' (Baker to Chapman, 4 June 1874, WMMSA 1852-79). He then started to advocate that the mission could do quite well with fewer missionaries. 'With three men', he argued, 'Like Brother Watkin and a schoolmaster (layman) for the College, I would undertake to work the whole of the Friendly Islands District for ten years to come—we have too much European Ministerial help' (Baker to Chapman, 16 July 1874, Baker 1860-79). This was an obvious way of getting rid of his opponents.

Less than a year after he had become chairman of the mission, in 1870, Baker had to face charges of immoral behaviour brought against him by his colleagues. He managed to absolve himself from the charges, but it was clear that opposition from his own [873] colleagues was steadily growing stronger. In 1871 the bitter dispute over the College had at length come to a head and the Committee had come down in support of Moulton, much to Baker's disgust. In 1872 his colleagues were more vocal in their criticism of his missionary meetings, and the statement in *South Sea Bubbles* brought upon him a sharp reprimand from the Committee.

797 643 Frustrated by the mounting opposition of his colleagues, hurt by the apparent lack of praise for, and appreciation of, his 'success' from the Committee, Baker turned to King George and his chiefs, not only for support, but for public recognition, by championing their aspirations and ambitions. Baker knew that King George's two great ambitions were to maintain Tonga's political independence and eventually to make the mission in Tonga an independent church.

797 Towards the end of 1872 Baker left Tonga to attend the Conference in Sydney in January 1873. He took with him a letter from King George asking the Conference to make the Mission District in Tonga an independent church. The other missionaries reacted against this move. Minns, for instance, wrote:

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> This is a very critical period in Tonga and I am particularly anxious that no change should be made in the mode of working our church without much careful deliberation . . . We all hope that the time may come when this change may be effected in Tonga. Yet I am fully persuaded that day will not be in my time. There is a possibility of going too far, and of going too fast also. (Minns to Chapman, 4 May 1873, WMMSA 1852-79)

Moulton also wrote:

> I was very much surprised to see in the 'Advocate' that Mr. Baker presented the request of the agents in these Islands, that Tonga should become an independent District, and that matter was carried in Conference and only prevented by the Committee. I am sure, Sir, however anxious you may be for such a 'consummation' yet you will reprobate any such attempt as that on the part of a Chairman to steal a march upon his brethren. Not one of us knew anything about it and no request was sent up. I have spoken to Mr. Baker on the subject and he says he was wrongly reported, having said 'request of the King' not missionaries. But it is very evident to me from the remarks made and resolution moved that the Conference understood it to be *our* request. (Moulton to Chapman, 2 June 1872, Moulton 1855-79)

These letters from Baker's colleagues indicate that they did not object to the idea of an independent church. What they objected to was the timing and also the way Baker had carried out the scheme, for it was quite contrary to Methodist usages. The Methodist procedure was that everything had to go through the Quarterly Meeting, then the District Meeting, before it went to the Conference. Baker ignored this constitutional procedure, and in order to justify his action before his authorities, he wrote:

> I forgot to mention the remarks made concerning what I said in Conference. You will be surprised to hear . . . that the request I read in Conference I read at our Preachers Meeting here on my way to Conference and the Brethren Moulton, Rabone & Greenwood being present no objection was made to it by them, and hence I did as I did in Conference, moreover I made the same remarks in my speech at Saione our Circuit Church here at the Misy. Meeting the day previous to my sailing for Sydney. The King was in the Chair the Brethren Moulton—Rabone & Greenwood were present—they again made no objection, and yet, I am charged as I am . . . Surely this is a cunning world—and gets queerer every day. (Baker to Chapman, 30 Dec. 1873, Baker 1860-79)

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797 It must be pointed out that the terms 'Preachers' Meeting' and 'Missionary Meeting' are ambiguous and misleading. The Preachers' Meeting and Missionary Meeting which Baker referred to in his letter would have meant, in Sydney, the Quarterly Meeting and District Meeting respectively, but the Tongan Preachers' Meeting was the weekly meeting of local preachers to obtain their instructions for the following week and there was literally no discussion at such meetings. The Missionary Meeting to which Baker was referring was simply the annual collection day, and not the District Meeting which would only have been attended by the missionaries. This episode shows how Baker did not hesitate to use cunning in order to serve his own purpose.

643 797 659 When Baker took over the chairmanship of the mission, he was reminded of the Society's rule that missionaries were not allowed to involve themselves in politics. For the first two years, at least, he seemed quite content with the prestige of the new position and refrained from openly aligning himself with King George and his government. In the latter half of 1872 he deliberately and decidedly turned to politics again. As has been pointed out, the King was in need of someone capable, whom he could trust, to be his [645] political adviser. His secretary, David Moss, had proved disappointing. His relationship with most of the missionaries was such that he was not in a position to ask any of them for help. Moulton was a good and close friend but was averse to becoming involved in politics. Seeing this opportunity of winning the King's favour and support in the face of declining prestige in the eyes of his colleagues and the Committee, Baker threw himself in the King's lap. He became the King's physician, as well as his financial, political and spiritual adviser.[7]

When Baker left to attend the January 1873 Conference in Sydney, he wrote, 'I made a request to the King concerning the alteration of certain laws and customs—they have had a meeting of the chiefs and passed them all . . . I am aware of the great responsibility laid upon me and of the powerful influence I yield

[651] [652] [7] In 1873 Baker lent the government a handsome sum towards the establishment of a sugar plantation (Baker to Chapman, 3 Dec. 1873). In 1875 Baker established a Government Savings Bank in Tonga (Baker to Chapman, 3 May 1876, Baker 1860-79).

[*sic*] . . .' (Baker to Chapman, 12 May 1873, Baker 1860-79). 643
Baker managed to get the King to dismiss David Moss in 1872, 797
and he virtually became the King's secretary himself. Cries of 659
opposition arose from various quarters, and Baker, defending [645]
himself, wrote:

> The King has officially appointed Mr. Cocker a Sec.—and so I suppose the good friends will be quiet—All I have ever done has been to give the King my advice, but have always left him to act according to his own judgement anything that has been done has been the King's act not mine he may have acted on my advice but with himself has been the responsibility and certainly I cannot see any harm in it. Shall I let him in times of perplexity and difficulty let him be guided by men who are sworn enemies of the lotu and all that is good—No . . . .' (Baker to Chapman, 20 Nov. 1873, Baker 1860-79)

At their District Meeting in 1873 severe objections were raised by Moulton against Baker's involvement in politics. Serious discussion followed although no formal charges were laid against the Chairman. In December of the same year Baker reported:

> At our D.M. Br. Moulton did not bring a charge against me but objected to my assisting the Government, as I had done and that I was virtually Sect. and also that I had the management of the Govt. Sugar Plantation.
>
> I replied that as to the first, I was not Sec. nor had I acted as Sec. I have perhaps taken too prominent a part in assisting the King. And as matters were I intended to keep in the back ground and have as little to do with the Government as I could help, saving that I should always claim my right to advise the King when he sought advice.
>
> I may simply add. It is a misfortune this has happened just now when the King is thinking of revising the constitution instead of refusing to help him I believe the right course would have been to have helped him. However, a future day will show who is right. (Baker to Chapman, 30 Dec. 1873, Baker 1860-79)

The King wanted a constitution and had obviously told Baker 643
so. At the same time he probably asked Baker to draw up the 797
constitution for him, for, while Baker was in Sydney towards the 659
end of 1872, he used the opportunity to seek advice and assist- 642

643 ance on legal constitutional matters from the Premier of New
South Wales, Sir Henry Parkes, who gave him a copy of all the
797 laws of the government of New South Wales since its inception,
659 and also from the Hawaiian Consul-General, E. Reeve, who had
642 succeeded St Julian. As a result, in 1875 Baker was able to hand
to King George his own very much coveted constitution; this was
[646] then presented to the Parliament which ratified it on 4 November
of the same year.

Although Baker had hinted to the missionary authorities in
797 Sydney that the King desired to have a constitution, his work in
642 drawing it up was a closely guarded secret, for, when it finally
came out, his missionary colleagues reacted unfavourably to it.
Watkin, who usually supported Baker, wrote:

> You will have heard ere this of the Constitution which has been set up—it will look or sound well from a distance; the affair to my mind has been altogether too hurried; . . . I think our Chairman has gone a little too far in the affair. (J. B. Watkin to Chapman, 12 Jan. 1876, Watkin 1855-79)

Later he again wrote:

> I am not envious in the least of his [Baker's] position in the Church or of his influence with the King—he is welcome to all and if he is anxious to have the honour of making a nation of the Tonganese, he is quite welcome to this also. But 'tis not in mortals to command success' . . . I am sorry that the Chairman did not consult his Brethren when he was preparing this Constitution for the Tonganese. I think (without pretending to possess a little of the Chairman's knowledge) we might have made a few suggestions which might perhaps have been of a little use—at any rate this Constitution came out quite unexpectedly except perhaps the King . . . I stood by Mr. Baker, formerly, because I could do so conscientiously—and I am as conscientious now in failing to see as he sees, and act as he is acting . . . I am very much afraid that the political scheme embodied in the Constitution set up—will have the effect of splitting up, than of consolidating this small government of ours. (Watkin to Chapman, 10 June 1876, Watkin 1855-79)

Another missionary wrote complaining of the difficulties of raising funds in 1876 because of the adverse effects of the new constitution:

> were it not for the fact that a so called Constitution has been introduced into Tonga—an affair, which so far as our work is con-

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> cerned and the interests of our nation in the South Seas, I wish had been blown to Hongkong and buried there. 797
>
> This year has been a very difficult and unpleasant year to me principally through this Constitution. The work in this Circuit has been hindered, interfered with and injured by it. And hundreds of £ sterling that would have entered the Church, have through it been turned into other channels. (James Thomas to Chapman, 15 Sept. 1876, WMMSA 1852-79) 642

However, Baker did not share the pessimistic views of his colleagues; instead he wrote jubilantly in 1876 of successful meetings, and of over 200 new members joining the Society in one week. He added, 'the new state of things is working well to the admiration of almost all—as far as Tongatabu is concerned and all the years I have been in Tonga 17 years now I never knew it in a better state spiritually' (Baker to Chapman, 22 July 1876, Baker 1860-79). 797

In his decision to dissociate himself from the policy of his colleagues and champion the cause of the King and his chiefs, Baker certainly helped them in their legitimate struggle to make Tonga an independent nation and an independent church. There can be no doubt that Baker was motivated in his actions by self-interest, but neither can it be denied that he loved the Tongans and sympathised with their aspirations. It is to be regretted that he sometimes reverted to the use of rather dubious tactics in order to achieve his ends. However, in his determination to stand by the Tongans, in the face of bitter opposition from almost every quarter, and to champion a cause which the settlers and his colleagues regarded as lost, Baker showed a great deal of courage. In doing what he did, he enabled King George and his chiefs to bring about what, in fact, all Tongans regarded as one of the greatest achievements in the history of their country— *Ko e Fokai 'o e Konisitūtone*—the granting of the constitution. 797 659 [642]

of the Kingdom of Tonga, but only to lease it in accordance 642
with this Constitution' (Clause 109), and only leases approved
by the Cabinet were to be recognised. Any lands which were not 423
owned by anyone, or any *tofi'a* which failed to have legitimate 427
heirs should revert to the government, and the government had
the right to lease such lands.

The Constitution of 1875 marked the culmination of a gradual 642
process by which King George had attempted to bring to Tonga
the type of legal and constitutional machinery which would enable [648]
her to gain recognition from the civilised nations and maintain
her own independent and stable government. Many of the pro- [643]
visions of this constitution departed altogether from traditional
precedents, as, for example, in the laws of succession not only to [428]
the throne but also to the hereditary titles of the whole country.

Traditionally, hereditary succession to the throne was not 643
automatic, but was decided upon by an 'electoral college' from
among several claimants. The selection of successors to the other 565
chiefly titles had been in the hands of the principal chiefs of the
ha'a to which the title belonged. Usually they chose the most cap- [613]
able candidate. This was essential at a time when the welfare of
the whole community depended almost entirely on the wisdom and
abilities of its paramount chief. However, there had been bitter [578]
rivalry among the various claimants which often resulted in open [669]
conflict and war between factions.

By the 1870s there was considerable speculation among both 643
Tongans and European settlers and British administrators in the
South Pacific, as to who would become the successor to King
George, after his long reign, extending from his rulership of
Ha'apai since 1820, of Vava'u since 1833 and of the whole of
Tonga since 1845. Many prophesied that civil war would break
out over this question if nothing were done about it. As early [797]
as the 1850s the missionaries had repeatedly requested King
George to declare a successor.[2] St Julian had also dealt with [177]

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[2] The Rev. R. Amos wrote:

> On the 9th of December 1856 I invited the King and Queen to dine with the Prince at our residence on Olobeka Hill, and on that occasion I told His Majesty that some persons blamed him for not publicly proclaiming George as his successor. His reply was 'It is

643 the matter in one of his letters of constitutional advice (St Julian
to King George, 26 June 1855). No doubt King George was well
[177] aware of the threatening political storm hovering over the kingdom
and ready to burst immediately upon his death. The law of succes-
643 sion was a way of forestalling any such disaster. Subsequent events
642 have proved the soundness of King George and his advisers in
this matter, for Tonga was spared the factional warfare which
raged for several years in neighbouring Samoa over this issue
(Watson 1918:50-1).

Another departure from the traditional Tongan system was the
adoption of a constitutional monarchy, a departure both in its
degree of centralisation and in the acceptance of limits to the
[645] King's authority in the rule of law. Although the King's power
was still great, in that he could veto legislation and had the
[646] prerogative to appoint and dismiss the ministers of the Crown,
he could no longer lawfully act on his own in matters of political importance without the approval of either the Cabinet, the Privy Council or the Legislative Assembly. In comparison with pre-constitution days, there were drastic limitations of the King's powers. Some have claimed that, in practice, King George failed to adhere strictly to this part of the constitution. This was understandable, for he was an extremely able ruler, whose subjects accepted and revered him, whether or not he acted in accordance
642 with the letter of the constitution. At the same time, the primary
purpose of the constitution was to make the Tongan government acceptable in the eyes of other nations, and to furnish a blueprint for his successors and future generations of Tonga. In both these respects the constitution proved successful.

646 There was a vast difference in the composition and working
of the new Legislative Assembly and the traditional *fakataha,*

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[643]
[797] unnecessary—all the Chiefs know my mind . . . he is my only legitimate son—I was never married to the mothers of my other three sons, either after Tonga or Christian fashion—he is too young to proclaim yet, a boy who is still a spider-catcher is not fit to sit with the elders of the people—I shall one day proclaim him as my successor with the title of Prince of Ha'afuluhao.'—I stated that it would be well to proclaim George that he might be acknowledged by civilised governments. (Amos to Eggleston, 26 Oct. 1857, WMMSA 1852-79)

which had actually been a council of chiefs. The *fakataha* were 646
held at irregular intervals, depending upon whether the King
wished them to be held, and the chiefs acted in a purely advisory
capacity. There were several quite revolutionary features in the
new Legislative Assembly. For instance, it included an equal 646
number of chiefs and representatives of the people and, for the 565
first time, commoners joined the chiefs in discussing political
matters. This was a remarkable innovation in a land where commoners had been regarded as mere tools and possessions of the
chiefs.

The teachings of the missionaries on the equality of all men 565
before God had significantly raised the social status of commoners, 797
and their participation in church organisations together with the
chiefs had helped to prepare the ground for their greater social
and political acceptance. This was further assisted by the founding 873
of Tupou College in 1866, where Moulton implemented a policy
of treating all students alike, be they chiefs or commoners. The 565
only hierarchy recognised within the College was a hierarchy of
intellectual achievement. Since significant numbers of commoners 565
passed through the College, a mutual respect began to develop
between them and the chiefly class, and this made it less difficult 646
for the nobles to accept the constitutional provisions for com- [873]
moner representation in the Assembly. Only those chiefs who had
failed to gain a place for themselves in the Assembly showed any
resentment.

It is paradoxical that the very constitution which set out to 565
limit the powers of the monarchy should have created a new [642]
landed aristocracy with increased powers. This would appear to
be the very reverse of what both the missionaries and King George
had been trying to achieve with the earlier legislation, which aimed
at limiting the power of the chiefs and raising the status of commoners. In the new constitution a certain number of chiefs were [642]
now to be chosen by the King and made the nobles of Tonga;[8] [643]
they were to be given tracts of land to be their *tofi'a* or hereditary [423]
estates.

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[8] In the Hawaiian Constitution of 1852 upon which this was modelled, the King appointed thirty nobles for life (Chambers 1896:19).

565 Significantly, as the King stated in his closing speech to the 1875 Parliament which ratified the constitution, the basis for selecting the nobles was not that of traditional rank but of the numerical strength of their supporters. Those with large numbers of people living under them were more likely to prove troublesome than those of higher rank but without supporters.

425 The land section of the constitution, particularly the prohibition on the sale of land, and the provision making it unlawful for any noble to lease land to European settlers without the consent of Cabinet, has proved to be immeasurably beneficial to Tonga. Firstly, it ensured that a great proportion of the land remained in Tongan hands. Secondly, it helped to maintain the political independence of Tonga. Sale of land would have attracted a great many European settlers, and with a larger economic stake in the country they could have applied more effective pressure on the great powers to annex Tonga—as settlers in Fiji and Hawaii exemplify (see Morrell 1960:82, 148; Derrick 1963:223; Chambers 1896:8). Thirdly, it saved Tonga from the racial problems which other islands, particularly Fiji, have had to face. The virtual absence of European plantations in Tonga made it unnecessary to import labourers from other places.

797 642 It cannot be said that Baker, the author of this constitution, was an authority on constitutional matters; nor did he bring to the highly specialised task he had decided to undertake an adequate educational background or training in law. However, he followed the Hawaiian Constitution of 1852 very closely, adapting it with the help of King George to the local conditions and needs of Tonga. His other sources appear to have been the English consitutional practice, which he probably derived from the laws of New South Wales, given him by Sir Henry Parkes, the previous Tongan Codes, and the Bible.

642 Critics were quite merciless in their denunciation of the constitution. A. Mackay, a business man who was in Tonga during the height of Baker's power, and who was very anti-Baker, asserted that the constitution was unsuitable, unworkable and abortive, and certainly reflected no credit on anyone connected with it (*Sydney Evening News*, 21 Oct. 1897). Basil Thomson (1894:229) wrote 'that the pretentious document beginning,

642 immensely proud of it, even though they did not understand it fully. It has since been a popular theme for glorification by poets, talked about in the *faikava* (kava party) and, as Thomson (1937: 143) pointed out, has been regarded by the Tongans as 'Holy Writ'. The very sanctity which the constitution had assumed in their minds posed some further problems, for it made them reluctant to accept any amendments to it, even when such were
642 required to meet the demands of a new era.[7] Internationally, the constitution, with all its limitations, led the civilised nations of
648 the world to recognise Tonga's independent sovereignty—in 1876 Tonga signed a treaty with Germany (Thomson 1894:386), in 1879 one with Britain, and in 1888 one with America (Wood 1932:59)—and the country came to be regarded as having a government capable of managing both its internal affairs and external relations. In actual fact, Tonga was not able to manage
[645] its own affairs. Hence the sending to Tonga of Basil Thomson in 1890 to tidy up the mess in the Tongan government after the deportation of Baker, and the Treaty of 1900 giving the British Consul the power of veto over finance and external affairs. However, it saved Tonga from being annexed (see Thomson 1902: 153).

● 797 Although the missionaries cannot be held fully responsible for the gradual constitutional development, they played a significant
642 role in it. The impact of their teachings on King George and his people, not only religiously but as agents of Christian civilisation, was so effective, that these teachings, together with other factors, produced a gradual but marked change in Tongan society. The assistance the early missionaries gave, as a body, with earlier legislation was of great importance, and although most of the later ones were reluctant to become too deeply involved in politics, Baker gave his wholehearted assistance to King George in his political innovations, arguing that he was entitled to do so when the King had called for his help.

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[7] Basil Thomson (1894:229) states: 'My principal difficulty lay in the Constitution. Though the king readily consented to the abrogation of the laws, he had an almost superstitious dread of tampering with the Constitution.'

12 Conclusion

797 In spite of the Society's official policy of 'no politics', its
missionaries participated significantly in Tonga's political de-
velopment during the period under study. They did not precipitate
178 political development as such, for the indigenous political system
had undergone a process of evolution—quite dramatic at times—
long before any Wesleyan Methodist missionary set foot in Tonga.
Similar processes of change had also occurred in Africa as well as
other Polynesian societies such as Hawaii and Tahiti where there
177 was a transition from tribal society to state. In the case of Tonga,
the growing contact with Fiji stimulated dramatic change in the
socio-economic and political arena. This process of change was
further accelerated by the arrival of the Europeans whose wealth,
797 technology and power the islanders came to covet so much. The
role played by the missionaries in this process was an integral
part of the general European impact on Tongan culture, and it
cannot therefore be viewed in isolation. However, the missionaries'
influence was crucial in deciding the direction which political
changes took subsequent to their arrival. This was a natural con-
sequence of the task which they had undertaken and of the
circumstances in which they found themselves.

The missionaries' primary task was the conversion of the heathen. Although many of them were inadequately educated and equipped for this work, they were men of deep conviction and strong faith. They were convinced that Jehovah, in the end, would inevitably triumph, in spite of all the difficulties and occasional set-backs. Hence there could be no compromise. Working through the existing political leaders, and using every available means at their disposal, such as providing medicines, promoting education, and conducting religious revival meetings, they soon succeeded in making the majority of the population of Tonga at least nominally Christian.

As politics was so closely interwoven into the total fabric of

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
OU9 Tonga OU9

Tongan society, it was unavoidable that it would be affected by 797
the new teaching. When the religious basis of the old order was undermined, much of the framework of the traditional society collapsed with it. Christianity became the foundation on which the new structure had to be built. It was inevitable that the missionaries, who were instrumental in destroying much of the old social order, should become the principal designers of the new, particularly in its early stages, for then the chiefly builders were ignorant of the new design; and unlike other island groups in the Pacific, Tonga had no other Europeans qualified to act as an alternative source of guidance at this time. It follows that, while the policy [659]
of non-involvement in politics might succeed in their home country, where monarchy and government already rested firmly on Christian principles, the missionaries in Tonga realised that politics had to be christianised if their primary objective was to be achieved.

In the final analysis, however, the greatest credit for the success- 643
ful transition to a constitutional monarchy is due to Tonga's remarkable ruler, King George, and his Tongan supporters. He [642]
recognised the advantages of adopting Western civilisation, its ideas, wealth, technology and religion—Christianity—and he seized on every available opportunity for furthering both his own interests and those of his people. It was he who took the initiative 643
and though he sought the advice of the missionaries and often relied heavily upon it, it was he alone who made the final decisions. 797
His astuteness as a statesman and politician led him to look further afield for advice, and he did not confine himself to the missionary sphere alone; it is quite erroneous to look upon him as simply a puppet in their hands.

At the same time, it would be equally mistaken to claim, as some writers have done (see, e.g. Webb 1965:32) that conversion of the rulers to Christianity in Tonga and other places in the Pacific was simply a means used by these politically ambitious individuals to serve their own economic and political ends. This intepretation applied to King George and the Tongan situation would be quite superficial and misleading. King George's adherence to Christian principles throughout the later stages of his career had a positive effect on his political actions, as this study

648 797 has shown. His adherence to the missionaries' teachings went much deeper than mere lip-service. They helped him to develop his remarkable gifts for leadership, which enabled him to surmount severe opposition and to withstand the vicissitudes of his long reign during the most critical period of Tongan history. Without the guidance and assistance of the Wesleyan missionaries he could hardly have succeeded in his ambitions, and to this extent their influence on Tongan political changes during this period was considerable.

Tonga's political integrity was assisted to some extent by her geographical isolation and by the fact that it was less attractive to planters than, for instance, the neighbouring Samoa and Fiji groups, but ultimately it was the favourable combination of circumstances which brought together a ruler such as King George and the Wesleyan missionaries that helped to determine the political destiny of Tonga. Without this conjunction, the course of political development in Tonga might have had a very different outcome, and perhaps the little kingdom would have suffered the same fate as the other small kingdoms of the Pacific, such as Tahiti and Hawaii, which failed to survive into the twentieth century.

[Constitution of 1875]
Postscript

642 643 797 [646] This Constitution was originally compiled, at the request of His Majesty King George, by the Reverend Shirley W. Baker; afterwards amended and completed by His Majesty himself, together with certain alterations made by the Legislative Assembly, 1875.

By His Majesty's request the Rev. S. W. Baker translated this Constitution from Tongese into English.

WELLINGTON T. GU.
AIDE-de-Camp.

433
241 village- and town-dwelling small-holding farmers of a variety of root crops for
subsistence and of copra and bananas for cash.[3]

643 The pre-contact Tongan political and social system was a highly stratified
565 kingship, which was an extreme case of the hierarchical social organization for
175 which Polynesia has been culturally typed (see Gifford, 1929; Goldman, 1970;
171 Sahlins, 1958). The pre-contact sacred kingship of the Tu'i Tonga had been
177 increasingly challenged by the political competition among ruling chiefs for
797 over two centuries, when Wesleyan missionaries, arriving in 1826, began a
process of thorough westernization of indigenous institutions. Enthusiastically
643 accepting Christianity and the advantages of western ideas of law, government,
178 and education, the powerful chiefly leader, Tāufa'āhau,[4] as the Christian king
George Tupou I, united the islands under a constitutional monarchy and a
178 strong Wesleyan church organization. Although later a British protectorate
177 (1900-1970), Tonga was the only polity in Polynesia to maintain indigenous
642 sovereignty and remains the only surviving Polynesian kingship.[5]

[648] The institutional and legal framework for the new order has remained
[171] virtually intact during the reigns of the four monarchs of the Tupou dynasty
(Tupou I, 1875-1893; Tupou II, 1893-1918; Queen Sālote, 1918-1965; and
Tupou IV, 1965-). The major pre-contact social and political institutions
were replaced by a monarchical state (with the kingship defined as part of the
conventional executive, legislative, and judicial branches of western government)
177 and Christian church organizations. On the other hand, a number of indigenous
customs and values were assimilated to the innovations and persisted, particularly
178 in the important everyday-life contexts of kin relations and of the production
and exchange of traditional foodstuffs and goods such as barkcloth and mats.
This early, stable complex of institutions, ideas, and practices, which integrated
Tongan culture with a version of European culture, remained isolated during
the early twentieth century as a neo-traditional or compromise culture and is
only now being challenged by increasing political and economic contacts with
other regional and world nations.

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[3] The following are major sources on recent Tongan demography and economics: Bollard (1974), deBres (1974), Maude (1965, 1971), Sevele (1973), and Walsh (1964). The following are sources on modern Tongan society and culture: Aoyagi (1966); Beaglehole (1941), Kaeppler (1971), Korn (1974) Marcus (1975a, 1975b), Morton (1972), and Rogers (1968, 1975).

[175] [4] There were actually three kingships in Tonga in the century before the Constitution. In the 15th century, the 24th incumbent Tu'i Tonga conferred supreme secular power on his younger brother, while retaining for himself the highest sacred status, thus initiating a collateral line of kings called the Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua. The 6th Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua, repeating the earlier split in authority, conferred considerable authority on one of his sons, thus creating a second line of major societal chiefs or kings, the Tu'i Kanokupolu, collateral to the sacred Tu'i Tonga kingship. Tāufa'āhau was the 19th Tu'i Kanokupolu.

[5] Major secondary sources on Tonga's transformation and recent history are Lātūkefu (1974); Rutherford (1971), and Wood (1932, 1975).

Ha'ateiho is the place where three London Missionary Society 648
missionaries were killed in 1799. At Bea may be seen the spot where [797]
Captain Croker was killed and three naval guns were captured in 1840.

There is a good example of an old fort in fair preservation at Hule, 712
near Nukunuku. The most remarkable of the numerous trenches of the
island is known as the Keli-'a-Belehake, which extends from Vaotu'u to [173]
Nukunuku, Te'ekiu, Masilamea, and back to the southern coast at Fahefa;
tradition states that this was actually dug in a single night during a war
between the men of Hahake and those of Hihifo led by Vaha'i, at some
undetermined time probably in the early 19th century. The name of a 103
hamlet, 'Umutagata, also in the western district, recalls a rare instance 266
of human cremation and cannibalism.

At Kolovai there is the enclosure where the former Tu'i Kanoku- 764
bolu were invested with office; a piece of the koka tree under which these 643
kings sat has been placed in the modern coronation chair at Nuku'alofa. [764]
The tombs of these kings are also at Kolovai. This village is well-known
to tourists as a sanctuary for great numbers of flying-foxes. 136

Houma, on the south-west coast, is noted for the blow-holes which 133
extend along the cliffs for a considerable distance.

In the extreme north-west of the island, at Ha'atafu, a monument 648
stands to mark the landing-place of the first Wesleyan missionaries (1826). [211]
Tasman in 1643 and Cook in 1773 also landed nearby.

Navigation lights now stand at Ha'atafu, Nuku'alofa and Malinoa, 502
an island north of Nuku'alofa. The quarantine station is situated at
Makaha'a, another island off Nuku'alofa. 504

Ancient stone-quarries are to be seen at Motutabu and Bagaimotu,
small islands not far from Nuku'alofa. It seems more than probable 316
that the stones used in the great tombs (lagi) at Mu'a and elsewhere were 174
cut at these places, and certainly not at Uvea and other distant islands
to which old native traditions refer.

HA'ABAI. It is considered that this name is derived from Savai'i, 103
the island in Samoa from which the ancient Tongans probably came.
Ha'abai is a scattered archipelago of small islands, the total area of which 133
is less than that of 'Eua, if the uninhabited volcanic islands of Tofua and
Kao are excluded. Yet these islets support a population of 6,410, most 131
of whom have small tax-allotments or none at all, and despite the diffi- 162
culties of getting a livelihood—difficulties which hurricanes and droughts
have increased in recent years—the number of people who have gone to 311
take up land in Togatabu and Vava'u is not considerable. The people 505
of Ha'abai have always been renowned as skilful navigators and fishermen. 226

The Governor of Ha'abai resides at Bagai, Lifuka, which was also 634
the boyhood home and always the favourite residence of Tubou I. Cook
was entertained at a great festival and a plot was made against his life 175
on this island in 1777. Mariner's vessel, the "Port-au-Prince," was also
attacked here, and the cemetery of the murdered sailors is at Koulo, 648
Lifuka.

Uoleva, now uninhabited, has a remarkable number of pigeon- 172
mounds used by chiefs in ancient times, also an old sunken road of unknown use extending through the island.

175 visit in 1793, a period of civil war between various high
669 chiefs throughout the archipelago prevailed from 1799 until
721 1852 (Wood, 1945:29-54).

797 The "missionary period", which essentially began with
669 the arrival of the first successful missionaries (John
721 Thomas, John Hutchinson and two Tahitians, Habe and Tafeta,
in 1825), overlapped the latter part of this period of civil
721 disorder. Between 1826 and 1852, the warfare in Tonga in-
669 volved struggles for political and religious influence bet-
798 ween heathen (often aided by Catholics) and Protestant
795 Christian factions. The final war in 1852, established the
642 dominance of the Tu'i Kanokupolu line and of Christianity
643 over the entire archipelago. When Tu'i Laufilitonga (of the
[797] Tu'i Kanokupolu line) died in 1865, George Tupou I became
the political, military, and religious ruler of Tonga.
642 According to Maude (1965:35), the political stability crea-
648 ted by the unification of the Kingdom under Tupou I, was
182 probably the main reason Tonga was able to retain its inde-
pendent status when other Pacific Islands Kingdoms were
falling under the sovereignty of European powers.

797 During Tupou I's reign, the Wesleyan Mission maintained
642 considerable influence in Tongan politics. As early as 1839,
[643] Tupou I (then known as Taufa'ahau) had drawn up a code of
laws for Vava'u. This code was revised in 1852 to pertain
to the entire Tongan archipelago and further developed, with
assistance of the Revernd Shirley Baker, into the "Consti-

642 tution of 1875" (Rutherford, 1971-50). The main provisions
[797] of this constitution were: a declaration of rights; a form of government, consisting of the King, Privy Council, Cabinet, Legislative Assembly, and Judiciary; and laws defining the policy for distributing Tongan land. Under these provisions, Tonga became recognized, at least nominally, as a constitutional monarchy similar to Great Britain, by France (as early as 1855), Germany (1876), Great Britain (1879), and the United States (1888) (Maude, 1965:37; Woods, 1945:58-59).

668 Shortly after Tonga's recognition as an independent
797 state, there was a period of relative disorder including:
642 internal religious difficulties; the deportation of the ex-Wesleyen missionary Shirley Baker, who had served as premier from 1880-1890; financial difficulties related to collection of taxes; and the death of Tupou I in 1893 (Wood, 1945:
642 62). A "Treaty of Friendship and Protection" between Tonga
648 and Great Britain was signed in 1900 and ratified in 1901. The basic provisions of this original treaty were: that all Tonga's foreign affairs would be conducted through the British Agent and Consul; that the British Agent and Consul was not to interfere in internal affairs; and that if needed Great Britain would provide military protection. In 1905, as a result of a serious state of finances, a supplementary agreement was signed giving the British Agent and Consul the power to review expenditures and to have a say in the

177 convicts also increased the Tongans' knowledge of the
European culture. These visitors searching for whales,
sandalwood, turtle shell, bêche-de-mer, cheap labor, and
adventure, introduced new diseases, alcohol, and firearms.

177 The impact of missionary societies effectively began in
797 1826 and was dominated by the Methodist or Wesleyan Mission
[795] although Catholic, Anglican, Seventh Day Adventist and,
more recently, the Morman missions have also had considerable
[241] influence. Tongans have been nominally converted to
Christianity; an education system was founded; there has
been considerable missionary influence politically; and new
agricultural technology such as sprinkler irrigation and new
varieties of peanuts, bananas, garden vegetables, and other
crops have been introduced through missionary societies.

177 During the latter half of the nineteenth century, resident
439 traders and large trading concerns, such as J.C.
Godeffroy and Son, came to Tonga for such products as coconut
177 oil and bêche-de-mer (Robson, 1946:63). European
241 settlers and trading companies, such as the successor to
439 Godeffroy and Son, the D.H.P.G. (Deutsche, Handels-und
[423] Plantagen-Gesellschaft der Sudsee-Inseln zu Hamburg),
obtained leasehold rights to land and developed plantation
agriculture around copra, cotton, coffee, and livestock. A
number of these large-scale plantations still exist, and
European technology and the cultivation of export crops have
remained an integral part of Tongan agriculture.

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
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PREFACE

The Methodist Church has been at work in Australia since 1815 and it sent
its first missionary to the Pacific Islands in 1822. It is now looking forward to 797
union with other Churches in Australia. Before its denominational identity ceases
it seems desirable to compile a history of Methodist Overseas Missions during the 121
past 150 years.

To write such a complete history is an audacious venture, and an ageing minister must have misgivings about the attempt. This volume deals with Tonga and Samoa. If a second volume can follow, it will take Fiji, Rotuma, and the Indian work in Fiji as the subject. It is expected that four volumes will be needed for the whole history.

Until 1855 the work of Wesleyan Missions in the Pacific was directed from
London. In that year Australasian Wesleyan Methodism became self-governing 797
and solely responsible for the work in the Pacific. In 1902 the union of the
various branches of Methodism produced the Methodist Church of Australasia.
In the interests of simplicity "Australia" is generally used in this history instead
of the ecclesiastically correct "Australasia".

New Zealand Methodism separated from Australia in 1913. I have not 000
encroached on the history of missionary work among the Maoris in New Zealand
because a history in this section has been published by the Methodist Church in
that country. I acknowledge some overlapping in recording the history of the
Solomon Islands Mission, which was established from Australia in 1902 and came
under the control of the Methodist Church in New Zealand in 1922.

I have given prominence to Tonga, largely because I served there from 1924 797
to 1937 and have kept in touch with Tonga ever since. Also, Tonga merits close [114]
attention as the first Wesleyan field and one where events of importance for
missionary study took place; if we seek lessons about motives, methods, and
mistakes, Tonga provides these.

As far as a Methodist minister and a former missionary can do so, I have 121
written objectively in this history. Not only successes but what seemed to me
errors in policy and failures needed to be recorded, and I have endeavoured to
be accurate and impartial. I have relied mainly on missionaries' journals and
correspondence.

It was hoped that this history would have been published in 1972, to mark 114
the 150th anniversary of Walter Lawry's landing in Tonga, but it appears before 797
1976, the year commemorating the arrival of the veteran, John Thomas.

I acknowledge, first, my sense of privilege in studying, and in attempting to 000
narrate, the deeds of many noble men and women who have laboured in Overseas
Missions in the past 150 years. I have been indebted to those whose assistance
with material and advice I acknowledge, and I apologize for inadvertent omissions
from a list which includes His Majesty King Taufa'ahau IV; the Premier, Prince
Tu'ipelehake; Dr. W. Niel Gunson, Department of Pacific History, Australian
National University, Canberra; Dr. Sione Latukefu, Department of History,
University of Papua and New Guinea; Dr. Noel Rutherford, Department of

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000 History, University of Newcastle, N.S.W.; Dr. Alan Tippett, Fuller Theological Seminary School of World Mission, Pasadena, California; the Revs. E. W. Hames and G. G. Carter, of Auckland; the Rev. Dr. S. 'A. Havea, President of the Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga, and the Revs. G. C. Harris, A. E. McKay, R. A. W. Woodgate, H. W. Secomb, and Geoffrey Cummins, formerly of Tonga; the Revs. R. W. Allardice and N. H. Mapperson, formerly of Samoa; the family of the late Mr. J. B. Minns (son of the Rev. George Minns, missionary in Tonga) who gave his years of retirement to investigating the family records of all missionaries in Tonga; the Overseas Missions Secretaries and staffs in Sydney and Melbourne; the library staffs of the Palace Records, Nuku'alofa; the Mitchell Library, Sydney; the La Trobe Library, Melbourne; Queen's College Library, University of Melbourne; the National Library, Canberra; the Department of Pacific History, Australian National University, Canberra; the Western Pacific High Commission archives, Suva, Fiji; the Free Wesleyan Church records, Nuku'alofa, Tonga. The Rev. Rex Mathias has very generously helped me with the reading of proofs. My daughters, Janet and Elizabeth, have been of invaluable assistance.

[113] Maps (facing pp. 1 and 251) are reproduced from Deryck Scarr, *Fragments of Empire: A History of the Western Pacific High Commission 1877-1914* (ANU Press 1967), pp. 54 and 83.

A. HAROLD WOOD.

Mont Albert, Victoria,
18th August, 1975.

NOTES ON METHODIST NOMENCLATURE

797 "Wesleyan" is used in this history instead of "Methodist" or "Wesleyan Methodist", before the end of the 19th Century. It was the name always used in the Pacific Islands and is still the name commonly used in many cases. No other branch of Methodism (Primitive Methodist, for instance) appeared in the Pacific. After the union of Methodism in Australasia in 1902, the term "Methodist" is used instead of "Wesleyan" in this history.

The "Missionary Committee" (or "Mission Board") in London, and afterwards a similar Committee in Sydney, supervised the operations in the mission areas. The executive officers were "Missionary Secretaries" (or "General Secretaries").

Each Mission area was called a District, with its "District Meeting" (later called the Synod) and its senior missionary as Chairman. These Districts, for purposes of ministerial direction and discipline, were attached to the Australian Church (after 1855) through the New South Wales and Queensland Conference (after 1893, the New South Wales Conference). The Missionary Committee or Mission Board also was subject to this Conference which met annually in Sydney and was a much larger body than the Missionary Committee. Each year a new President of Conference was elected.

The General Conference, which met every three or four years, consisted of representatives from the Annual Conferences of the various Colonies (or States, after Federation). This was the General Conference of the Wesleyan Church until union took place in 1902. Until it separated in 1913, New Zealand was part of the General Conference.

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INTRODUCTION

WESLEYAN MISSIONS IN THE PACIFIC

777

The Evangelical Revival in Britain in the 18th Century led to the formation of missionary societies. It stimulated Wesleyan preachers, and others, to go to the ends of the earth. In 1784 John Wesley's young colleague, Dr. Thomas Coke, often called "The Father of the Methodist Missions", put forward his "Plan of the Society for the Establishment of Missions among the Heathen", and immediately Wesleyan missionaries were sent to the West Indies and West Africa, supported by the generosity of Coke and his friends. Coke contemplated sending missionaries to the South Seas as early as 1789.(1) Internal constitutional problems after the death of Wesley in 1791 delayed the formal development of the Wesleyan Missionary Society until 1816; and Coke had expired in the tropical heat of the ship taking him to Ceylon two years before then.

In the pioneer community of Sydney there was a small group of Wesleyan laymen who persuaded the British Conference to give them ministerial leadership. The first missionary to New South Wales was Samuel Leigh, who arrived in 1815; the second was Walter Lawry who became the pioneer in Tonga. Although there was no lack of opportunity for evangelistic work in Sydney and adjacent districts, the Wesleyans were determined to expand their operations to the Pacific Islands. Samuel Leigh spent part of his term of service in New Zealand; his efforts among the Maoris lie outside the scope of this history. Before Walter Lawry had offered to serve in Tonga he had written in October 1818 to the Missionary Committee in London about the prospects of Wesleyan Missions extending throughout the South Pacific:

> "In a few years I expect to see missionaries sallying forth to the numerous islands which spot the seas on every side of us. The Friendly Islands, the Feejees, New Hebrides, New Caledonia, New Zealand, New Georgia; and then to the north again, very contiguous to us, are the fine islands of New Guinea, New Ireland, Celebes, Timor, Borneo, and a great cluster of thickly-inhabited missionary posts".(2)

Wesleyan Missions were not to reach all the fields Lawry envisaged in those words but they did eventually include a wide-ranging section of the South Pacific region and also other lands, directed from the Wesleyan Church in Sydney (and London until the severance of the link with British Wesleyanism in 1855). The whole area of Missions in the Pacific and elsewhere, with which this history deals, with the dates of beginning operations, comprised the following:—

1822 — Tonga
1828 — Samoa
1835 — Fiji
1841 — Rotuma
1875 — New Britain, etc.
1891 — Papua (Islands Region)
1897 — Indian work in Fiji
1902 — Solomon Islands
1909 — India (Azamgarh, etc.)

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1916 — Aborigines (North Australia)
1950 — Highlands (Papua-New Guinea)
1955 — Indonesia (Timor)

Today the Pacific Islands Missions of all denominations occupy only a small place in world missions. It was otherwise at the beginning of the 19th Century. At that time there was a romantic glow which Cook's *Voyages* had given the Pacific Islands and which affected many Evangelicals in England; William Carey, the father of Baptist Missions in India, thought at first of going to the South Seas.

These islands and the Missions have sometimes suffered from an excess of glamour. Norman Goodall, the historian of the London Missionary Society, called the Pacific "The Wonderland of Christian Missions". The historian of international missions, K. S. Latourette, declared that the Missions in the South Pacific represented "the most notable outpouring of life, in the main unselfish, in the service of alien peoples which the world has ever seen". Writers with their experience would not be expected to choose words lightly, but, while recognizing the successes which prompted such eulogies, a historian must point out mistaken policies and failures also. There is much to condemn though everything should be judged in its contemporary setting.

If many missionaries were narrow, rigid, and even iconoclastic, so, to a large extent, were the home Churches they represented. It was inevitable that 19th Century Protestant missionary teachings and practices expressed current beliefs, such as the verbal inerrancy of the whole Bible, the emphasis upon Old Testament narratives, the evidential value of biblical miracles, even the use of the name *Jehovah* which Pacific islanders adopted instead of the names of their old deities. The substitutionary theory of Christ's atonement was always a central belief and a source of emotional power. The missionaries' preaching of hell-fire is, naturally, strongly condemned today but it was general among 19th Century Churches, Protestant and Roman Catholic alike. Although they agreed at that point, there was a divergence in the place given to the Scriptures, and Protestant missionaries in the Pacific were often called "the Biblical Missionaries" by Roman Catholic priests.

National pride was dominant in the 19th Century and Wesleyan missionaries were proud of their Englishness. Like the London Missionary Society pioneers in Eastern Polynesia, they also wished to reproduce an English system of Church life, an English pattern of virtuous family habits, and an English society of industrious labourers. They believed that the English type of Christianity was the most worthy of imitation. This also could be expressed in English forms of laws and government which they advocated for South Sea Islands communities. The missionaries "exported a European pre-fabricated theology, church discipline and architecture".(3)

> "The missionaries were beset with a vision of at once saving souls and of bringing into being a new native society with the values of Bible Christianity and the British lower middle class. . . . Their enterprise was a stupendous effort to *impose* their values by moral suasion on a people utterly alien by race and culture".(4)

There was a naivete in the missionaries' expectation that the islanders would quickly see the superiority of Christianity and accept it readily. They found, however, that the priests of the indigenous religions would do their utmost to resist the new religion, and that the chiefs were opposed because their traditional authority would be eroded if the missionaries and the Church became determinative of the community's conduct.

Opposition came also from another quarter. In some places there were white men whose actions were a defiance of the missionaries' teachings, and who sometimes instigated active resistance to their work. These were the beachcombers, runaway sailors, and escaped convicts, most of them representatives of base elements in white society. If the missionaries did nothing else they acted as an insulating force against the impact of the undesirable features of European civilization. Alcoholism, veneral disease, the use of firearms, and the depradations of the infamous "blackbirders", evils which caused depopulation in some areas and depravity in all, were introduced by men of an allegedly superior culture. Albert Schweitzer's words in relation to the people of Africa can be applied to the Pacific Islands also:—

> "Who can describe the injustice and the cruelties that in the course of centuries they have suffered at the hands of Europeans? Who can measure the misery produced among them by the fiery drinks and the hideous diseases that we have taken to them? . . . We and our civilization are burdened, really, with a great debt. . . . Anything we give them is not benevolence but atonement".(5)

With the ecumenical spirit that has, happily, entered into the second half of the 20th Century it may be difficult to understand the fierceness of sectarian rivalry in the Pacific in the 19th Century. Wesleyans and other Protestant missionaries could perhaps be pardoned for resenting the intrusion of Roman Catholic priests into fields which had been already evangelized with toil and sacrifice, but these devoted priests went into new and dangerous fields also, and insufficient credit has been given to them by Protestants. Unfortunately, the sectarian situation was complicated by the support of warships at a time of strong Anglo-French rivalry. The Wesleyans

> "suspected, quite rightly as the French historians now candidly admit, that they were as much agents of French imperialism as of the true religion".(6)

In the days of Louis Philippe, and even more so when Napoleon III was reviving imperial glories, it was the policy of the French Government

> "to support the (French) missionaries and to use them as a counterweight to the growing power of the British in the Antipodes".(7)

The anti-Romanist feelings of mid-19th Century Protestant missionaries were fomented by the fears of a Roman Catholic revival in their homeland that followed the Tractarian Movement. It had been customary for Protestants from the 16th to the 19th Century, with few exceptions, to speak of the Papacy in grievously condemnatory terms culled unwarrantedly from the Book of Revelation. The effect of missionaries' antipathies upon their converts was obvious. Protestant missionaries also believed that their rivals did not advocate "the restraints of the Gospel" but condoned polygamy, tolerated native dances, and discouraged Sabbath observance. All this was confusing to the islanders. Viewed from the present-day position, these sectarian quarrels were deplorable and this author, as a former missionary, adds his own apology.

The Wesleyan missionaries' training in theology was not supplemented by anthropology, comparative religion and sociology, as with missionaries in the 20th Century. They believed, therefore, that there must be a complete and immediate break with the people's old customs, not only their belief in spirits and worship of idols but all practices associated with a non-Christian past In the process, elements that had been harmless and traditional were often unnecessarily sacrificed. It was only gradually that the native dances were approved by the missionaries, with safeguards against old lascivious associations; and it was a

fact that night dancing led to sexual promiscuity. Gradually the missionaries 797
realized that their interference with native customs and recreations had been over-stern and had reduced the natural joy of living that music and dancing had fostered.

The Sabbath was the clearest mark of a break with the past. Sabbatarianism
became rooted in the converts' principles; and under no circumstances was either
work or recreation permitted on the Sabbath. In Tonga, for instance, the 797
prohibitions were embodied in repeated legal enactments. Commodore Wilkes, of 796
the U.S. Exploring Expedition in 1839-40, considered that Sabbath observance [67]
had become analogous to the taboos in heathen times.

The missionaries in Tonga, like the L.M.S. missionaries in Tahiti and 797
elsewhere, desired to set up a theocratic state. It was expected that the system of morality that the Church upheld would be enforced by the State. Whether this was desirable or not, it was possible only where there was ecclesiastical homogeneity. The ideal of the observance of public morality expressed the inherent Puritanism of Protestant Evangelicals. At its worst it was harshly negative; at its best, as it was designed to be, it represented both a quest for holy living and the promotion of social justice. An example of the latter was the emancipation of the slaves, an outstanding result of 18th-19th Century Puritanism. In spite of an unbalanced and over-rigid expression of their ideals, the Wesleyan missionaries endeavoured to express

> "those old Puritan, Nonconformist virtues which once undergirded the moral fabric of our dissolving society". (Professor Gordon Rupp, sermon in Westminster Abbey on Tongan Independence Day, 4 June 1970.)

It was unfortunate that the missionaries adopted a paternalistic attitude towards their converts. Especially in Tonga, the comparative ease with which success had come may have been responsible for a domineering and dictatorial spirit for which the Mission paid dearly when a reaction set in.

It was natural for those who knew the frailties of their converts to delay granting self-government to the indigenous Church. The Church in Australia, advised by the missionaries, was slow to concede this privilege to Tonga, with the tragic consequences of secession. Even so, the Church had learnt its lesson before the end of the Century, as the minutes of a meeting of the Mission Board in Sydney revealed, in a statement of policy on 7 February, 1900:

> "In the judgement of the Board it is desirable that the self-governing powers of the Mission Districts should be increased."

Controversies within the missionaries' ranks were generally infrequent, except in Tonga where they became scandalous and brought disastrous results. Isolation, long terms of service without furloughs, the very intensity of feeling which their ministrations engendered, were not the only causes of tension and dissension; the very human factors of personal ambition and jealousy sometimes operated, and certainly did so in Tonga, to the missionaries' shame and with grave injury to their work.

Interference in local politics was not only a breach of the "Instructions to Missionaries" but a cause of friction on a mission staff. Missionaries were asked to outline laws and codes for the guidance of the indigenous leaders. They were trusted, and indeed were the only Europeans available for advice in the early days. With Shirley Baker in Tonga, more than the giving of advice followed, and he "succumbed to the corrupting influence of power". The L.M.S. historian, Norman Goodall, added —

> "He provides a pathological exception — with, perhaps, a warning — to the general run of missionaries".(5)

The early Wesleyan missionaries did not regard piety and learning as opposed to each other. Their diaries, regularly kept according to instructions from headquarters, reveal more than their self-examination and spiritual trials. They give evidence of the missionaries' self-discipline and the extent of their reading and continued studies, some in Latin, Greek and Hebrew. They maintained these studies in an enervating climate and under conditions which often were most depressing.

The civilizing benefits of Christianity and the introduction of useful occupations to their converts were stressed to a greater extent by the L.M.S. missionaries than the Wesleyans. Nevertheless, the "work-ethic" was always upheld. The indolent habits of the people were condemned, excessively, we may say today.

Education was not regarded primarily as part of the civilizing process but as an agent in evangelism. It was necessary for converts to be able to read the Bible. Only much later did any doubts arise about whether the Missions should devote so much of their energies to academic education. The early missionaries believed that education developed powers of moral discrimination; they said they were training a people in whom conscience seemed lacking. Even in the 20th Century the Missions have generally advocated keeping education in their hands as a weapon for combating secularism and a means of developing the type of character expected of practising Christians.

Through mission education, Tongans, Fijians and Samoans became literate when there was still much illiteracy in Victorian England; secondary education, even to a very limited extent, was being given when comparatively few adolescents in England were receiving it; and girls were gaining a good education under mission auspices when there were not many girls' schools in England.(6) Furthermore, vocational and agricultural training was gradually introduced to enable the islanders to build and preserve their society under new conditions of contact with the outside world. [212] [873] [171] [874]

Education tended to become competitive, especially with the coming of new missionary societies which set up their own schools. The cost of maintaining a complete educational system for a whole community became too burdensome for any mission; and, therefore, governments assumed more responsibility for education. Government grants-in-aid or subsidies helped to make mission schools viable but, in the more sophisticated countries, these subsidies were reduced. Where there was a large non-Christian element, notably in Fiji with its Indian community, the government share in education was correspondingly increased. On the other hand, the policy of the Wesleyan Church in Tonga was exceptional; that Church maintained a complete educational system, and (to the present time) has done this without any government subsidy whatever. [871] [658]

Medical work was only a minor part of the early Pacific Islands missionaries' ministrations, but it was an expression of Chrisitan compassion. "The Christian ethic of healing" stood out in contrast to many callous practices in a non-Christian society. It is true that recovery from sickness after the missionaries' prayers and medical treatment was often attributed to divine intervention, and this had an effect upon chiefs and people when they were wavering about accepting Christianity.

In recent years medical work, if it was to be effective for a whole population, has been beyond the capacity of missions. Specialized medical work, or hospitals in certain areas, have been continued by missions, but otherwise governments have recognized their responsibilities in the field of public health.

Undoubtedly material benefits induced many islanders to accept Christianity in the first instance. The pioneer missionaries found that the people wanted knives, axes, etc., and not Christian teaching which they could not understand. This disposition to expect material benefits from a profession of Christianity has lingered long, and today it sometimes assists the proselytizing efforts of new sects. So also has been the attraction of novelty; the Athenians of Paul's day were not unique in their curiosity about "some new thing". From the outset the white man's ways and his religion have been connected with each other, in the minds of the islanders. Margaret Mead has said,

> "The new government brought by the white man, new religious concepts brought by the missionaries, the new machines and ships . . . were all lumped together by the native peoples as parts of the one system".(10)

Pragmatic tests of the truth of Christianity and the falsity of the old religions were too readily applied by missionaries and accepted by their converts. The old faiths had been used for their alleged value in curing sickness and alleviating distress of various kinds. Christianity was expected to have the same practical uses. It was only slowly that the adoption of moral and spiritual principles could be expected from converts and Christianity accepted for itself and not for material benefits.

There were other external attractions in the new religion and, in the main, these had value. For example, the democratic types of church-government in the Wesleyan system provided all converts with opportunities for participation in church management as well as worship.

With their love of public speaking all laymen valued their eligibility to become local preachers. So also did the place of singing in Wesleyan worship give a whole congregation a joyful means of expressing their faith and feeling; and hymns became second only to the Scriptures in developing the people's Christian life.

The influence of the chiefs who accepted Christianity, and the elements of both strength and weakness in the "chiefly church", must be examined more closely later in this history.

Some of the most acute criticisms of missions have come from within the church itself. Dr. J. W. Burton, with his experience as a Wesleyan missionary in Fiji, and, for many years afterwards, as a mission administrator, said that the people of the Pacific had been too easily won and then easily secularized.(11) He had good reason for saying this. In some cases the conversion of individuals and communities was rapid and superficial; and the work of consolidation was not always done thoroughly enough. The over-emphasis upon both spiritual regeneration and individual conversion led to a comparative neglect of the needs of "the whole man" and the whole society. Yet, in fairness, it can be said that the early missionaries could not foresee the changes of modern times and the strong impact of secularism upon island communities, with the need for stressing the social implications of the Gospel. 797

Were the 19th Century conversions genuine? Although the missionaries were often prone to be over-optimistic about their successes, their diaries show that they were not deceived but could differentiate between the genuine and the insincere. Moreover, impressive cases like Elijah Varani in Fiji, Joel Bulu and John Faupula in Fiji and Tonga, were not exceptional. Men and women did not die, as many did, particularly in Fiji, for a faith they had not genuinely accepted nor would they avow a Christian faith before their chiefs did, unless they were sincere.

The dangers of the early missionaries in Fiji were mitigated by the measure 000 of protection given by visiting warships. Hostile Fijians must have felt an apprehension of possible reprisals from warships for any attacks that they made on a mission staff. There was, incidentally, no such protection for the indigenous teachers and their converts who were often exposed to the assaults of their non-Christian neighbours. Where visiting warships were of most value was in the personal advocacy of Christianity by the captains who, in the case of Fiji, also urged the chiefs to abandon cannibalism, the strangling of widows, and other barbaric customs.

Relationships with governing European powers in Pacific Islands groups in 797 the 19th Century were generally friendly, and missionaries owed much to the sympathetic support of governors, consuls and other representatives of European nations. With the decline in the influence of organized Christianity in the 20th Century, later missionaries have had to depend upon themselves and their home Churches; and this has ultimately been all to the good.

The Pacific Islands were outside the main stream of world affairs until recent years when, with rapid communication and transport, they have been brought into the global community and also affected by new currents of thought. Missionary policy has recognized the people's growing material needs and the effect of rapid social change and urbanization.

The islanders have always been acute judges of white men, missionaries included. Today they see clearly the hollowness of much of Western civilization. Europeans are far more guilty than unregenerate barbarians because of their devilish modern weapons of war, their commercialized vice and gambling, and, in many cases, their disregard for human welfare. Especially since World War II nothing in "our dissolving society" (Rupp) has been hidden from the eyes of the people of the islands.

From the early years onwards missionaries realized the importance of training the best of the converts as ministers and teachers. There is now an indigenous minister at the head of all Methodist Conferences, and those Churches where Methodists have united with other denominations. European missionaries remain as "fraternal workers", collaborating with their indigenous colleagues, retaining some responsibility especially in education, but willingly giving over the control that their European predecessors exercised. It is opportune that the island Churches have developed their own leaders concurrently with the emergence of a new social and political order in the Pacific.

The sad experience of Tonga, with the delay in giving self-government to [171]
its Church, has not been repeated elsewhere. The Churches in Fiji and Samoa 000

000 have been encouraged to ask for independence as soon as they desired it, and their requests have been willingly and immediately granted. So also in Papua, New Guinea and the Solomon Islands, the local desire for union with the Church that sprang from the London Missionary Society in Papua has been readily recognized by the parent Churches in Australia and New Zealand. The "winds of change" have been regarded as giving new life and hope, through local independence and through unity with other denominations. At the same time the missionary ardour of all the island Churches has not slackened and they are still sending some of their best-equipped ministers and teachers to pioneer areas, such as the Papua-New Guinea Highlands.

This history of Wesleyan Missions seeks to describe how the determination 121 to propagate Christianity has been shown by missionaries in the past 150 years and how a new generation of ecumenically-minded Christians is endeavouring to meet the needs of a new age.

With no desire to be unduly laudatory, a history of this kind should include 777 a tribute to the heroism of many faithful men and women. Two sections reveal special heroism. One is the noble band of Pacific Islands ministers and teachers, the brown missionaries who have gone to other lands and faced the dangers of hostile inhabitants, new diseases, the risk of death and burial in strange countries (a more serious fear for islanders than for white people). Very often these brown missionaries were more successful than their European leaders, in winning converts, shepherding them, and establishing churches in new areas — many hundreds of miles from their own lands to which large numbers of them never returned.

The other group meriting mention is the company of women, English gentlewomen, the wives of the missionaries in the earlier years, and their successors, together with missionary sisters, nurses, and teachers, in later years. The wives of the missionaries in the first half of the 19th Century left their homeland in the days of slow sailing-ships, with the discomforts of travel in stormy seas and with congested accommodation. They fulfilled their duties as wives and mothers while supporting their husbands and making their own valuable contribution to the work of the Missions. They accepted isolation, with conditions of living very different from those to which they were accustomed, with treacherous islanders and real dangers in some cases, and with the practical annoyances of short supplies of food and other necessities when the next ship often did not come for twelve months. It would be an offence against truth and honour to omit a word of homage to these devoted women of Wesleyan Missions in the Pacific.

Footnotes:

(1) Coke, *Journal*, p.138, Vickers, T., *Thomas Coke*, p.301 footnote.

(2) Colwell, J., *Illustrated History of Methodism*, p.97.

(3) Hilliard, D., Lecturer in Flinders University, Adelaide, "100 Years of Christian Mission", *Assent*, Vol. 3, No. 1, Feb., 1970. Another view, that the missionaries sought to establish the Israelitish Old Testament system of government, is advocated by H. Geoffrey Cummins in his A.N.U. thesis, *Church and Society in Tonga, 1826-54.*

(4) Grattan, C. H., *The South-West Pacific to 1900, A Modern History*, pp.196-7.

(5) Schweitzer, A., *On the Edge of the Primeval Forest*. p.177.

(6) Grattan, ibid, p.206.

(7) Neill, S., *Colonialism and Christian Missions*, p.246.

(8) Goodall, N., *Christian Missions and Social Ferment*, p.25.

(9) Wilkinson, R. C., *Methodist Missionary Influence in Native Education in Tonga*, pp.338-9. (M.A. thesis, Sydney University.)

(10) Mead, M., *New Lives for Old, Cultural Transformation in Manus, 1928-53*, p.86.

(11) *Missionary Review*, May, 1946.

> and it so far exceeded any attempt we had made to entertain them that they seemed to pique themselves upon the superiority they had over us."(14) 177

Only the ships' fireworks display left the Tongans in stupefied amazement; some who witnessed this still recalled their feelings to missionaries half a century later.(15)

Other visits, though less important than Cook's, should be mentioned. Maurelle, a Spaniard, discovered Vava'u on 4 March 1781 and named its spacious anchorage Port Refuge. When Cook was in Ha'apai he had been dissuaded from sailing to Vava'u by the crafty Finau 'Ulukalala who said that Vava'u had a very poor harbour! On 30 May 1793 another Spaniard, Malaspina, arrived at Vava'u; during his stay of eleven days he claimed Vava'u for the king of Spain but this was little more than an empty gesture. Malaspina compiled a [113] Tongan vocabulary.(16)

La Perouse, the gallant but unfortunate French explorer, called at Vava'u and Tongatapu in December 1787 after visiting Samoa.

Bligh's connection with Tonga was the result of the notorious mutiny on the *Bounty*. He had been a lieutenant in Cook's expedition that visited Tonga in 1777. On 28 April 1789, after calling at Nomuka (as others had done because of the fresh water available there), Bligh was put into an open boat with eighteen loyalists. Soon afterwards the dauntless captain landed at Tofua, the volcanic island in the west of the Ha'apai group, to get water and fruit. His quartermaster, John Norton, was killed on shore at Tofua before Bligh set out on his incredible voyage of 3000 miles to Timor. Norton evidently was the first European killed in Tonga.

Edwards, in the *Pandora*, was searching for the *Bounty* and its mutineers in 1791, when he called at Tofua, Vava'u, Niua Fo'ou, and, lastly, Nomuka. The sight of the volcano on Tofua burning at night was regarded as "a very grand spectacle" (17), the surgeon, Hamilton, noted. The crew of the *Pandora* introduced [14] venereal disease into Nomuka when women brought their daughters to the decks in exchange for knives and other presents.(18) Hamilton's summary reflected the opinion that ships' captains had begun to form about the "Friendly Islanders":—

> "The people of Nomuka are the most daring set of robbers in the South Seas and, with the greatest respect and submission to Capt. Cook, I think the name of Friendly Islands is a perfect misnomer." (19)

Labillardiare and D'Entrecasteaux called at Tongatapu in 1793. So high was the esteem felt for La Perouse in France that, even during the Revolutionary Wars in which it was facing the armed might of many European Powers, the French Government sent this expedition to the South Seas to search for the lost explorer. Several Tongans were killed in a quarrel with sailors from these French ships.

The contacts of Tongans with European visitors thus far had not shown uniformly beneficial results. The next contacts were with missionaries of the [797] London Missionary Society who came, not as visitors, but as intending residents and advocates of change.

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Chapter II.

THE LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY IN TONGATAPU

(1797-1800)

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These pioneer missionaries came to the South Seas with little knowledge of the situation of the inhabitants. Cook's *Voyages* had given its readers a picture of amiable people in idyllic settings, and it was thought that they might readily be converted to Christianity. Missionaries were inspired by the Evangelical Revival and the upsurge of proselytizing zeal that it had aroused in England. The London Missionary Society, founded in 1795, was organized at first on an inter-denominational basis, with Evangelical Anglicans such as Dr. Thomas Haweis prominent among the Directors; it was supported mainly by the Congregational Churches in later years.

The missionary ship *Duff* which sailed from London on 10 August 1796 brought a company of men whose willingness to make sacrifices was unquestionable. Captain James Wilson, master of the vessel, gave his services without salary. Nor should the generosity of the Directors of the Society and their supporters be overlooked; the equipping of the *Duff*, the initial supply of stores and tools, and the continued provision of such necessary goods meant very heavy expenditure. The gallantry of the enterprise was the greater when it was launched in a time of war between England and France. The *Duff* had to sail in a convoy. Attacks by French privateers were expected and, in actual fact, the *Duff* on its second voyage to the Pacific, in 1799, was captured while still in the Atlantic. When the mission party reached its distant destination communications were likely to be uncertain and the missionaries might well be left stranded for many months.

Tahiti and Tongatapu were chosen as suitable fields because it was thought that the language in each case would be easily acquired, that the climate and food would be congenial, and that the absence of European governments would facilitate missionary work. Cook's *Voyages* had stated that the Tongans knew the names of 150 other islands, and it was therefore supposed that Tongatapu had some influence over other groups. Thus Tongatapu as well as Tahiti was regarded as a testing-ground for a general mission to the South Seas. Optimistic prospects were strengthened by Cook's commendation of Tongatapu as a peaceful land. The events that followed completely falsified this expectation.

Insufficient honour has been paid to the L.M.S. pioneers in Tonga. That three of them were killed in a civil war in which the missionaries were helpless spectators heightens respect for their devotion. Their failure to win a convert among people who, in fact, did not understand why they had come, does not detract from the credit they deserve.

The obstacles which the missionaries found were largely due to the volatile moods of the chiefs and the unsettlement of the country at that time. To their dismay they soon realized that the people's sole aim in dealing with Europeans was to get tools and other goods, by begging or stealing or by wrecking the

[177]

[1797]

white men's ships. The Tongans did not show the least interest in Christian 797
teaching and, under the circumstances, this was hardly surprising. 175

It is easy now to find grave errors in this venture. To teach the Tahitians [177]
and Tongans trades and to endeavour to set up a model society along English lines was idealistic but impracticable. The uneven quality of the members of the mission party was a serious handicap. They had been selected mainly for their knowledge of trades, and some of these trades were inapplicable to the islands (for example, bricklayer, butcher, draper, hatter). Some of the men were not sufficiently grounded in their faith and were liable to succumb to the temptations of a strange and enervating environment. Only six of the thirty missionaries on the *Duff* were married; twenty-two were under thirty years of age. Dr. Haweis had actually favoured using single men, with the hope, he said, that they might marry converts from the families of high chiefs in the interests of further conversions.(1) Of the thirty, twenty proved unfaithful or unequal to the work.(2) Five of the original party in Tahiti remained faithful and were rewarded with eventual success. It was this minority who finally justified the Society's enterprise in Tahiti. The record of most of the L.M.S. survivors in Tongatapu indicates that they also were loyal to their commission.

The *Duff* reached Tahiti, after its long voyage, on 5 March 1797, a Sunday; and on that day the Gospel was first preached in the South Seas by Evangelicals. Those who had come to work in Tahiti had brought a rough vocabulary compiled by one of the crew of the *Pandora* which had called there six years before. On the other hand, there was nothing whatever prepared for the ten men who elected to go to Tongatapu; they had to depend for interpreters upon several castaway whites who generally were hostile. If civil war had not occurred the missionaries might have learnt the Tongan language in the same way as their nondescript interpreters had done. Without knowing the language, without any reliable authority to support them, living among a thieving population and a few whites who became treacherous opponents, and with their own indifferent intellectual equipment, the L.M.S. had insuperable obstacles from the outset.

Before leaving Tahiti the ten missionaries designated for Tongatapu chose Seth Kelso as their leader. On 19 March Kelso was ordained by the four ministers in the party who themselves had been ordained before leaving England.

On 10 April 1797 the *Duff* anchored off the small island of Pangaimotu, Tongatapu. Two days later the men landed and met chiefs including Mumui, the Tu'i Kanokupolu, who expressed his desire to be taught how to make the kind of furniture he had seen on the ship. The missionaries decided to fix their residence in Hihifo, the western district, under the patronage of Tuku'aho, the son of Mumui. On 17 April the first sermon in Tonga was preached by John Buchanan; and the party observed the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper on 7 May.

Very soon after their arrival the missionaries witnessed the "paroxysms of
grief" which marked the funeral of Mumui who died on 27 April. Two of the 643
king's wives and a grandson had been strangled before his death. The funeral 764
ceremonies were attended by about 4,000 people. Hundreds of men used clubs 175
and spears to injure themselves. The missionaries were sickened by the daily 768
scenes of self-inflicted blood-shedding. [304]

Before the *Duff* left Tongatapu a runaway sailor more friendly than the 797
others on the island informed Captain Wilson of a plot to capture the ship. Eight 609
large double-canoes and hundreds of men surrounded the ship; they had to be 175

[1797 - 1822]

ordered away from the vessel which loaded its guns. Another danger was detected 797
the following night; in the darkness men were found attempting to cut the cable 609
so that the ship would drift ashore and be captured there. 175

The greatest hindrance to any possible success for the Mission came from 797
three men of vile character — Connelly, Morgan and Ambler, the first two being 563
escaped convicts from Sydney. Morgan and Ambler were killed at a later date 175
by the chiefs because of their gross disrespect. Each of these three men lived with several women and behaved in brazen defiance of Christian principles. They were more importunate in demanding tools and did more thieving than the Tongans. When their demands were refused, they threatened to turn the people against the missionaries. This they did without any scruples. They told the Tongans that they themselves were sons of the King of England and that the missionaries were only commoners. When the missionaries informed the Tongans that these men were in fact criminals, the rascals' wrath knew no bounds. They attributed the deaths of several chiefs to the prayers of the missionaries and they declared that the newcomers were preparing for the annexation of Tonga by the English government after the chiefs were dead. Thus early was the fear of losing Tonga's independence used against the interests of a Christian Mission.

At first the missionaries did not close their doors for worship, but the people's curiosity and irreverence made them change their practice, very unwisely as it proved. Holding their worship behind closed doors gave colour to the convicts' lie that they were practising secret magical rites to destroy the Tongans.

When the captain of a passing ship was asked by the missionaries to take Morgan and Ambler away, he declined because some of his crew recognized them and feared the consequences if they joined the vessel. Three of the crew of this ship came ashore and the missionaries begged the captain not to allow them to bring firearms. but one sailor ignored this request. The L.M.S. party now decided that it would be safer to divide their forces; six remained at Hihifo and four went to live elsewhere under the protection of other chiefs.

Two of the party, Shelley and Cooper, paid a short visit to Vava'u. Evidently 797
they did nothing more than this, and their visit did not deprive the three L.M.S. 175
teachers from Borabora who went to Vava'u in 1822 of the honour of being the first to endeavour to take Christianity to that island.

When the *Duff* returned to Tongatapu in 1798 with more stores and tools, 797
one of the party, Isaac Hobbs, went away with the ship. The nine were reduced 563
to eight when George Vason chose to desert his comrades and live with the 175
Tongans, renouncing his faith and taking a Tongan woman as his partner. This defection was "the unkindest cut of all" and left the others in the depths of depression. Vason attached himself to Mulikiha'amea, the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, who gave him an extensive plot of land which Vason and a band of retainers cultivated with fruitful results; and there he luxuriated shamelessly.

Mumui had been succeeded as Tu'i Kanokupolu by his son, Tuku'aho. With 797
him began a gloomy era, not only for the missionaries who had met with no 643
success whatever even before the Civil War, but for the whole of the country. 175
Tonga was entering its Dark Age.

The new Tu'i Kanokupolu proved a Nero in his fiendish cruelty. On one 643
occasion he ordered the left hand of each of twelve servants to be cut off, 175
merely, it seems, to differentiate them from others and not for any offence. At

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[1799 -1800]

only against men from Ha'apai and Vava'u, led by Finau 'Ulukalala, the head 175
and front of the rebellion, but also the followers of the Ha'a Havea chiefs in the 669
central district of Tongatapu. Mulikiha'amea, the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, from that 634
district, allied himself with Finau 'Ulukalala; the renegade Vason relates that 643
Mulikiha'amea, his patron, had known of the plot to kill Tuku'aho.

In the first battle the rebel coalition was successful, but soon afterwards it 175
was defeated by the royalists at the battle of Te'ekiu, and Mulikiha'amea himself 669
was killed in this fight, on 19 May 1799. The lamentable deaths of three L.M.S. missionaries took place that day.

The defeated rebels fled from Te'ekiu, with the Hihifo men in hot pursuit. 175
Three of the missionaries (Samuel Harper, David Bowell, and Samuel Gaulton) 669
had been living in Ha'ateiho, a village in the central district, under the protection 797
of the local chief. On this fatal day, 19 May, some of the retreating rebels tried 609
to persuade the missionaries in Ha'ateiho to flee with them in canoes across the lagoon to the eastern end of the island. The three men preferred to remain. Soon afterwards the Hihifo pursuers appeared. One of these was a man with a grudge against the missionaries who had refused his request for an axe some time before. Taking advantage of the white men's helpless situation, this warrior and his comrades clubbed them to death without hesitation and then proceeded to steal everything in their house. Together with the three missionaries there perished a friendly English sailor named Burnham who had been living with them. The four bodies, grossly disfigured, were left on the roadside for several weeks, treated with coarse indignities by the now utterly savage Tongans. It was on 5 June that the other missionaries found the almost unidentifiable remains and buried them in a shallow trench, without coffins or shrouds; later, the chief of Ha'ateiho reinterred the bodies in a decent grave, the location of which is unknown today.

The confused battles of the Sea Flats, along the northern shores of Tongatapu, 175
followed. In these, fortunes changed several times. In the course of these desultory 669
encounters many of the royalists took refuge in the burial-enclosure of the Tu'i Kanokupolu line at Pangai, Hihifo, expecting to find sanctuary in such a sacred place. Because Vason was outside the *tapu* (= prohibition) he was persuaded by the rebels to set fire to the burial-enclosure. All those within, men, women and children, were burnt to death or were killed by Finau's men as they tried to escape from the flames. After every possible insult had been heaped on the [266]
bodies they were eaten. Cannibalism had become commonplace in these days of barbarism.

The five surviving missionaries were in a most precarious position. At first 175
they found shelter in caves on the southern coast. Their house in Hihifo had 669
been ransacked and burnt down, their clothes stolen by the people among whom 797
they had lived, and they had very little food. On 24 January 1800 they were fortunate in securing a passage to Sydney in a passing ship, *Betsy*. William Shelley and James Cooper decided to settle in New South Wales. The others (Seth Kelso, John Buchanan, and James Wilkinson) continued on the voyage to England.

When Captain Wilson brought another party of L.M.S. missionaries to the 175
South Seas in the *Royal Admiral* in 1800, his instructions were to call at 797
Tongatapu and to take away any who desired to leave. If they were staying he was charged to inform them that one or more should be ordained so that there would be at least three ordained ministers in every L.M.S. station such as

[1800 -

Tongatapu. If Tahiti had proved an unsuitable field and if conditions in Tongatapu were more favourable, he was instructed to take all the missionaries to Tongatapu "as a refuge for the whole of our brethren".(5) Instead of being able to fulfil these instructions he found that the Mission in Tongatapu had ended in complete failure. 175 797

Vason, who had accompanied Finau 'Ulukalala to Vava'u after a lull in the fighting in Tongatapu, was able to get a passage on the same ship, *Royal Admiral*, when it called at Vava'u in August 1801. In England he sincerely repented of his apostasy and his participation in the savage conflicts in Tongatapu. Thenceforth he lived a quiet Christian life and was Governor of Nottingham Gaol for some years. During this time he wrote his *Authentic Narrative of Four Years' Existence at Tongatapu*, A which narrated the experiences of the L.M.S. missionaries.

Conditions in Tonga deteriorated still further in the next few years, with repeated attacks on Tongatapu and the destruction of plantations by Finau 'Uluakalala's marauding parties. Most of the people in that island lived in forts for safety, and practically no planting was done for fear of being ambushed in the gardens. The consequence was famine, more terrible than any known before these disastrous years. Famine raged in Ha'apai also. The cannibalism practised out of bravado during the fighting was extended even to the eating of the flesh of relatives, because of the desperate plight of the famine-stricken people. It has been estimated that more than one-fourth of the population of Tonga died in the period 1799-1820 as victims of war and famine. The early Wesleyan missionaries noted as an evidence of the depopulation of Tongatapu that females outnumbered males approximately two to one. 175 669 [731] [266] [165] [161] [162]

Footnotes

(1) Newbury, C. M., edition of John Davies, *History of the Tahitian Mission, 1799-1830*, Vol. I, p. xxix. 113

(2) Lovett, R., *History of the London Missionary Society, 1795-1895*, Vol. I, p.64.

(3) McKern, W. C., *Archaeology of Tonga*, p.122.

(4) Derrick, R. A., *A History of Fiji*, p.122.

(5) Haweis, Dr. Thomas, *Papers; Royal Admiral Journal*, A.1963. M.L.S.

A /see 12: Vason, this file -- Analyst/

[1806 - 1822]

ever, arrested the Vava'u chiefs who had fought against him; those who were 175
not clubbed were drowned outside the harbour in old leaky canoes. Finau was 669
now at the height of his power. He felt so confident that he even defied the gods. 634

Finau was not alone in the new spirit of scepticism about religion that had 175
accompanied the general attitude of rebellion and unrest. Collocott, with his years 634
of residence and research in Tonga, has written — 771

> "By the close of the 18th Century there was working a leaven of rationalism which recognized, however sporadically, the weakness of a king who did not govern, and of a god who did not influence the harvest."

Collocott believed that there would have been a revolution in Tongan society even without missionary influence, but the change was hastened by the coming of Europeans and the new religion.(3)

For some time Finau had been notorious for his irreverence towards the gods. His beloved daughter died soon after the end of the rebellion in Vava'u. Instead of mourning he ordered sports and mass fights, an unheard-of reversal of custom. The mass fights included a grim combat with 1,500 women in each party, representing the two sides of the island of Vava'u. He himself joined in the men's fight and was much exhausted by his exertions. The night following he showed sudden and alarming signs of illness. Fearing the worst, his attendants strangled one of his children to appease the gods, and then carried off Finau's body to the houses of various priests; these visits of intercession continued even after the chief had expired. Then it became known that Finau had sent two men with a rope to strangle the priest of one of the gods, and the horrified people firmly concluded that his death was the result of the gods' rage at this gross act of impiety. Thus perished the man who, more than any other, was responsible for the sufferings of these turbulent years. Unfortunately, the spirit of rebellion and unsettlement did not die with him.

Young Mariner was witness and chronicler of the events of the four years, 175
1806-10. Well educated, he was also most observant and blessed with a retentive 177
memory. After Finau's death, Mariner was befriended by the son, Moengangongo, whose amiable disposition was in complete contrast to his father's character, and who encouraged peace and the cultivation of the country that had been ravaged by years of war and plundering. To Moengangongo's genuine sorrow Mariner took advantage of a ship calling at Vava'u in December 1810 to return to England. He communicated his extensive knowledge of Tongan customs and the history of the period, together with a considerable vocabulary and a grammar, to a London surgeon, Dr. John Martin. *An Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands,*[A] published in two volumes in 1817, was the most detailed and reliable description of any Pacific Islands group in the early 19th Century.

No European recorded the events of the twelve years between Mariner's [777]
departure and the coming of the first Wesleyan missionary in 1822. It was during
this period that there emerged the figure of Taufa'ahau who was to have by far 175
the strongest influence on the future fortunes of Tonga and to deserve the unique 643
respect in which the people still hold him.

Taufa'ahau was the grandson of Tuku'aho who had been murdered in 1799, and the son of Tupouto'a who became Tu'i Kanokupolu in 1812. Tupouto'a waged war to enforce his authority, especially in rebellious Tongatapu, and this continued the country's misery.

[A] /see 2 and 3: Mariner, this file -- Analyst/

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[1820 - 1852]

Tupouto'a died in 1820 and was buried at 'Uiha, Ha'apai, close to the 175 grave of Tupouniua whom he had murdered in 1807. Taufa'ahau was about 643 twenty-three years old at the time of his father's death. No attempt was made 669 to appoint him or anyone else as Tu'i Kanokupolu after Tupouto'a's death; so 622 great was the unsettlement that the title temporarily lapsed. The only objection to Taufa'ahau was that he would be too energetic a ruler to please the rebels in Tongatapu who were led by the Ha'a Havea chiefs, the continuing core of opposition in Tongatapu to every Tu'i Kanokupolu in the previous twenty years. The Ha'a Havea chiefs, with their villages, were Ma'afu (Vaini), Lavaka (Pea), Vaea (Houma), Tu'ivakano (Nukunuku), Fielakepa (Havelu), and Fohe (Puke). The position of Tu'i Kanokupolu was left vacant until 1827, and sporadic fighting went on in Tongatapu.

Collocott, Gifford, and Latukefu, commenting on the events of these disturbed times, agree that, whether Taufa'ahau eventually became a Christian and whether he was disposed to induce others to become Christians or not, he would have been opposed always by the Ha'a Havea chiefs who were responsible also for the later wars of 1835, 1837, 1840, and 1852. When Tupouto'a was dying he told his son that, if he wished to rule all Tonga, he must defeat the Ha'a Havea chiefs. In 1827 the chiefs rejected forceful Taufa'ahau and elected Aleamotu'a, son of Mumui, younger brother of Tuku'aho (assassinated in 1799), and great-uncle of Taufa'ahau, as Tu'i Kanokupolu. This they did deliberately because they knew Aleamotu'a pusillanimous nature and expected that their arbitrary conduct would be unfettered by his nominal authority.

So confused were the years following the death of Tupouto'a in 1820 that there was no Tu'i Tonga also. Laufilitonga, who became Tu'i Tonga in 1827, was Taufa'ahau's rival in Ha'apai for influence over that group. He had cause to resent Taufa'ahau's masterful interference in preventing his sister from becoming Laufilitonga's principal wife. Laufilitonga's fort in Lifuka was Velata; Taufa'ahau's was Pangai. In the first encounter Laufilitonga proved stronger and Taufa'ahau retired to the south where he received reinforcements from the islands of Nomuka and Ha'afeva as well as some parts of Tongatapu. He returned to defeat Laufilitonga decisively and to capture Velata in 1826. In this fight Taufa'ahau was slightly wounded, this being noteworthy as the only occasion when this happened. He declared that he had called on the gods to defend his back but a [771] warrior speared him from behind in the left calf, whereupon Taufa'ahau denounced the gods as impotent. After this victory in 1826 all Ha'apai accepted Taufa'ahau's rule, except those whom he put in canoes and told to go wherever they pleased, except to Tongatapu. They disobeyed and were welcomed by the Ha'a Havea chiefs in Tongatapu. Laufilitonga himself was in this party, but he desisted from open opposition to Taufa'ahau when he became Tu'i Tonga the following year, 1827. In 1833 Taufa'ahau completed his defiance of Laufilitonga by taking his [797] bride, Lupe Pau'u, to whom he was married by the missionaries with Christian [585] rites in 1834.

In his pre-Christian days Taufa'ahau was wilful and violent. Gradually these 175 characteristics were modified while his ability and energies became clearer and 643 were more wisely directed. He is justly honoured as "The Maker of Modern Tonga". His long life spanned the whole of the critical period of its transition from disunity and unsettlement to its modern orderly position. He was the one mainly responsible for this. In his youth his physical strength, his athletic prowess, his natural courage,

[ca. 1820-1865]

and his ability as a general and a navigator showed the best qualities that such an age could produce. In middle life he was quick to see the benefits that Christianity and European civilization would bring to his country. In his old age he showed wisdom in adapting new forms and institutions to the needs of his kingdom. His record was not free from blemishes, the faults of the age in which he grew up. In spite of this, there is no doubt that his ideals were those of his country's well-being. If he had not united Tonga, this small, scattered group would not have withstood the tide of European aggression sweeping over the Pacific. 175 643

From the time of Taufa'ahau's conversion to Christianity he had a new motive for the development of Tonga as a responsible Christian country, and in pursuing this aim he found his allies in the Wesleyan missionaries. [797]

Footnotes

(1) Thomson, Basil, in Introduction to Edwards & Hamilton, *Voyage of H.M.S. Pandora, 1790-1*, p.13. 113

(2) Mariner, W. (Martin), *Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands*, Vol. I, p.54; Maudslay, *Life in the Pacific 50 years Ago*, p.247 — for reference to the loss of the silver plate.

(3) Collocott, E. E. V., *An Experiment in Tongan History*, p.181.

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THE WESLEYAN PIONEER, WALTER LAWRY (1822)

The Wesleyan Mission in Tonga was the first enterprise of this Church in the South Seas. After initial failures, the Wesleyans met with much success. Success is never an absolute test of worth, but the fact is that in its early years Tonga, in many respects, was a model Mission, an example for Fiji and other Wesleyan Missions. Later, it became a warning of the disaster that follows disunity on a Mission staff.

Walter Lawry has the distinction of being the pioneer even though he was only fourteen months in Tonga and seemed to make little impression during that time. He was a Cornishman, enthusiastic and impulsive, somewhat quarrelsome, generally optimistic but liable to be depressed by difficulties. He was born in 1793 at Ruthern Bridge near Bodmin, Cornwall. After the usual period as a local preacher he entered the Wesleyan ministry with high resolves and a willingness to serve wherever he was directed. It was against his parents' wishes that he offered to serve in the new colony of New South Wales. In a lifetime of ministry he was successful in that colony as well as England and New Zealand, but he was rather unfairly regarded as a failure in Tonga.

In December 1817, Lawry left England as chaplain on a convict ship, *Lady Castlereagh*. During the voyage which ended in Sydney on 1 May 1818, he preached regularly to the prisoners drawn up on the deck, with a loaded cannon behind a screen and two soldiers with loaded muskets standing beside the preacher facing the congregation. Lawry claimed seventeen conversions among the convicts on the voyage. He also read nearly thirty volumes of theology in the five months.

One of the L.M.S. missionaries who had escaped from Tonga in 1800 was William Shelley who had taken up residence in New South Wales. After his marriage(1) he returned to mission work in Tahiti from 1801 to 1806. In spite of the tragic collapse in Tongatapu, Shelley frequently expressed a desire for the L.M.S. to reoccupy the island. When he left Tahiti in 1806 he had a plan for financing a new mission in Tongatapu with proceeds of a trade in rum, a common form of currency at that time.(2) Shelley visited England in 1808 and unsuccessfully tried to persuade the Directors of the L.M.S. to send missionaries to Tongatapu again. In 1813 he actually visited Tongatapu and made preliminary arrangements to return there with his wife and family, leaving an English workman to make preparations for his coming. However, not long afterwards he died in Parramatta, New South Wales, with his wish still unfulfilled. Shelley's widow often spoke to Walter Lawry, who was stationed at Parramatta, about the needs of the unevangelized people of Tonga, and undoubtedly her pleading influenced the Wesleyans' plans.

Another former L.M.S. missionary, Rowland Hassall, had left Tahiti in 1798 when a rebellion disrupted the Mission's work and caused a number of the

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missionaries to leave, at least temporarily. Hassall settled at Parramatta and became a wealthy merchant and landowner. He was still in full sympathy with the work of the L.M.S. and he also gave time to lay preaching on the Sabbath in the Parramatta district. On 22 December 1819 his daughter, Mary, then only 19, married Walter Lawry. A bridesmaid was a daughter of the Rev. Samuel Marsden, redoubtable Principal Chaplain of the Church of England in the colony and a friend of all Evangelical ministers. Lawry's only misgiving about his marriage was that her family were "Calvinistic Dissenters"!

Although the headquarters of the Wesleyan Missionary Society was in London until 1855, the base of operations for the work in the Pacific was Sydney. The relations between Wesleyans and the Church of England in Sydney in the early years of the 19th Century were generally cordial, thanks largely to Samuel Marsden. He was an ecumenist before his time. Marsden strongly supported the London Missionary Society's work and he urged the Wesleyans to resume the mission in Tongatapu when the L.M.S. could not do this. On 23 January 1822 he wrote to Lawry favouring a division of missionary work — the Church Missionary Society (Anglican) to labour in New Zealand, the London Missionary Society in Tahiti and Eastern Polynesia, and the Wesleyans in Tonga, with the three Societies combining to employ a vessel for transporting staff and goods to all their fields. The Wesleyan Committee in London gave consideration to Marsden's ecumenical plan but regarded it as impracticable, fearing also that "it would involve missionaries in commercial pursuits and conflicting interests".(8)

Lawry was not always happy in his relationships. Samuel Leigh, his colleague, the first Wesleyan minister who came to Sydney three years before Lawry, was of the "Church" party who were unwilling to hold Wesleyan services during Anglican church hours. Lawry followed an independent line in such matters. Lawry once referred to Leigh as "a miserable speaker". He also believed that Leigh was jealous of him as the successful suitor for the hand of Mary Hassall. In his criticisms of Leigh he went so far as to insinuate that Leigh wanted him to be removed to a distant post and, therefore, designated him for Tongatapu. These aspersions on Leigh's character need not be taken at their face value, although he had formerly proposed to Mary Hassall. It seems that Leigh was probably Lawry's inferior in ministerial ability and perhaps he realized this.

Leigh had gone on sick leave to London in December 1819. There he urged the Wesleyan authorities to send more missionaries, not only to New South Wales but also to New Zealand and Tonga; he suggested himself for New Zealand and Lawry for Tonga. The sequel appeared in the Minutes of the British Wesleyan Conference in 1820, with the appointments —

> "New Zealand: Samuel Leigh and another
> Friendly Islands: Walter Lawry and one to be sent."

("One to be sent" indicated that a colleague for Lawry was to be expected.)

It came as a surprise to Lawry to find his appointment to Tonga. True, in October 1818 he had written ecstatically about the prospects for wide-ranging Wesleyan Missions over the Pacific(1), and he had confidently predicted that Sydney, "the key to the Southern Hemisphere", would be "the refuge and nursery of this hemisphere for missionaries". Yet now he felt some qualms about going to Tonga. His chief difficulty arose from his young wife's health; she was delicate and had lost her first infant. The Committee in London reminded Lawry that he had offered in several letters to go to Tonga. Like John Wesley, his illustrious

[1821 - 1822]

father in the Gospel, Lawry was given to balancing reasons carefully both for and against any proposition and recording these in his Journal. He had even done this with regard to his marriage; his Journal shows ten reasons on each side although he had already recorded several desirable qualities in a wife which he found in Mary and his own feelings towards her were clear enough. Now he set down reasons both for and against his going to Tonga, and added —

"Conclusion. I cannot tell what to do. I must leave it to the Lord." (5)

Lawry's changing plans showed his uncertainty. In November 1821 he contemplated going without his wife and bringing back a Tongan to teach him the language. In February 1822 Lawry considered making a preliminary visit and returning after three months with a better knowledge of what the Mission would entail. He believed that to attempt a continuous Mission without a missionary colleague would be foolhardy; not less than three missionaries, he believed, would be needed, together with an agriculturist, a mechanic, a surgeon and "a few pious mechanics to assist in erecting the mission house". He thought it unwise to take more than six months' supplies of stores lest the people be tempted to steal. Especially he was convinced that the Mission should employ a vessel to call at least twice a year. In these plans he was clearly seeking to avoid a repetition of the sad experiences of the L.M.S. missionaries with thefts and also irregular communications.

Nevertheless, after voicing all these opinions, Lawry went to Tonga without a colleague and without definite provisions for financial support, beyond what his friends in Sydney gave him. It is true that he was not without means of his own; his father-in-law died in September 1820, leaving him considerable wealth in stock and landed property. He never deviated from his calling as a minister but he also had a shrewd interest in business affairs.

Finally, Lawry reasoned that, because he had been appointed by the British Conference, he must go, even without a missionary colleague. The Committee in Sydney, without further reference to London, gave him permission. On 18 June 1822 Lawry sailed in *St. Michael*, 150 tons, taking his wife and their infant son who was only seventeen days old. This child, Henry Hassall Lawry, afterwards became a minister and the first in a distinguished Wesleyan family in New Zealand. Walter Lawry had been obliged to purchase the boat, contributing one-third of the cost (£1,100) himself, his brother-in-law a third, and Captain Beveridge a third. With stores valued at £700, it was certainly a costly venture, especially at 8% interest. Lawry hoped that the ship would bring back a cargo of coconut oil and coir rope that would pay for the voyage. It was planned that *St. Michael* should call again after two or three months to see how Lawry was faring and to take him back to Sydney if this seemed advisable.

Accompanying Lawry were two artisans, George Lilly, carpenter, and Charles Tindall, blacksmith, as well as his "old faithful servant", Thomas Wright, a ticket-of-leave ex-convict, whom he called an agriculturist. The party included a young native from the Marquesas, a convert from L.M.S. territory, who had visited Sydney. Lawry hoped that this lad would be useful as an interpreter; he failed in this but he proved a good cook until, unhappily, he sickened of tuberculosis.(6)

If Lawry was rather imprudent he was not devoid of courage. His wife was even more gallant. She was the only white woman in that part of the Pacific and she took her tiny infant. Lawry knew what had happened in 1799 to the

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L.M.S. missionaries and a Captain Thompson had sent him a letter reminding 797 him of the murderous attacks that Tongans had made on ships and advising him against taking his wife and child.

Both before and after Lawry left, there was much interest in Sydney in his mission. Governor Brisbane generously gave him seven sheep, seven cows, and a bull. *The Sydney Gazette* published long accounts of Tongatapu from the reports that Lawry sent back.

On 16 August 1822 the ship reached Ma'ofanga, Tongatapu. Here Lawry 563 was met by William Singleton, a survivor of the *Port-au-Prince*, who had been living with the Tongans for sixteen years. Though he had adopted some Tongan habits he was generally helpful to Lawry. Lawry lent Singleton a copy of John [797] Wesley's *Sermons* in his desire that the old sailor might be converted through reading them!

On 22 August Lawry came ashore at Mu'a and met Fatu, or Palau, as 797 Lawry always called him. This chief, "the stoutest man I ever saw" (Lawry said), 622 was the son of Mulikiha'amea, Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, killed in 1799, and was the father of the first Tungi. Palau proved friendly for most of Lawry's stay in Mu'a. 609 He gave him six acres of land for a house and garden, in return for one saw, [437] one plane and five chisels. Palau was probably affected by the solemn words of a priest adjuring him and his people not to harm the missionary because his god "had told him that Tonga would suffer grievously if this happened".(7)

St. Michael sailed away on 30 October, taking two "handsome and 797 ponderous" Tongans; Lawry thought that this would help to secure the return of the ship.

The missionary began with sanguine thoughts of a ready response from the people. He believed that Tonga had returned to a state of peace after many years [669] of warfare; in this he was incorrect for fighting broke out in 'Eua and elsewhere soon after he came.

On 8 September he recorded his first sermon-texts, Matthew ix. 36 and Matthew xxviii. 18-20. Over-optimistic as he was inclined to be, he was planning future missions in Fiji and Samoa when he had not won a single convert in Tonga. Soon, however, he became down-hearted and disillusioned; the Tongans' whole lives, he wrote, were "a mass of corruption". Before *St. Michael* sailed 797 away there was a plot to kill Singleton because he had prevented the Tongans 609 from getting articles out of the ship.(8) Pilfering was a constant problem. A later statement summed up Lawry's opinion:

> "Every day's experience serves to convince me that these natives are not in love with us but with our property." (9)

With the country itself, its luxuriant vegetation and the bountiful supplies of food available, Lawry was delighted. With the people it was otherwise. Their unceremonious entry at all hours into the rooms occupied by Lawry and his wife was vexatious. "We are exposed to the obtrusive and vulgar stare of the Indians" (as Lawry called the Tongans). Conditions improved slightly when seven months had passed and a native dwelling, with its swarms of rats, lizards and vermin, had been exchanged for the mission house, erected by Lilly, Tindall and Wright, with indifferent assistance from the easy-going people. "Cokevernal" was the name Lawry gave to the mission property, in honour of Thomas Coke, "Prince of missionaries, our late venerable father".

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[1822-1823]

Lawry gave a graphic description of the presentation of first-fruits to the Tu'i Tonga as an offering to "the god who sent them good yams". Thousands, including great numbers from Ha'apai and Vava'u, were present at the festival which lasted nine days. Lawry noted that in actual fact there was no Tu'i Tonga at that time and "so they waved their yams before the place where he used to sit".(10) 797 796

The lying accusations which Morgan and other rascals had made against the L.M.S. missionaries were now repeated against Lawry. It was said that he, too, was a spy sent by the British Government and that, as the earlier missionaries' prayers had been followed by the deaths of chiefs and by ruinous wars, the same tragedies would befall Tonga again. One chief told the others that in a dream a departed relative had come back to tell him that the white man would "pray you all dead". "Now," Lawry wrote, "there is no hope of the Mission prospering."(11) Plots were formed against the Mission party, with extensive plunder as the first objective. Singleton's vigilance saved Lawry more than once. Later, when John Thomas succeeded Lawry, he was told that there had been four distinct plots against Lawry and that the chiefs had been undecided about whether to wait for a returning ship in order to get still more goods by attacking both the ship and the party on shore. 797 609

The chief Palau, on whom Lawry had relied for protection, sometimes stole his goods and disturbed him greatly with his unreliable attitude.(12) On 1 January 1823 Lawry reviewed the situation and wrote —

> "Hitherto we seem to have done nothing towards the conversion of these heathens. We cannot speak the language and the white man" (Singleton) "who resides among us cares not to interpret spiritual things to them."

In some respects Lawry seemed strangely inactive. He did not build a chapel nor begin a school. He relied on visits to chiefs and conversing with them through an interpreter. On the other hand, the visits he received were most embarrassing; as many as ten chiefs at a time would descend on the mission house and expect to be entertained with cooked meals in European style and they would be accompanied by from 50 to 100 of their people also looking for hospitality.

Lawry did his best with the language but with very little success. There was nothing to guide him (he did not know Mariner's vocabulary) and Singleton was not a very helpful tutor. Nevertheless, Lawry felt he was making "pretty good progress" (27 March) and, on 23 May, he recorded an attempted conversation with some of the people about the fundamentals of Christianity. 797

Mrs. Lawry had a miscarriage on 16 February 1823. It was thought to have been caused by heavy washing and by lifting tubs in the intense heat. Later in the year she was pregnant again and Lawry feared for what might happen if childbirth occurred in Tonga, without any female assistance. The little child, Henry, was often ill. The stores were exhausted, the dearth of goods for barter aggravated the relations with the people, and the missionary's clothes were almost worn out. The *St. Michael* did not return until 12 July 1823, much later than expected. Lawry now determined that he must leave on the vessel, chiefly because of his wife's condition.

Furthermore, Lawry was disappointed in the failure of the Committee in London to send him a colleague in spite of his urgent requests, sent on 7 December 1822 and 8 January 1823. Instead of receiving support, he received letters

[1823-1827]

reproaching him for going to Tonga at all, even though the British Conference 797 had appointed him and the Sydney Committee had unanimously directed him to go alone. He was charged with incurring excessive expense in the enterprise. Old allegations of his clashing with the Anglican clergy's hours of worship in New South Wales were revived. He was, finally, told by the Committee in London that he was appointed to Van Diemen's Land although, in actual fact, his name still stood on the appointments of the British Conference for Tonga in 1822-23-24.

Lawry did not desert his post as some have imagined. He was ordered away to Van Diemen's Land without anyone being appointed to succeed him in Tonga at that time. On 3 October 1823 he left, amid professions of sorrow from Palau 797 and the people. Just before he went there had been a strong reaction in his favour 609 because of the glowing reports brought back from Sydney by Futakava and his 177 friend, the two "handsome and ponderous" Tongans who had left on *St. Michael* twelve months before and who returned on that vessel. Their statements had "an electrifying effect", Lawry said. They recounted the many acts of kindness shown them by Governor Brisbane and the people of Sydney, the size and variety of the buildings, and especially the attendances at the churches and Sunday schools and the observance of the Sabbath.

Notwithstanding this reaction, Lawry felt obliged to leave for his wife's 797 sake. They reached Sydney only four days before the birth of her child. Lawry left behind the artisans, Tindall and Lilly, with instructions to look after the house and property and to await the arrival of another missionary in his place. He reposed every confidence in their dependability and also believed that the chiefs would not interfere with them. In January 1825 Lilly returned to Australia; [609] he had found it almost impossible to prevent the Tongans taking possession of goods and he brought with him as much of the property as he could remove. Lilly was afterwards a useful church-worker in Australia. Tindall left Mu'a and [563] went to Hihifo, in the west of the island, under the protection of the chief Ata; and the next missionary, John Thomas, found him there in 1826.

If Lawry had been able to continue at Mu'a, or if his successors had concentrated on the eastern and central districts of Tongatapu instead of attempting the intractable western district of Hihifo (as John Thomas did), there might have been eventual success in these important areas where the Tu'i Tonga and the Ha'a Havea chiefs lived. If Wesleyan missionaries had succeeded at Mu'a, Vaini, Pea and adjacent towns, the rebellions against the Tu'i Kanokupolu, Aleamotu'a, and, later, Taufa'ahau — rebellions which always emanated from these districts — might conceivably not have occurred.

Lawry spoke of his work as "preparatory". It seems doubtful whether he would have continued, even if he had not met with so many difficulties in his fourteen months. Nevertheless, Lawry is the true Wesleyan pioneer in Tonga.

Lawry's immediate successors, however, were critical. John Thomas complained,

> "Why did he not remain himself if it is a proper place for a missionary? Why did he return?" (13)

Nathaniel Turner, not long after his arrival in 1827, condemned Lawry's work in these drastic terms —

> "Not a vestige of real missionary fruit, no vocabulary of the language, no school, no house of prayer — in fact, a perfect failure." (14)

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[1823-1850]

Yet, even in another sense, Lawry's work had been of some value. He had proved that a missionary in a new field must have a colleague and that there should be regular visits of ships with supplies. He emphasized these considerations to the Committee in his reports. 797

Lawry's first concern on his return was to refute the Committee's allegations and to defend his reputation. Accordingly he went to London, on his own initiative, to meet the Committee. He did not take up the new appointment given him in Van Diemen's Land. In London he defended himself successfully against all the charges. He had taken with him a Tongan boy, and had done this also without authority; this boy, baptized Watson Nau, was sent back after a little schooling in England and became a useful preacher in Tonga.

On Christmas Day 1825, Lawry lost his devoted wife Mary, only twenty-five years of age. He remained in English circuit appointments until 1843 when the British Conference appointed him General Superintendent of Wesleyan Missions in New Zealand, Tonga and Fiji; this in itself was evidence of fully restored confidence in him. During his visits to Tonga in 1847 and 1850 Lawry found some fruits for his fourteen months' labours which had, at that time, seemed to mark him as a failure.

Footnotes

(1) A daughter of Shelley was Mrs. Daniel Draper whose husband was an outstanding Wesleyan minister in the mid-19th Century. Daniel Draper and his wife were lost in the *London* in the Bay of Biscay when returning to Australia in 1866, an incident famous in Australian Wesleyan Church history.

(2) *Journal of Pacific History*, Vol. I, p.50. 113

(3) Wesleyan Missionary Society, London, *Minutes*, 23 January 1822. N.L.C. microfilm.

(4) Supra, p. vii

(5) Lawry, W., *Journal*, 7 April 1821. Cat. 134. M.O.M.C.

(6) Lawry, W., *Journal*, 31 January 1823. Cat. 134. M.O.M.C

(7) Lawry, ibid, 4 September 1822.

(8) Lawry, ibid, 21 September 1822. M.L.

(9) Lawry, ibid, 12 March 1823.

(10) Lawry, ibid, 21 October 1822.

(11) Lawry, ibid, 28 November 1822.

(12) Lawry, ibid, 6 February 1823.

(13) Thomas, John, *Journal.* Microfilm 46. F.M.1433-39. M.L.S.

(14) Turner, Nathaniel, *Personal Narrative*, p.189. A.1835-6. M.L.S.

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Chapter V.

L.M.S. TEACHERS IN VAVA'U (1822) AND NUKU'ALOFA (1826)

Very shortly after Lawry arrived in Tonga in 1822 the London Missionary 797
Society's first native teachers came to Vava'u. Also, in the same year that continuous Wesleyan work began in Tonga with John Thomas in 1826, other L.M.S. teachers commenced successful work in Nuku'alofa.

From the inception of its enterprise in Tahiti in 1797 the London Missionary Society had made evident its policy of extending missionary operations to other parts of the Pacific. Tongatapu had been intended to be a base from which workers might go to other groups in the Central Pacific; but the Civil War and the departure of those who escaped from the war-torn island in 1800 had seemed to end hopes of success in those regions. Meanwhile, in Eastern Polynesia missionaries had spread from Tahiti to other islands.

John Williams, the most famous missionary the L.M.S. ever sent to the 000
Pacific, set no limits to the expansion of Missions in the South Seas. In his *Missionary Enterprises* he wrote —

> "It is only by viewing the Tahitian mission as a fountain from whence the streams of salvation are to flow to the numerous islands and clusters scattered over that extensive ocean, that we can perceive it to be worthy of the importance that has been attached to it, or of the labour and expense which the London Missionary Society has bestowed upon it. . . . There are, within a comparatively small distance, many large and extensive groups of which little is known. Among these are the Fiji, the New Hebrides, New Caledonia, Solomon's Archipelago, New Britain, New Ireland, and, above all, the immense island of New Guinea." (1)

Not long before 1820, Tahitian converts had begun teaching in Borabora, one of the Leeward Group in the Society Islands, to the north-west of Tahiti. In 1820 a missionary, John Orsmond, was appointed to Borabora. With the enthusiasm typical of the period and the policy of the L.M.S., he called for converts who would volunteer to leave Borabora for service farther afield. On 28 September 1822 he wrote in his Journal, after a prayer-meeting:

> "Three steady and middlingly well-informed natives were chosen to go to one of the Navigators' Islands" (i.e., Samoa). "Captain Hunter very kindly and liberally offered to take them for me."

The next day, Mr. Orsmond added,

> "The three persons appointed yesterday were solemnly set apart and solemnly and suitably admonished. They were furnished with 40 reading books and 70 Gospels by John. All of them read and write and repeat accurately the catechism" (of course in the language of Borabora).(2)

Two days later, on 1 October 1822, John Orsmond recorded, 797

> "The *Dragon* and *Macquarie* sailed with my three friends for one of the Navigators' Islands and hoping to send others to lands still in darkness."

Clearly, Orsmond believed Vava'u to be one of the islands of Samoa.

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[1822-1830]

Beyond a message from the captain that the three Borabora teachers had arrived at Vava'u there seems to have been no communication whatever with these men in the years following. John Davies, another L.M.S. missionary in Tahiti, wrote of the "two-fold error" in this enterprise — 797

> "One was sending them at random to Vava'u when there was great uncertainty of their ever being visited, and the other in sending untried novices destitute of principle, in consequence of which some of those sent to Vava'u apostated as they did." (3)

Borabora, Taute and Zorababela were the names of these three men from Borabora who came to bring Christianity to Vava'u at the end of 1822. Though two of them fell away, under the most lonely and discouraging conditions, all three deserve to be remembered for venturing to go as Christian teachers to other lands. The names of these three stand at the head of the long list of South Seas missionaries preserved in the memorial book in the chapel of the Pacific Theological College, Suva, Fiji.

At that time (1822) Vava'u was ruled by Finau 'Ulukalala III, also called Tuapasi or Finau Fisi, brother of the notorious Finau 'Ulukalala II, and uncle and successor to Moengangongo, the friend of William Mariner. This chief was a truculent opponent of Christian teaching which he probably feared as being likely to affect his control over his people. Accordingly he forbade the three L.M.S. teachers to propagate the Christian faith in Vava'u and threatened to kill any of his people who listened to them. The three men built a small chapel at Tu'anekivale for their own worship. It is said that their descendants still live in that village. Taute and Zorababela renounced their Christian profession and lapsed into heathen practices. Zorababela died before long. The third, Borabora, stood firm but felt quite deserted; 797 609 797

> "... especially as no ship came for years and there was no communication, he felt the teachers were abandoned by those who sent them." (4)

Borabora was tempted to give up his faith as his colleagues had done but, when he heard that two Tahitian L.M.S. missionaries, Haepe and Tafeta, had begun teaching in Nuku'alofa in 1826, he went there and worked earnestly with them in the short period before his death. John Williams said that Borabora had lapsed but not to the same extent as Zorababela and Taute, and that he fully regained his faith after joining the Tahitian teachers at Nuku'alofa.(5) Both Zorababela in Vava'u and Borabora at Nuku'alofa had died, leaving only the third, Taute, when the L.M.S. missionary leader, John Williams, paid his important visit to Nuku'alofa and Ha'apai in 1830.

In the L.M.S. records of 7 November 1823, Vava'u is stated to be one of the "daughters of the Church in Borabora".(6) These words must have expressed a hope of success when it was not realized that the mission to Vava'u had entirely failed.

* * * *

A very different result followed the ministry of two Tahitian teachers who arrived in Nuku'alofa in March 1826. It should not be forgotten that the first Tongans converted to Christianity were won by these devoted L.M.S. teachers, Haepe (spelt "Hape" in some texts) and Tafeta (David). After the failure of European missionaries in 1797-1800, and the abandonment of Lawry's effort without a convert in October 1823, success had come at last. These two teachers came from the church at Papara, in Tahiti, where the missionary was John Davies.

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Haepe and Tafeta reached Nuku'alofa on the ship *Minerva*. They had been designated by the L.M.S. missionaries in Tahiti for work in Lakeba, in the Lau group of Fiji. They came in company with a Fijian named Takai who had begged the L.M.S. missionaries to send teachers to his own land. With Takai was a Tongan, Langi. Both of these men had accepted Christianity in Tahiti and had acquired a certain familiarity with the Tahitian language. The *Minerva* had sprung a leak and needed repairs at Nuku'alofa, but it was not intended that the Tahitian teachers should stay there. They had brought with them a small spelling book in Fijian which had been compiled with the help of the Fijian, Takai. It was printed in Tahiti in 1825, the first printing in the Fijian language; but it does not seem to have been used either by these two Tahitians nor by the L.M.S. teachers who followed them and went on to Lakeba in 1830.

As a matter of courtesy Haepe and Tafeta had been provided with presents for Aleamotu'a, the chief at Nuku'alofa, as well as the ruling chief of Lakeba, Tui Nayau, whom they expected to meet there. The L.M.S. missionaries had instructed them not to stay in Nuku'alofa because it was thought that Walter Lawry was still in Tongatapu and the L.M.S. did not wish to encroach on what it regarded as a Wesleyan field. Aleamotu'a, however, had heard that the Christian message had been accepted in Tahiti, and he insisted that Haepe and Tafeta should remain at Nuku'alofa and teach him and his people. The recommendation of Langi, the Tongan accompanying them, also carried weight with Aleamotu'a. The Tongan chief contended that it was reversing the order of precedence for the teachers to go to Fiji and leave Tonga; Tonga was the head, he said, and Fiji only the tail! (7)

Aleamotu'a provided for the Tahitian teachers' material wants, and he built them a chapel, the first used by Tongans for worship. With nearly 300 of his people, he began to worship regularly in this chapel. It was built in the style adopted by the L.M.S. in Tahiti, with white-washed walls and a floor of "grass" (Peter Vi's narrative), with the pulpit on one side, and with the sexes segregated in the congregation. The Tahitians always used their own language and evidently Langi interpreted for them. In addition to regular services these men conducted a school at Nuku'alofa. [346/177]

Although the Tahitians did not learn Tongan their faithfulness had greater results than they could have expected. Not only had they a congregation but some of the worshippers professed conversion, one being a chief named 'Ulakai (an uncle of Taufa'ahau), who may be regarded as the first Tongan to become a Christian in Tonga. Also, Taufa'ahau came from Ha'apai and found that the new religion was taking root. He was impressed by what he saw and discussed the question with Aleamotu'a before returning to Ha'apai; it was the beginning of the momentous change in this influential chief.

The Fijian, Takai, had gone back to Tahiti to secure other teachers for Lakeba. When the L.M.S. missionary, John Davies, knew that Haepe and Tafeta were teaching at Nuku'alofa and not Lakeba, he was sensitive to what he felt was trespassing on Wesleyan territory. He sent a message to Haepe and Tafeta to proceed to Fiji or else to return to Tahiti. By this time it was known in Tahiti that the Wesleyans, Thomas and Hutchinson, were on their way to Tonga, and Davies wrote to Thomas to clarify the position of the L.M.S. As it happened, the success of the two Tahitians made it impossible for them to leave Nuku'alofa at that time.

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After John Thomas arrived and heard of the Tahitians' success at Nuku'alofa he felt that they were entitled to continue without his interference. He had begun in Hihifo, three months after the Tahitians, and he was meeting with no success because of the hostility of the chief, Ata. He was glad to see the Tahitians when they visited him on 9 October 1826, and he commented on their neat appearance. They dressed like the Tongans, were unmarried, and were fed by the Nuku'alofa chief. Later Thomas wrote, "They might not last long, one being old, using only Tahitian, and not likely to be able to learn Tongan".(8) Actually, thanks to the patronage of Aleamotu'a, their ministry was making marked impressions. When the notorious Captain Peter Dillon visited Tongatapu later in 1827, Aleamotu'a went on board the ship and took with him the Tahitian teachers who held prayers on the poop of the vessel!

The next Wesleyan missionaries, Nathaniel Turner and William Cross, who arrived on 2 November 1827, were warmly appreciative of the Tahitians. On the first Sunday, 4 November, Turner came from Hihifo to Nuku'alofa and worshipped at the service conducted by the Tahitians. He accepted their offer of co-operation thenceforth. Their work, lasting over eighteen months before Turner and Cross came, was an invaluable preparation for the Wesleyan Mission. Turner regarded the Tahitians' presence indeed as "providential" (9) Tafeta was almost a nonentity but Haepe was highly praised by Turner who said of him,

> "He was diminutive in stature and humpbacked, but he bore the image of the heavenly and I soon became attached to him." (10)

Turner wrote to the L.M.S. missionaries in Tahiti expressing his great satisfaction with the work of Haepe, and he showed his regard for this teacher by giving him one of his best coats.

In August 1828, Haepe left for Tahiti, doing so voluntarily. Tafeta had returned some time before this. John Davies had written from Tahiti,

> "... that it had never been his wish that the place should be occupied by these teachers." (11)

Haepe, who took letters of grateful commendation from Turner, became a missionary in the remote southern island of Rapa, in Eastern Polynesia, where he died not long afterwards — a faithful Christian teacher to the end.

The foundation of Christian Missions in Tonga had been laid by the Tahitian teachers in the two years, 1826-8, and the Directors of the London Missionary Society had reason to feel gratified that the memory of the tragedy of the initial efforts in 1797-1800 had been effaced.(12)

* * * *

The only other contact of the L.M.S. with Tonga was the visit of John Williams, the intrepid voyager who has been called "a Ulysses of Protestantism in the Pacific".(13) The rapid and far-reaching success of the London Missionary Society in Eastern Polynesia was not enough to satisfy his spirit. He built his own ship, *Messenger of Peace*, in Rarotonga and sailed westwards, seeking new worlds to conquer. He was accompanied by another missionary, Charles Barff, and eight teachers. Some of these he expected to leave at the island of Niue, east of Tonga, but the people there refused to receive them.

On 25 June 1830, Williams and Barff arrived at Nuku'alofa. Throughout their stay they were on mutually cordial terms with the Wesleyans, Nathaniel

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Turner and William Cross. In his writing Williams gave the highest praise to the quality of the work of Turner and Cross which he studied closely. He saw the progress of the building of the new chapel on Zion Hill. He was gratified with the commendation that Turner gave for the co-operation of Haepe and Tafeta. 797

This visit had distinct importance because of the relations between the two missionary societies in Samoa and Fiji afterwards. Detailed reference will be made to these matters in the sections of this history dealing with those two groups. It is sufficient here to mention that, in his *Narrative of Missionary Enterprises in the South Sea Islands*, pp.259-60 (1839 edition), Williams claimed that a verbal agreement with Turner and Cross was made to leave Samoa to the L.M.S. and Tonga and Fiji to the Wesleyans. In 1915 the journal of John Williams was found with the archives of Captain Morgan, of the L.M.S. ship *Camden*, and, although many details are given about events in this visit, there is no reference to any agreement to reserve Samoa for the L.M.S. and leave Tonga and Fiji to the Wesleyans; and no report to this effect was sent to the Directors of the L.M.S. by Williams.(14)

While Williams and Barff were still at Nuku'alofa, Captain Henry, *Minerva*, arrived in the port. He was a son of a L.M.S. missionary in Tahiti and was interested in the work of the Mission. He had brought the two Tahitian teachers, Haepe and Tafeta, in the *Minerva* to Nuku'alofa in 1826. Afterwards Captain Henry visited Lakeba and was assured by the chief that any teachers left there would receive his protection. Captain Henry and Takai, the Fijian, had now brought one teacher from the church of John Davies at Papara, Tahiti, and he requested two more from Williams's party for Fiji. Williams replied that his teachers were for Samoa and Vava'u. He declared that his intention, after leaving Nuku'alofa, was to go to "Ha'apai and Vava'u", "and, after finishing the distribution of teachers in that quarter to sail for the Fijis".(15)

From his *Narrative of Missionary Enterprises* it appears that Williams had intended to go to Fiji and the New Hebrides before visiting Samoa. Adverse reports from the New Hebrides, however, induced him to change his plans and to sail to Samoa, via Ha'apai. Yielding to the call for Fiji, he detached two of the teachers in his party and these went with Captain Henry and Takai to Lakeba.

In Williams's party was another Borabora teacher, Taihaere, intended for Vava'u. At Lifuka, Ha'apai, Williams met Taufa'ahau and also Finau 'Ulukalala who had come from Vava'u for a wedding festival. This gave Williams the opportunity of speaking to Finau about the three Borabora teachers who had been sent to Vava'u in 1822. Taute, the surviving Borabora teacher, who had lapsed, was among the people from Vava'u who were accompanying Finau. When Williams wished to speak to Taute, Finau insisted that he should be interviewed only in his presence. The hapless Borabora native trembled because of Finau. His downcast looks also betokened his shame at having renounced his Christian profession. Williams relates the incident in his *Missionary Enterprises* and his account is amplified in the *L.M.S. Records:—*

> "We began by telling Finau how sorry we were that the teachers first sent to Vava'u had acted so improperly and we were directed from the Church at Borabóra to tell him how much they lamented the improper conduct of their brethren, and in order as far as possible to make amends they had sent another of their number in whom they could confide and begged that he would accept him and his family."

Finau replied that:

> "The former teachers had not acted so badly but he would not listen to them nor suffer

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> any of his people, and he and his family were still of the same mind and would have nothing to do with the *lotu* (= Christian religion) for a long time to come. We might leave the man and his family if we pleased; he would not kill them but neither he nor his people would take the new religion on pain of death." (16) 797 609

Williams believed that Taute was inclined to reconsider his position and return to his duties; but Finau sternly forbade him to do this.

It was evident to Williams that any further L.M.S. effort in Vava'u would be futile because of Finau's "forbidding aspect", his threats, and his reputation for ferocity. Taihaere, the new teacher from Borabora whom Williams had wished to leave at Vava'u, was very different from the three men sent there eight years before; he had the status of a catechist and had been a Christian for more than ten years. With his wife and three children he was taken to Samoa, instead of Vava'u, and he became one of the L.M.S. pioneers there. Afterwards, Williams was pleased that Finau had not accepted Taihaere as, he declared, there was work for fifty teachers in Samoa. (17) Williams found some consolation in hearing that a few of Finau's people from Vava'u had fled to Ha'apai and were receiving instruction from John Thomas, who had moved from Hihifo, Tongatapu, to Lifuka.

A complicating fact in the matter of the controversial agreement between the Wesleyan and L.M.S. missionaries at Nuku'alofa was that Williams seemingly did not think that placing L.M.S. teachers at "Ha'apai and Vava'u" would have been inconsistent with any agreement to leave Tonga to the Wesleyans. Nothing happened with regard to Ha'apai but only Finau's opposition foiled the plan for Vava'u. By 1830 no one could have believed that Vava'u was part of Samoa, as the L.M.S. had thought in 1822. If Turner and Cross at Nuku'alofa had known of Williams's intention to place a teacher in Vava'u they had not offered any objection. However, John Thomas in Ha'apai knew about it and he wrote in his journal: 797

> "I felt a little surprised to find that Williams wished to leave a teacher at Vava'u, it being what we considered part of our charge, the people of Tongatapu, Ha'apai and Vava'u being one people and under one head, the king at Nuku'alofa."(18)

The dispute about the agreement in 1830 had most unfortunate consequences in Samoa, as the history of that section will relate. Whatever the nature and terms of any agreement, it could well be regarded as a natural division of labour to allocate Tonga and Fiji to the Wesleyans and Samoa to the L.M.S. The L.M.S. could not be accused of overlapping or offending against "the comity of missions", a phrase not used in those days but a principle generally observed by Protestant Missions. When the Wesleyans began their work in Nuku'alofa the two Tahitians co-operated with them and then vacated the field. The L.M.S. teachers who went to Fiji in 1830 were instructed by Williams to leave whenever Wesleyan missionaries went there; and, after Cross and Cargill began in Lakeba in 1835, these Tahitians (then on the neighbouring island of Oneata) laboured faithfully together with the Wesleyans. 000

The stationing of eight L.M.S. teachers in Samoa by Williams in 1830 was consistent with his belief that he was entitled to do as he wished in Samoa. He took with him a Samoan chief, Fauea, who had been in Tonga for eleven years and had been influenced by the teaching of the Wesleyans in Nuku'alofa; he proved an invaluable helper in introducing Williams to his fellow-countrymen. The L.M.S. eventually became the church of the overwhelming majority of the Samoan people.

[1823-1826]

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The visit of John Williams was the last contact of the London Missionary Society with Tonga, for which it had made many sacrifices. The Tongan group was henceforth a field for the Wesleyans. After the departure of Lawry in October 1823 without his having won a single convert there was an interval of nearly three years. The Wesleyans resumed their Mission in June 1826, as following chapters relate. At first they experienced more setbacks and then, as it were, almost overnight, they found astonishing success. Within seven years of the return of the Wesleyans the whole of Ha'apai and Vava'u, and a part of Tongatapu. had professed Christianity.

Footnotes:

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(1) Williams. John. *Narrative of Missionary Enterprises in the South Sea Islands*, pp.5-6.
(2) L.M.S. Journals, microfilm Boxes 4 and 5, 1817-26, M.L.S.
(3) Davies, John, C. W. Newbury edition, *History of the Tahitian Mission, 1799-1830*, p.317, footnote.
(4) *L.M.S. Records*, 1827-30, microfilm, Box 6, M.L.S.
(5) Williams. J. and Barff, C., *Journal of a Voyage undertaken chiefly for the purpose of introducing Christianity among the Feejees and Haamoas* (= Samoa). A.403. M.L.S.
(6) *L.M.S. Records, 1823-26*, microfilm, Box 5, M.L.S.
(7) *L.M.S. Records*, 1827-30, microfilm, Box 6. M.L.S.
(8) Thomas, J., *Diary and Letter-book*, 9 January 1827. M.L.S.
(9) Turner, N., *Personal Narrative*, p.187, A.1835-6. M.L.S.
(10) Turner, ibid, p.202.
(11) Turner, ibid, p.202.
(12) *L.M.S. Records*, 1827-30, Box 6, M.L.S.
(13) Gilson, R. P., *Samoa 1830-1900*, p.69.
(14) *L.M.S. Records*, 1827-30, microfilm, Box 6. M.L.S.
(15) *L.M.S. Records*. 1827-30, microfilm, Box 6. M.L.S.
(16) *Narrative of Missionary Enterprises in the South Sea Islands*, p.270 (1839 edition).
(17) Williams and Barff, *Journal*, ibid. A.403. M.L.S.
(18) Thomas, John, *Journal*, 7 July 1830. Microfilm 43. FM.1433-39. M.L.S.

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Chapter VI.

JOHN THOMAS (1826) AND NATHANIEL TURNER (1827)

No European is better known by name among the Tongans today than "Mr. Thomas", as he is always called. The people think of him as the missionary who brought Christianity to Tonga, and beyond that they know practically nothing about him. Incidentally, Nathaniel Turner is not remembered, even by name, except by a very few Tongans.

Diffident, and intellectually poorly-equipped, John Thomas did not seem to be the stuff of which heroes are made, but he was true to his calling through nearly thirty years; and he had reason to be gratified with the results of his prolonged labours.

John Thomas was born in 1796 in the village of Clent, near Stourbridge, Staffordshire. He attended the small village school, but only on half-days in the winter months after he had begun to learn his trade as a blacksmith at the age of twelve. He became a local preacher but had no theological training and lacked any experience of church work except what he knew in his own rural district. It was from a spirit of evangelical zeal that he offered for missionary work and, literally, he went from his blacksmith's forge to the mission field. The superintendent minister of his circuit found him shoeing horses and told him of the acceptance of his offer and his appointment to "The Friendly Islands District", as Tonga was called in official church circles for many years. Thomas did not finish the job in hand and left the forge at once; he walked to Dudley and took coach from there to London. There is now a memorial church in his village, near the smithy where he worked. He was ordained in London on 22 March, 1825 and sailed shortly afterwards. On the long voyage to Sydney he read the biography of Henry Martyn, the saintly and scholarly Anglican missionary to India and Persia. After his arrival in Sydney he read Mariner's account of his experiences in Tonga.

It was his misfortune to be assigned to such a difficult mission field as Tonga was then. Lawry had reached London before Thomas left and the Wesleyan Committee should have realized that, after the abandonment of Lawry's effort, they needed a very capable and enterprising leader. Thomas did not meet these requirements. The committee had not thought of Thomas being in charge of the mission but no one else was available at the time, and the brethren in Sydney were instructed to find a colleague for Thomas.

The Sydney brethren appointed an Australian, John Hutchinson, who was not only as "scantily endowed" as John Thomas but devoid of his spirit of dedication. He was to prove worse than useless and an irritant to Thomas. Hutchinson had been a local preacher in Tasmania and was ordained in Sydney on 25 April 1826; this was the first Wesleyan ordination in Australia. A week later, on 2 May, Hutchinson was married to Mary Oakes, of Parramatta. The

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wedding ceremony was performed by the Rev. Samuel Marsden, Anglican friend of the Wesleyans in the colony. Mary was barely seventeen years old; John Thomas in his journal regarded her as shallow but she was only a girl, too young for a pioneering task. She was the daughter of Francis Oakes, a former L.M.S. missionary in Tahiti (1797-8) and Rebecca Small who had been the first white child born in Australia, on 22 September 1789. The children of Francis Oakes and Rebecca were numerous and many of their descendants have occupied prominent places in Church and State in New South Wales in the last 150 years.

In spite of John Thomas's educational deficiencies, of which he was acutely aware, he left in his journals the longest and most detailed record of any of the missionaries' experiences in the early years. Furthermore, he narrated Tongan myths and described the Tongan social system, together with what he learnt of the history of the country before his time, and he did this with an accuracy that revealed his thoughtfulness and interest. Even though his manuscript "History of the Friendly Islands" is disorderly its contents are very valuable, surprisingly so from a man of his limited educational background.

John Thomas was forced to wait seven months in Sydney for a boat to Tonga. During that time the ministers in Sydney realized his earnestness but expressed grave doubts about his fitness for the task. They held a special District Meeting on 26 April and concluded that Hutchinson should be superintendent, but only because he was six years older and had been a local preacher eleven years longer than Thomas. The preference of the Sydney brethren for Hutchinson as superintendent became a source of friction between the two men when they were in Tonga. In his humility Thomas was willing for Hutchinson to have the senior status. Later, on 25 August 1828, the Sydney District Meeting recorded a most critical opinion:

> "We had been all along convinced that the Tongan Mission could scarcely have been entrusted to two more inadequate men than Bros. Thomas and Hutchinson. Their genuine piety we never doubted; but, with the peculiar gifts that the Mission requires, we well knew they are most scantily endowed. We trembled for the safety of the Mission." (1)

Lilly, whom Lawry had left in Tonga, came to Sydney while Thomas was waiting for a boat and he gave information about conditions since Lawry's departure. The ship *Minerva* arrived in Sydney a few days before Thomas sailed and it brought news of the two Tahitian L.M.S. teachers who had arrived in Nuku'alofa in March.

On 31 May 1826 the two missionaries and their wives left Sydney in the ship *Elizabeth*. They took with them a carpenter, Thomas Bambridge, who proved a disappointment and left the work on 19 November 1827 when he sailed for Tahiti, evidently en route for England. Thomas Wright, Lawry's "old faithful servant" in 1822-3, also accompanied Thomas and Hutchinson. Instructions from Sydney were that Wright should be "servant to both the families", but by June 1827 Wright had declined to continue serving them and had removed from the mission station at Hihifo. On their arrival the missionaries met Charles Tindall, the blacksmith whom Lawry had left behind. He advised them against making Mu'a their station because of the unfriendliness of the local chiefs. Some time afterwards they visited Lawry's old residence, "Cokevernal", at Mu'a and found it in ruins after only three years.

28 June 1826, the date of the arrival of Thomas and Hutchinson in Maria Bay, Hihifo, has been taken by Wesleyans as the foundation-day of their Church.

[1826-1827]

The party landed on 5 July. The people have a story that Thomas put his umbrella upright, temporarily, in the sand on the beach at Ha'atafu, Hihifo, and the onlookers waited to see whether the waves would reach the umbrella as a superstitious indication that the party should be attacked. At the Centenary celebrations in 1926 this scene was enacted by one of the village groups in a descriptive dance with singing. The missionaries met Ata, the chief of Hihifo, under whose protection they lived henceforth. Through Tindall as interpreter, Thomas told Ata: 797

> "We came to their island, not because their land was better than ours, neither did we come to join them in their wars, but we came to teach them to know and fear the Lord, and many other good things."(2)

A memorial stone marks the site of the landing of Thomas. Another has been placed on the site of what was regarded as the first observance of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in Tonga, on 1 October 1826. The sacramental service of the L.M.S. missionaries in 1797, however, was the first. Walter Lawry also had observed the Sacrament during his term, as his journal discloses. The observance in 1826 was for the missionaries, with their wives, and, no doubt, Tindall, Wright, and Bambridge. On 2 October 1826 the first Quarterly Meeting was held, in conformity with Wesleyan usage, in spite of the diminutive membership.

From the beginning nothing deterred Thomas from following Wesleyan practice. On the first Sunday on shore, 9 July, there were two services in the native house occupied by the mission party. Psalm 84.11 was the text of John Thomas's first sermon in Tonga. Every day he held family worship, morning and evening. In addition to the two Sunday services there was a prayer meeting on Wednesday evening, and a members' or "class" meeting on Friday evening. A few curious Tongans often attended these services which were in English, Tindall explaining afterwards what had been said. On 19 June 1827, Thomas recorded the presence of nineteen Tongans at a service.

Ata gave the missionaries land for building their house. Nevertheless, from 797
the outset he told Thomas, as Palau had told Lawry, that he would never accept 609
Christianity. He was also determined to prevent his people receiving the new teaching. In doing this he violated the agreement he had made with Thomas at the outset. The building of the mission house, made of frames brought from Sydney, was delayed through the people's refusal to help unless they were paid. Those who had carried the missionaries' goods the distance of two miles from the beach had required payment and, in many cases, had stolen the goods on the way. When finally erected, the mission house was imposing. Of two storeys for the two families, facing Maria Bay and the sunrise, it could be seen for many miles and was an object of wonder to the people. Like Lawry's house at Mu'a, this one also was called "Cokevernal". It was purposely erected outside Ata's fort to avoid involvement in any tribal quarrels. Many chiefs from other parts of the island visited the missionaries to see the house and with the hope of receiving presents, axes and tools.

Hutchinson, in his report to the Committee in London, declared that the people, influenced by the chiefs, often abused the missionaries. Of one, unnamed, from Lawry's old station at Mu'a, Hutchinson wrote,

> "The chief who had taken forcible possession of Cokevernal, purposed to kill the men belonging to the Mission, but to spare our dear wives, no doubt for the worst purposes." (3)

[ca.1826 - 1827]

Thomas also reported a plot against the missionaries and their wives, in terms similar to those in Hutchinson's Letter. 797

There were other difficulties. Thomas and Hutchinson made very slow progress with the language in spite of having Tindall and Wright to help them. Pilfering was a constant annoyance. The priests predicted a drought because of the missionaries' presence; fortunately, it did not happen. Ata was frequently obstructive and once, when particularly offended, he declared that he would take the mission house for his own residence. 609

Thomas could not adopt the usual missionary procedure of teaching groups of people because of Ata's prohibition. Evidently his only pupil was Lolohea, Ata's sickly step-son, who asked to be instructed. A few women whom Mrs. Thomas had begun to teach were taken away by Ata's orders. He refused leave for a chapel to be built and he sent men to watch at the gate of the mission house to stop any entering to worship there.

A little relief came from the interesting description of London and Sydney given to the people by the lad, Watson Nau, whom Lawry had taken back with him and who had returned with Thomas. On the whole, however, the situation was most depressing for Thomas. He felt not only that Hihifo was hopeless but believed that Mu'a and other places might be even worse. He declared that he was "beginning to fear that there was very little probability of our succeeding in any of the neighbouring islands", i.e., Ha'apai and Vava'u. Occasionally there was a slight glimmering of hope; although Ata had threatened death to people who went to the missionaries for worship or teaching, his wife Papa (though just as hostile as Ata) asked them to pray for the recovery of a young relative and, when the child died, desired them to make a wooden coffin for the burial.

Thomas became more than ever conscious of his lack of training and experience. Although he was no coward, the obstacles he found reduced him almost to despair. Once he wrote,

> "Labouring at the anvil from morning to night would be ease compared with the labours and anxieties of a missionary in Tonga." (4)

The choice of his colleague was proving most unfortunate. Hutchinson's critical and petulant nature would have made him a trial to anyone and it was well that he did not stay long in Tonga. The disagreement between the two men grew, and Hutchinson soon declared his intention of leaving at the first opportunity. He alleged that he had mistaken his sense of vocation and desired to return to his farm in Tasmania — as he eventually did. Less than three months after their arrival, Thomas wrote about Hutchinson: 797

> "His mind was distinctly made up now on leaving the island. . . . He would risk his life no longer among such a set of men." (5)

It was regrettable that both Hutchinson and his young wife had indifferent health. They complained also about inadequate domestic help; their servant, a young girl from Sydney, proved unreliable. It seemed, however, to Thomas that neither of these circumstances justified their determination to leave and their preparations in packing their goods. Hutchinson wanted a second servant. Thomas had none for his wife of whom he wrote:

> "She has no objection to work, but I little thought she would become a common drudge in a tropical climate." (6)

Hutchinson amazed Thomas by saying that he had been instructed by the ministers in Sydney to report any failures in Thomas's ministry; naturally, Thomas

[1826-1828]

was upset about this.(7) Lawry's failure had been largely attributable to his having 797
no colleague. Thomas found an unco-operative colleague worse than none. At
the end of the year, 31 December 1826, he kept the watchnight vigil — alone.
Even more poignant was the revelation in his journal for Easter Day 1827 —

> "Mr. Hutchinson did not attend the table of the Lord nor has he ever done so since we came here."

This unpardonable action was evidently due to Hutchinson believing that Thomas was his inferior! On the other hand, Thomas recorded that he received the Sacrament at Hutchinson's hands on 13 February 1828, not long before Hutchinson left Tonga. Also, Thomas was asked to baptize Hutchinson's infant son soon after he was born, evidently in June 1827; no record of the dates of birth and baptism is traceable but this was the first infant baptism in Tonga.

Aleamotu'a, of Nuku'alofa, patron of the two Tahitian teachers, visited Thomas and asked for an English missionary because, he said, he wanted to learn the English language.(8) 'Ulakai, the Christian chief from Nuku'alofa, also offered friendship. In his journal Thomas gave his opinion that Nuku'alofa would have been a better place for the Wesleyan Mission, but "our way has been shut up", meaning by this that the Tahitians were already labouring there.

The French ship *Astrolabe* brought the first letters for the missionaries after ten months, on 21 April 1827. The commander, Dumont D'Urville, was searching for *La Perouse*. Thomas sent a letter with this ship informing the Sydney Committee that Hutchinson had decided to leave and asking them to send another missionary in his place. There may have been a touch of English prejudice that induced him to express the hope that the replacement would not be another "colonial"! When he asked for a substitute for Hutchinson he urged the Committee not to send more than one because, the larger the party and the greater the property, the worse would be the stealing.

Thomas recorded, on 11 May 1827, the troubles that occurred during the 797
visit of the *Astrolabe*. Quarrels arose during the bartering of goods for pigs and 609
yams; the Tongans felt that they were being unfairly treated. The dispute came 648
to a head when three sailors went ashore to live with the Tongans. The boat sent 177
by the captain to recapture these sailors was attacked and its occupants were
captured. Other Frenchmen were then ordered ashore to burn the Tongans' houses.
In a fight that followed one sailor was killed and three Tongans wounded.
D'Urville then bombarded the village of Ma'ofanga and nearby places for two
days. While the *Astrolabe* was at anchor, Thomas met the captain. He remarked
afterwards on "the reckless immorality of the crew on shore".

Before long the French deserters showed hostility towards the missionaries 797
and began to circulate stories like those used against the L.M.S. missionaries in 563
1797, namely, that Thomas and Hutchinson were "praying the Tongans to death";
they told the people that the missionaries were plotting to take away their country
and give it to the King of England.(9) (One of the French deserters was Charles
Simonet who was responsible for calumnies against the Wesleyan missionaries
during the wars of 1837.)

By 11 June 1827 John Thomas had reached the conclusion that the Mission 797
had failed. On the anniversary of his arrival in Tonga (28 June 1827) he noted
in his journal:

> "We hope the time is drawing nigh when we shall depart from its unfriendly inhabitants."

[1826-1827]

He also recorded that the abandonment of the Mission was unanimously 797 approved, by the misionaries, their wives, and Tindall, and he added:

> "I believe it is the will of God and I always make that my rule." (10)

On 15 August 1827, the Irish sea-captain, Peter Dillon, called at Tongatapu, 797 in the ship *Research*, also seeking La Perouse. During this visit Aleamotu'a and 177 the Tahitian teachers visited the ship and the Tahitians conducted prayers. Thomas also met Dillon and reported that he took away a Tongatapu woman "for his base purposes" in exchange for two muskets given to a chief.(11) Thomas was most critical of both Dillon and his crew who bought the native women "for their beastly purposes". This antipathy between Thomas and Dillon was a prelude to the controversy that flamed in 1838.(12) During Dillon's visit he was told by Thomas about Ata's obstructive attitude and Dillon mentioned this in his book, *Narrative and Successful Result of a Voyage in the South Seas*.(13)

Meanwhile, other developments were taking place. In July 1827, a brig, *Governor Darling*, arrived unexpectedly, bringing William Weiss, a lay preacher sent by the Sydney Committee, accompanied by his wife and family, together with supplies for the missionaries. Weiss was a recruit of indifferent quality; he 797 had impressed the Sydney Committee with the emotional account of his conversion while a midshipman in the navy. He proved unsuitable in Tonga and soon retired. Weiss noted Hutchinson's "shattered and debilitated frame" and the despondency of both missionaries.(14) The brig's arrival seemed to give the opportunity Thomas and Hutchinson had been waiting for. They had been packing their goods, secretly, lest Ata should try to prevent them going and removing their possessions. The brig was too small for both missionaries and their families (it was only 40 tons burthen, with one cabin 7 feet square), but it took away their luggage. Ata, as it hapened, was not unco-operative and even told his people to help load the goods. Thomas sent a letter with Weiss asking for a larger ship to come for the removal of the mission party.

An incident that did not seem important to Thomas at the time occurred on 797 the Sunday before he expected to leave Tonga. Taufa'ahau, the ruling chief of 643 Ha'apai, visited Thomas at Hihifo. It was the first contact between these two men in a relationship that continued until Thomas finally left Tonga in 1859.

* * * *

Sixteen weeks after *Governor Darling* left, another ship came, but not to 797 close down the Mission. Instead of this, to the astonishment of Thomas, it brought Nathaniel Turner and William Cross. The British Conference Minutes for 1826 had placed Tongatapu under the direction of the New Zealand District and had made Nathaniel Turner responsible for the Missions in both districts; the British Conference, of course, had not expected that Thomas would leave or that Turner would remove from New Zealand to Tonga. The coming of Turner, with his experience and his enterprising spirit, aroused, at least temporarily, a new hopefulness in John Thomas. Even so, after a few days in Turner's company, he relapsed into depression in his frustrating tasks at Hihifo.

The newcomer, Nathaniel Turner, was a missionary of complete dedication and proven ability. He was born in 1793 at Wybunbury, Cheshire. While serving as a local preacher he offered for foreign missions and began to prepare diligently by reading. When accepted, he went to London, after giving a farewell address from the box of the coach to a large company of friends in the village street

[1827]

amid the falling snow. He was ordained on 23 January 1822 and left England three weeks later for New Zealand where he served from 3 August 1823 to 31 January 1827. Turner and his family suffered grievously at the hands of the Maoris in one of the most hostile districts of New Zealand. He was assaulted several times and once he was injured, seemingly fatally. His wife barely escaped from another attack. The Maoris who burnt down his home at Wesleydale, Whangaroa, plundered all of Turner's belongings. They even opened up the grave of his little daughter to take the blanket which, they expected, had covered her body and then, in Turner's words, "left the remains to moulder on the surface of the earth".(13) 797

A man of the calibre that could endure such losses and hardships was unlikely to quail before opposition from any quarter. His experience had fitted him in other ways for the work in Tonga. He knew the Maori language intimately [197] and this gave him a foundation for quickly acquiring a knowledge of Tongan, which has many similar words. He understood the Maoris' habits and found many resemblances to those of the Tongans.

Turner was in Sydney preparing to return to the work in New Zealand when the message of failure and anticipated retreat came from John Thomas. He decided that another abandonment of missionary work in Tonga would be disgraceful and probably fatal. Without waiting months for authority from the Missionary Committee in London he resolved that he himself should go to Tonga and take his new colleague, William Cross, with him. The Sydney brethren fully concurred in Turner's plan. The District Meeting, held in Sydney on 3 November 1827, just after Turner's departure, resolved that Thomas and Hutchinson had erred in deciding to abandon the Mission; it believed that there was no evidence to show that the people were so prejudiced as to prevent their continuing and succeeding.(14)

For going to Tonga on his own initiative Turner was afterwards "heavily censured" by the Committee in London and ordered to pay part of the expenses of travel! This was heartless indeed, if only because of Turner's heroism and the pecuniary losses he had suffered in New Zealand. The demand, too, came after he had begun the highly successful labours in Nuku'alofa that fully vindicated his decision to redeem the Tongan Mission's life from destruction. So much also for the lack of wisdom and sympathy in men living 12,000 miles away and unacquainted with local circumstances.

Strictly speaking, it is Nathaniel Turner who should be honoured as the true founder of the Wesleyan Mission, even though Lawry was the pioneer and Thomas began long and continued service. Undoubtedly, it was Turner who saved the future of the Tongan Church. His initiative, with his experience, resourcefulness and optimism, changed the situation after Thomas had planned to abandon everything.

William Cross, who accompanied and supported Turner, had just arrived from England, designated to work with Turner in New Zealand. Afterwards he won a place in missionary history as co-founder with David Cargill of the Mission to Fiji in 1835. He was born in 1797 at Cirencester, Gloucestershire; a zealous preacher, he had offered for service abroad and been ordained in London on 27 March 1827, one of the ordaining ministers being the redoubtable Missionary Secretary and dictatorial leader, Jabez Bunting.

[1827-1827]

The Sydney Gazette, 8 October 1827, reported that the ship *Industry* had 797 left that day for Tonga. It took Turner and Cross with their wives and Turner's three children, Weiss (who had come on the return voyage of the *Governor Darling* from Tonga) and his wife and three children; two servants and three Maoris completed the party. The ship also took back the goods which Thomas and Hutchinson had sent away on the *Governor Darling*.

The new missionaries arrived at Hihifo on 2 November 1827. The determination of Turner and Cross to rescue the Mission from failure had an immediate effect. Thomas was indeed amazed at the resolute spirit of the newcomers who had

> "a settled determination to prosecute the Mission in some other part of the group should it be found absolutely necessary to abandon the present station" (i.e., Hihifo).(17)

The opportunity was found at once at Nuku'alofa where Turner worshipped with the Tahitian teachers on 4 November, the first Sunday after his arrival. Turner and Cross decided to make Nuku'alofa their base of operations and here they built on the foundations faithfully laid by the Tahitians who willingly co-operated with them. The Tahitians told the newcomers that they would have been glad to go to Fiji which they had expected to be their field.

Turner and Cross lost no time in beginning to learn the language in which Thomas and Hutchinson had made no headway. Turner had read Mariner's book and begun learning the vocabulary on the voyage from Sydney. The speedy success of Cross was still more commendable because Turner was already proficient in the Maori language and Cross had only just arrived from England.

On 2 December 1827 a simple hymn of two verses, written by Turner, was sung at a service; it was the first time a Christian hymn had been sung in the Tongan language.(18) On 24 January 1828 Turner was able to take part of a service in Tongan, to the astonishment of his hearers. It was Turner who was [212] responsible for the orthography and spelling which the first District Meeting approved, on 27-28 January 1828.

The missionaries also immediately began a school, following the work of the 871 Tahitians. Turner employed the teaching methods he had found successful in 797 New Zealand, and his school grew to 500 in six months. One of his Maori helpers proved a useful assistant teacher. Turner taught the males, and Cross the female pupils.

In the first District Meeting, on 27-28 January 1828, Turner, as Chairman, 797 was under the painful necessity of inquiring into the official charge, of wrongfully deserting the mission, against Thomas and Hutchinson. The little meeting "forbore to pass any censure against them" and merely made a report to the Committee. Thomas felt deeply the charge against him, a novice in an unfriendly situation and with an unco-operative colleague. After transacting formal business and disposing of the charge, Turner recorded, "We discussed the doctrines of Methodism, especially the grand doctrine of sanctification". So the little company of pioneer missionaries showed loyalty to their denomination's usages and ideals, in this new mission field.(19)

Turner, naturally, was very disappointed when, soon after his arrival and 797 the auspicious beginning, Aleamotu'a felt forced to abandon attendance at 693 worship. This embargo was placed on him as a condition of his being elected Tu'i Kanokupolu. On 7 December 1827 Turner witnessed the ceremony under

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
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[1827-1829]

the *koka* tree at Hihifo where every Tu'i Kanokupolu had been installed. At 797 Nuku'alofa Turner held services in his own house or out-of-doors until Aleamotu'a 643 felt sufficiently confident to defy the chiefs and resume public worship. Some services were held on the open space *(mala'e)* facing the beach, and it was here that Taufa'ahau, on a visit from Ha'apai, heard Turner preach.

During the unsettlement of this period, when Aleamotu'a was not worshipping, the missionaries' lives and property were in danger. The non-Christian chiefs [609] sent a message that Turner and Cross would be killed unless they went away.(20) Aleamotu'a sent armed guards to the mission house to protect the occupants. At one stage Aleamotu'a considered removing to Ha'apai, or even Samoa or Fiji, and taking the missionaries with him. He called on those who were of this mind to board his canoe, and added, "All you who love the devil, sit still"; all the people on the beach decided that they would go with Aleamotu'a.(21) Afterwards he found there was no need to leave. When, on 1 June 1828, after six months' abstention, Aleamotu'a attended worship again, hundreds of people came to the service.

While these events were transpiring at Nuku'alofa John Thomas was toiling 797 on at Hihifo. After three years he could report only three "members on trial". He had laboured hard against the relentless opposition of Ata who would not [609] permit Thomas even to visit the sick and the dying. Yet the coming of Turner and Cross had given flashes of new hope to Thomas for, on 25 June 1828, he wrote,

> "If Tonga" (= Tongatapu) "becomes Christianized we have good reason to believe that not only the Ha'apais and Vava'u will receive the truth but we shall obtain success in Fiji and the Navigators' Islands" (= Samoa). "Here are men from each of the latter and the Tongan canoes go to these islands." (22)

The District Meeting on 28 September 1828 recommended the Committee to set up new stations at Ha'apai and Vava'u. The Meeting resolved that Hutchinson was "unlikely ever to become an efficient missionary in Tonga"; both he and Weiss had already returned to Australia.(23)

At length John Thomas had a convert and this made a deep impression upon his ministry. Lolohea was a son of the chief, Tupouniua, murdered in 1807; his mother had become one of Ata's wives. Lolohea, then about twenty-three years old, was sickening to death when he began to receive Thomas's ministrations, without Ata's prohibition. On Friday, 9 January 1829, three days before his [795] death, Lolohea was baptized, with the name John. Lolohea's mother with a few non-Christians, together with 'Ulakai and some worshippers from Nuku'alofa, were present at the baptism.

The work of Turner and Cross in Nuku'alofa, meanwhile, was meeting with 797 mounting success. On 4 January 1829, fourteen months after they had commenced 795 their work, they baptized seven converts. All seven became preachers, the most notable being Peter Vi, the first Tongan teacher in Nuku'alofa, Turner's assistant in translation work, and the first evangelist in Ha'apai. The others were Noah (Mafile'o), Moses (Fakanou), Elisha (Lauola), Barnabas (Kavamoelelo), Joseph (Lavemui) and John (Mo'ungaevalu).(24) Turner states that these baptisms took place on 4 January, "shortly after" Lolohea's baptism at Hihifo; but John Thomas recorded this as occurring on 9 January. There is some confusion here about dates; possibly Lolohea's baptism may have been the first, but the baptisms in Nuku'alofa, as Turner said, were "the first public baptismal services in Nuku'alofa".

[1829]

The missionaries regarded these seven men as "the first fruits of the Gospel" in
Tonga.(25) A short catechism had been compiled a few weeks before this event, 797
and the catechumens repeated the answers before the congregation at their baptism. 795
On 29 March 1829 Aleamotu'a's wife, Moala, was baptized and named Mary. Four other women were baptized with her.

When children of parents already baptized were brought, Turner set apart those below eight years and treated those above eight as adults who entered a class for instruction. It was Turner's practice to baptize candidates by sprinkling as they knelt around the communion table. He gave them biblical names as well as agreeing to their retaining their Tongan names. Incidentally, John Williams, while commenting very favourably on Turner's work during his visit to Nuku'alofa in 1830, criticized the giving of biblical names. However, it became standard practice in the Tongan Wesleyan Church. It was also the custom for baptized persons to sit under and around the pulpit, apart from the rest of the congregation.

Eleven more were baptized on 9 April 1829 when the congregation numbered [794]
nearly 500, Turner reported. By April 1829 Turner had completed the first
Scripture lessons, catechism, and some hymns, and had sent these to Sydney to 797
be printed. He had also translated the marriage service from the Prayer Book, [585]
and on 3 May the first Christian wedding service was held. On 24 May there
was the first Christian burial, for an old convert named Job, so named because [764]
of his patience in prolonged illness. On Whitsunday, 7 June 1829, the first [788]
Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in which Tongans participated was observed.
There were twenty-six Tongan communicants.

The District Meeting, on 23 June 1829, reported 31 full members, with [794]
90 on trial. It asked the Committee for two additional missionaries, one with
medical knowledge, the other with printing experience; and a printing press was requested.(26)

By 25 June, William Cross had produced summaries of Old Testament and
New Testament narratives, and had translated the Acts of the Apostles to chapter
eleven — a remarkable feat in about eighteen months. Cross and Turner reported [871]
to the Committee that there were 495 in the schools and that [212]

> "many of the people can read with fluency and write in such a way as would astonish you."

They added two significant comments:

> "The great and good work which the Lord is doing among us here is almost incredible to ourselves who are eye and ear witnesses to the facts. . . . And we enjoy perfect harmony among ourselves."

The "Lovefeast" was a treasured Wesleyan ordinance in which worshippers gave testimonies, and the first of these was held on 11 October 1829. About forty, including Aleamotu'a and his consort, spoke on this occasion.

At the District Meeting on 31 December 1829, is was decided that a man
and woman living together should be married before they were baptized, and
that candidates for baptism should meet "in class" for at least three months and,
after baptism, spend three months "on trial" before full membership. The wise
direction of the Chairman could be seen in these rules. It was also reported that [794]
there were 72 full members, with 23 others baptized but not yet full members, [795]
123 others on trial, and that there were 478 scholars in four schools, at [871]
Nuku'alofa, Hofoa, Havelu, and Fanga.(27)

[1828-1830]

Aleamotu'a was baptized on 10 January 1830 in the presence of a congrega- 797
tion of 600. He took the name of Josiah, and the missionaries generally referred 643
to him afterwards as Josiah Tupou or King Josiah. He had supported, first the [795]
Tahitian teachers and then the Wesleyan missionaries, wavering only temporarily
and under strong pressure. His three sons and two daughters were baptized at [794]
the same service. On the afternoon of that day, Turner wrote,

> "A man who had been a magician or a kind of god and of so high a rank that the king used to pray to him was baptized; so in the same day we have baptized both the king and his god." (28)

After Aleamotu'a was baptized he was married to his chosen wife, Mary, who had become a class-leader and had taken charge of the Sunday School in Nuku'alofa.(29)

Nuku'alofa, with its daily teaching and well-attended regular worship, had 797
become an orderly Christian community. Every Sunday was filled with services
and teaching: 5 a.m., prayer meeting; 8 a.m., children's catechizing; 9 a.m., [796]
worship; 3 p.m., worship; evening, English service (for mission families and any
visiting sailors). During the week the missionaries supervised the day schools,
conducted classes for catechumens and others for full members, and held a
mid-week service (Wednesday) and prayer-meeting (Friday). They were also
occupied with translation work, dispensing medicine, making pastoral visits to the
sick and to outlying villages. On 31 March 1830 Cross sent to the Committee [212]
in London specimens of the handwriting and composition of Mary, wife of
Aleamotu'a. and others. These may be the first sentences in Tongan still in
existence; they are preserved in the Mitchell Library, Sydney.(30)

The change in the people's attitude was receiving favourable comments from visiting sea-captains. Captain Hardy, *Snapper*, who used to avoid Tongan anchorages because of the people's reputation for deceit, robbery and violence, reported on the difference when he came on 22 September 1828. Commodore Lawes, H.M.S. *Satellite*, in May 1829, expressed astonishment at the progress the people at Nuku'alofa had made in reading after only a short time. The wrecked whaler, *L'Aigle*, received unexpected hospitality from Aleamotu'a and his people in March 1830. On the other hand, the sailors of some ships cursed the missionaries because they had forbidden women at Nuku'alofa to go on board the visiting vessels.

The chapel built for the Tahitian teachers in 1826 had proved far too small.
On 5 May 1830 Turner reported the beginning of the construction of a new [368]
chapel "on the hill where the old fortress stood in Mariner's time", the hill to
become famous in Tongan Church history as Zion. On 3 September it was [794]
opened, with about 1,000 attempting to crowd into the building and nearly as
many others outside. Turner described the efforts of some to appear in European [291]
clothing, the women with "gowns and bonnets. The bonnets were entirely of their [177]
own manufacture, under the direction of Mary, the excellent wife of Tupou".
Though Turner wrote this with some satisfaction, he added that the appearance
of many could only "excite a smile". Another quaint reference was to Thomas
Wright, Lawry's old servant who had returned with John Thomas, and who now
conducted the singing in Zion "although he does not understand music"! (31)

Nuku'alofa had formerly been a fortress. Its new importance arose not only [361]
because of its convenience as a port but as the centre of the new religion in [504]
Tongatapu. It is also noteworthy that Turner and Cross had commenced preaching

89: Wood / M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
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[1831]

in villages in the central district, in places that had hitherto been hostile to Christianity. 797

Reinforcements for the Mission came on 10 March 1831. The new missionaries were Peter Turner, James Watkin, and William Woon. Peter Turner (who was not related to Nathaniel) was born in Manchester in 1802. Enthusiastic and evangelistic, he became a very popular preacher; his four years in Samoa (1835-9) made him a legend among the Wesleyans of that group. James Watkin also was born in Manchester, in 1805. He proved an able administrator in his six years' service (1831-7) and afterwards in New Zealand and Australia. A son of James Watkin, Jabez Bunting Watkin, was a missionary in Tonga for nearly 60 years (1866-1925), the last forty years as President of the Free Church which separated from the Wesleyans. William Woon was a Cornishman, born in 1803; he had been trained as a printer and he brought with him a printing press, a valuable acquisition for the Mission and a source of wonder to the people in Nuku'alofa. Woon was a competent but slow printer and a poor preacher (so Thomas noted before Woon left the Mission on 5 January 1834).(32)

On 14 April 1831, just before Nathaniel Turner left, he had the satisfaction of seeing the first books printed in Tonga, a book of 60 hymns and a four-page school-book (3000 copies). A second school-book was ready also for printing. A copy of the first hymn-book is in the National Library, Canberra, probably the only copy still in existence. Its sixty hymns are elementary efforts but it is remarkable that so many had been written and printed in less than four years after Turner and Cross came. (A copy of the 1835 school-book, eight pages, also is in the National Library, Canberra.) After Woon left the printing press was removed to Vava'u. 213

Continuous ill-health forced Nathaniel Turner to leave Tonga in April 1831. 797
The transformation in little more than three years had been amazing indeed.
Instead of failure and the projected abandonment of the Mission by John Thomas
and Hutchinson in 1827, the work was now firmly established. When Nathaniel [794]
Turner left, the Mission reported 505 full members, 528 on trial (a total increase [871]
of 598 for the year); in Tongatapu there were 14 schools, 35 teachers, 953 [213]
scholars; in Ha'apai already 8 schools, 77 teachers, 1037 scholars; and 10,000 [212]
small books had been printed in Tongan and were in use in the schools. If
Turner had been able to continue in Tonga, still greater success would have
followed under his wise direction, and probably the grave mistakes of later years
would have been avoided. General sorrow was shown by chiefs and people in
Nuku'alofa on the missionary's departure. Before he left he urged the Committee
to send missionaries not only to Vava'u and the Niuas but also two to Fiji.(33)
In 1853 Turner had the gratification of visiting Tonga when he accompanied the
deputation from the British Conference, Robert Young; and he then saw the
fruit of the work that he had been compelled to leave in 1831.

John Thomas, who had been stationed in Ha'apai since January 1830, succeeded Turner as Chairman of the Friendly Islands District, occupying that position until he went on furlough to England in 1850.

Chapter VII.

TAUFA'AHAU AND THE CONVERSION OF HA'APAI AND VAVA'U (1829-34)

In his own territory of Ha'apai, and afterwards when Vava'u came under his 797
control, Taufa'ahau vigorously promoted the new religion. In both groups 643
Christianity was accepted, nominally, by the entire population in the space of a
few years. This was almost entirely due to Taufa'ahau. He himself was under no
doubt about the desirability of adopting Christianity. He had visited Nuku'alofa
when the Tahitians began in 1826 and had discussed the matter with Aleamotu'a
at that time. He came into contact with the Wesleyan missionaries soon afterwards.
Early in 1828 he asked Nathaniel Turner for a missionary for Ha'apai. Though
unsuccessful in this endeavour he went back, determined to oppose heathen
practices and to adopt Christian customs, beginning with Sabbath observance.
He constrained an English sailor living in Ha'apai to become his guide. This man [177]
traced the letters of the alphabet in the sand as the first step in teaching, and he [212]
also offered prayers in a house which Taufa'ahau set apart for this purpose — [782]
surely a strange duty for this castaway sailor.

Before long Taufa'ahau was the champion of Christianity in all places under his influence. His endorsement, with the authority he wielded, would have made it difficult for objectors to withstand him. The degree to which the people of Ha'apai were obliged to accept Christianity is open to question. There was, as a matter of fact, very little opposition in either Ha'apai or Vava'u to Taufa'ahau's efforts. The old religion had not been so firmly held that people would hold out against the leadership of a chief with the dominating personality of Taufa'ahau.

It was a different matter in Tongatapu where there was a spirit of rebellion 797
against Taufa'ahau even after he became Tu'i Kanokupolu in 1845. Chiefs and 643
people in Tongatapu who did not support Taufa'ahau on other grounds were not 184
likely to heed his promotion of Christianity.

The missionaries were delighted to have such a champion. In Tonga, as 797
elsewhere in the Pacific, the conversion of chiefs was held to be of the highest 565
importance because a movement of their people towards Christianity could be 622
expected to follow. The early missionaries could hardly foresee the dangers [643]
inherent in a "chiefly church". Not only would the motives of chiefs and people,
in some cases, be suspect and their acceptance of Christianity superficial. There
was the problem of a chief exercising too much authority in the affairs of the
Church. The missionaries also might be inclined to acquiesce too readily in the
chief's wishes to the detriment of their spiritual work. There was a risk, on the
other hand, of offending the chief. When a chief clashed with missionaries and
incited his people to follow him (as happened with the secession from the
Wesleyan Church in Tonga in 1885) the danger of a Church being dominated by
a chief became apparent. Today the waning of the secular authority of chiefs in

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some Pacific Islands groups may lessen their influence in their Churches also. The 797
fundamental principle remains: every Church should be free from outside control, 565
by governments or by chiefs. For Churches inheriting the traditions of the 622
Protestant Reformation, Christ alone is Head of the Church.

After the crude beginning of Christian teaching by a sailor whom Taufa'ahau 797
used at Lifuka, the chief visited Nuku'alofa in January 1829. It was then that he 643
had a long conversation with Nathaniel Turner after hearing him preach on the *mala'e* near the beach. Taufa'ahau was now convinced not only that Christianity was true but that it would be advantageous for his own future and the well-being of the people. Turner regarded this conversation as marking the turning point for Taufa'ahau.(1)

No missionary was available for Ha'apai in January 1829, and Turner urged Taufa'ahau to accept Peter Vi, who was a native of Ha'apai as well as the first teacher in Tongatapu. Taufa'ahau, however, disdained the offer of a Tongan as teacher and returned to Ha'apai in high dudgeon. A storm on the way home made him think that this was a sign of divine displeasure and he returned humbly to accept Peter Vi.

Accompanied by Peter Vi, Taufa'ahau proceeded to uproot the old religion 797
throughout the Ha'apai group. Early in their excursions he showed his contempt 643
for the old gods. On one occasion he took Peter Vi with him to meet the priestess 798
of the god Haehaetahi; when they were drinking kava Taufa'ahau struck her on the forehead with a banana-leaf as she threw back her head to drink. Whether she was killed afterwards, as one account states, or whether she was spared, this act of sacrilege was a deliberate affront to heathenism. Taufa'ahau once threw a spear at the shark-god Taufa'itahi, declaring that, if it was a god, the spear would miss. On another occasion, when sailing off the island of Ha'ano, he ordered Peter and another man to be thrown into the sea for a test; the two men safely reached the shore without encountering any sharks.(2)

Taufa'ahau's chief method of displaying the powerlessness of the gods was the destruction of idol-houses, which he set on fire, and sacred clubs and the priests' kava-bowls. He strung up five idols by the neck and ridiculed their impotence in the presence of the people.(3) John Williams, on his visit to Lifuka in July 1830, was given one of these five idols; he took it to England and displayed it to the crowded Annual Wesleyan Missionary Meeting in Exeter Hall, London, on 4 May 1835. Williams also recorded his impressions of Taufa'ahau's strong personality and his determination to propagate the new faith.(4)

The volcano on Tofua, in the west of the Ha'apai group, was regarded with 797
superstitious awe and it was believed that, if anyone threw a stone into the [823]
crater, the stone would return and kill him; but Peter Vi threw in several stones in defiance of the popular belief.(5) Before long the people on this island followed the rest of the Ha'apai group. In December 1831 the District Meeting reported a school on Tofua with fifty pupils.

For some time Nathaniel Turner had been considering the removal of John Thomas from Hihifo to Ha'apai. On 16 July 1829 he visited Ata to ascertain finally his attitude. Ata told Turner that he would not lift his prohibition against the people of Hihifo receiving Christian teaching; he declared, as he had done repeatedly, "Your religion is very good for you. You attend to your god and I will attend to mine". He offered no objection to Thomas leaving. Thomas waited

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in Nuku'alofa for six months before sailing to Ha'apai. During that time he was greatly heartened and enlightened by the methods and success of Turner and Cross. He also said, "The conversation of my brethren has tended much to my improvement in the language", though he had been in Tonga a longer time than they. 797

The missionaries were quick to recognize both the strength of Taufa'ahau's personality and his earnestness. Unlike Palau at Mu'a and Ata at Hihifo, Taufa'ahau did not covet the missionaries' goods but wanted the new religion for its own sake. 797 643

When inviting Thomas to go to Ha'apai, Taufa'ahau had said to him,

> "I shall be thankful for your body only (supposing Ata would take my clothes) and I will give you native cloth if you will wear it. I will feed you free of any expense. I will build you a chapel and attend myself and send all my people to be taught." (6)

And he was as good as his word.

Thomas arrived in Lifuka on 30 January 1830. Two days later he commenced with a school of 110 men and boys. His wife had 95 women and girls in the afternoons. The men's school began at 6 a.m. Thomas had to write out their lessons by hand, but, in spite of the labour, he was overjoyed with the complete change from unresponsive Hihifo. Instead of a hostile Ata he had Taufa'ahau in his school learning to read and write. On 19 February 1830 Thomas reported that he had "many chiefs venerable for their hoary locks sitting with little children learning their alphabet". Lifuka resembled Nuku'alofa — a community devoted to daily instruction and public worship. 797 872 212

Before Thomas arrived in January 1830 there were only three out of eighteen islands of the Ha'apai group that had not yielded to Taufa'ahau's rugged campaign for the new faith; these were Nomuka, Tungua, and 'Uiha. The chief of Nomuka had come to 'Uiha and conspired with its people to capture Taufa'ahau and kill his supporters, but Taufa'ahau eluded these designs. Tungua was the seat of the Tamaha, the "Sacred Child", regarded by the people as the highest personage in Tonga and by the missionaries as "the main pillar of idolatry".(7) 'Uiha was the residence of Taufa'ahau's family and their burial-place but its chief was hostile towards him personally at that time. The Ha'apai chiefs who were opposed to Taufa'ahau's policy endeavoured to enlist the assistance of Finau 'Ulukalala III, ruler of Vava'u. Finau had come to Lifuka in July 1830 for the marriage festival of his wife's sister to Taufa'ahau, one of Taufa'ahau's polygamous pre-Christian marriages. Taufa'ahau was rejecting her, after living with her for a year but, before she returned to Vava'u, a festival was held, in compliance with Tongan custom.(8) This festival gave Taufa'ahau's opponents the opportunity to force him to change his policy or to put an end to him altogether. 643 [797] [622] 643 622 [595]

The plot to kill Taufa'ahau in July 1830 (which occurred shortly after the L.M.S. leader, John Williams, had called at Lifuka and sailed on to Samoa) was foiled under remarkable circumstances. During the festival Taufa'ahau suddenly became violently ill. It transpired that he had accepted a drink from a hostile chief and there seemed no doubt that it had contained poison. Before long, preparations were being made to take Taufa'ahau to 'Uiha in case of death and for his burial there. At this juncture a canoe from Tongatapu brought 'Ulakai, the Christian chief and an uncle of Taufa'ahau, and he "proved a hindrance in their way", in the words of Peter Vi. The watchful Peter called on Thomas and Cross (the latter then on a visit to Lifuka) to save the Christian leader. They

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promptly gave Taufa'ahau an emetic which had the desired effect. Prayers were 643
offered all night for his recovery. 622

> "No Christian slept that night. As daylight appeared a wailing cry was heard. At first we thought the king was gone but we soon learnt that it was a cry of joy from the king's sister because the king was better. . . . From that time Christianity spread and increased in strength while the kingdom of the devil became weaker and weaker" (so declared Peter Vi).(9)

Although the main opposition to the spread of Christianity came from 797
factions within Tonga itself, there were also white renegades who gave trouble. 563
Several of these had settled at Vava'u. One of them who came with Finau to the festival, named Thomas Harris, abused Thomas publicly at the island of Ha'ano (north of Lifuka). These men were trying to persuade Tongans not to follow the missionaries' teachings. Relief came opportunely from the senior naval officer in the Pacific, Captain the Honourable William Waldegrave, H.M.S. *Seringapatam.* He called at Vava'u and removed five white men who had been maligning the missionaries and opposing their work. Such an action may seem arbitrary, but not so at that time and with the type of whites concerned. John Thomas in Ha'apai expressed warm appreciation of the captain's action. Captain Waldegrave gave as a reason for removing these men the harm they were doing to England's reputation among the islanders.(10)

On 5 August 1830 Thomas reported that from 1000 to 1500 people in the 797
Ha'apai group had "embraced Christianity and are open to instruction", and 794
also a few had come from Vava'u for this purpose.(11) In November 1830 there
were 170 in his class and 150 females in his wife's afternoon class, at Lifuka. [781]
The number professing Christianity in the Ha'apai group had then risen to 1800.

Taufa'ahau delayed his baptism until 7 August 1831. On the day before 797
this event there was a feast, with nineteen fat hogs and several hundred yams. At 643
the service more than 2000 were present, the majority outside the chapel. 795
Taufa'ahau had begun "meeting in class" as a "member on trial" in November 1830. Three of his children were baptized together with him, all kneeling in front of the pulpit; the children were Salote, then seven years old, and David and Josiah, the latter only 1½ years old. Taufa'ahau told the congregation,

> "A short time ago I was living in a very wicked way and served the devil with all my might. . . . I now come to give myself and these my children, body and soul, to the Lord Jesus and to be baptized in His Holy Name." (12)

The chief took the name George, from George III of England, whose name [551]
had been venerated in Tonga since the visit of Captain Cook. Thenceforward Taufa'ahau was generally referred to as King George by the missionaries. The large and bold handwriting in recording the baptism of "George Taufa'ahau, King in Lifuka" (sic) seemed to indicate John Thomas's recognition of this important event.

Taufa'ahau was not only certain of his own faith, but on the day of his 797
baptism he called upon his people to live consistently with their profession as 643
true Christians. Some time elapsed before he became a local preacher, in 1834, 794
and when this happened he insisted on wearing European clothes whenever he [291]
occupied the pulpit; this showed his desire to resemble the missionaries in [177]
outward garb. He asked to be given preaching appointments to various villages in the same way as other local preachers. He proved eloquent and effective. When he prayed at the conclusion of a service the feelings of the congregation were

aroused as his own voice rose and there were audible and emphatic responses 797
from the people. Once, when another local preacher declared, "The Gospel saved 643
me. Did it save anyone else here?", the king instantly jumped to his feet and 794
called out, "Glory to God, it saved me" — an indication of how demonstrative
he was in avowing his faith in these early days.

The wife whom Taufa'ahau chose from those he had kept in a polygamous 797
state was Lupe Pau'u, the bride he had taken from Laufilitonga who was now 644
the Tu'i Tonga. Afterwards she took the name Salote when she was baptized on 795
27 September 1834 by James Watkin.(13) The name Salote was taken from Queen 551
Charlotte, the consort of George III. Not only did the wife and a daughter of
Taufa'ahau take this name but also the illustrious great-great-grand-daughter of
Taufa'ahau, Queen Salote Tupou III (1900-65). The marriage of George and [585]
Charlotte according to Christian rites did not take place until 1834.(14)

After nearly two years in Ha'apai Thomas returned to Nuku'alofa to become 797
Chairman of the District following the departure of Nathaniel Turner. He had now gained confidence through his success in Ha'apai. There was a ringing note of hope in his reports:—

> "We have good reason to believe that Tonga will be a key to very many islands in these seas. The Tongan people have been famous in the sight of the islands of these seas for ages past." (15)

The new missionaries, James Watkin and Peter Turner, continued to supervise
the mass evangelization of the Ha'apai group, according to the model of their
predecessor. Peter Turner in his Journal referred to the school at Lifuka
beginning daily at 6 a.m. He described the baptisms, with sometimes as many [795]
as 100 received at one service. He noted the Tongans' fastidiousness about their [181]
appearance as seen in the care taken with special clothing for the baptismal [291]
service, the variety of patterns in the native cloth *(ngatu)*, and the neat plaiting
of the mats worn around the waist. Then he added, "What joy beamed on the
faces of the persons baptized".(16)

An unusual incident occurred at 'Uiha in June 1832. The schooner *Snapper* 177
came to the group for trading. First it called at Lifuka where the owner, Robson,
was given hospitality by the missionaries, Watkin and Turner, although he was
very critical of missions. The crew of *Snapper* tried to entice women aboard and
were annoyed with the missionaries when they failed. The vessel then went to
'Uiha, the only island in Ha'apai that had not then accepted Christianity;
Taufa'ahau warned the captain not to go to 'Uiha but the owner said it would
be easier to have trading dealings with the non-Christians there. A quarrel broke 177
out when the owner endeavoured to procure a large pot used by whalers. The 439
'Uiha people had obtained it from a ship wrecked near Tongatapu about fifteen 609
years before. While the argument about this deal was proceeding the chief Malupo
was induced to go on board the *Snapper*. There he was bound, in order to force
the people to come to terms and secure his release. The vessel threatened to sail
off with the chief unless the pot was brought but it remained at anchor a short
distance from the shore to do more trading. (It was noted afterwards by the
Christian converts at Lifuka that all this was happening on the Sabbath!) The
islanders attacked the crew when they were off their guard, killed the captain
and two others, and released their chief. They then brought the ship nearer shore
and began to plunder its cargo; the clothes of the owner and crew were taken
from them. When news of this affray reached Lifuka, Taufa'ahau set out with a 177
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643

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number of men to release the Englishmen. He did this in spite of the fact that 177
the chief Malupo had been his enemy and had fought against him. He also 609
compelled the 'Uiha people to return the plundered goods. The sailors were 643
brought to Lifuka where they were given clothes, and the owner, who had
criticized missionaries a few days before, was glad to receive their help.(17) The
guns from the ship were eventually placed as trophies around the church on the
island of 'Uiha.

'Uiha was the last island in Ha'apai to accept Christianity and Taufa'ahau 797
won it over by a stratagem. While he was visiting Vava'u he sent a message to 643
the chief, Malupo, to bring his warriors, 160 in all, to defend him against a
possible attack from the men of Vava'u. When they arrived they were disarmed;
no one was killed. Taufa'ahau kept them in Vava'u until his own followers had
gone to 'Uiha and dismantled its fort.(18) Soon afterwards 'Uiha accepted the
new religion and built one of the finest chapels in Tonga.

Taufa'ahau won the highest commendation from the missionaries who contrasted him with the weak though well-meaning Aleamotu'a, Josiah Tupou. Thomas, later, objected to what he regarded as Aleamotu'a's interference in church affairs. In September 1833, Thomas wrote, "Tupou has behaved as though he wished to be a Pope". In January 1834 he complained,

> "Aleamotu'a has got the idea that it is his duty to govern in the Church of Christ, his place to appoint teachers or displace them, his place to take into society" (= membership) "and put out." (19)

Thomas showed his own growing disposition to be overbearing when he wrote that Nathaniel Turner and Cross,

> "by yielding to Aleamotu'a's covetousness and fearing his displeasure, have not a little strengthened him in his evil ways and thus made it more difficult to manage him. . . . Tongan chiefs wish to be as gods to their people and not only to govern their bodies but their consciences. I have made a firm stand and would sooner be ordered out of the chapel than allow him to govern in the house of God." (20)

Thomas was beginning to realize the problems of the "chiefly church" that his successors were to find a doubtful blessing.

When Aleamotu'a expressed disagreement with the missionaries' decision to remove the printing press from Nuku'alofa to Vava'u as a safer place during the wars, James Watkin commented,

> "Taufa'ahau is worth a thousand Tupous".(21)

Another missionary, Stephen Rabone, wrote of Taufa'ahau,

> "Perhaps no one ever obtained such influence in the Friendly Islands as he has nor is it likely anyone was ever half so much respected and beloved. The Christians love him. The heathen fear him and all parties respect him." (22)

The missionaries anticipated that, when Aleamotu'a died, Taufa'ahau would succeed him as Tu'i Kanokupolu; and, as they rightly regarded this position as politically much more important than that of the Tu'i Tonga, they hoped that Taufa'ahau's growing influence would greatly assist their own cause everywhere in Tonga. Already it seemed that their fortunes and Taufa'ahau's were linked together.

Taufa'ahau built a chapel in Lifuka, and it was opened on 9 September 797
1835, after taking only two months to erect with voluntary labour. The largest 643
in Tonga, 110 feet by 45 feet, the chapel included a communion rail formed of 346
carved spears used formerly by Taufa'ahau and his family, and carved clubs once

797 regarded as gods were placed at the foot of the pulpit stairs. Taufa'ahau preached
643 at the opening, taking as his text Solomon's words at the opening of the temple
346 in Jerusalem (I Kings viii. 27). While the chapel was in course of construction
Taufa'ahau had found that the pulpit was higher than his own chair which stood on the dais at the side of the chapel. As, in Tongan custom, no one, foreigner or Tongan, should be higher than the chief, he ordered the workmen to raise his chair so that he could look down on the preacher. However, he readily yielded to persuasion and admitted that it was not necessary that he should be elevated in a place of worship.

797 When the Lifuka chapel was built there was said to be only one unbaptized
795 person left in the whole of the Ha'apai group. By October 1834, James Watkin
himself had baptized 2,570 adults and 891 children; he had also performed the
797 marriage ceremony for 754 couples. One of the last baptized was the Tamaha
795 who had long resisted the appointment of any teacher to Tungua, her island in
644 western Ha'apai. John Thomas visited Tungua for her baptism on 12 January
1835 when she took the name Amelia Jane. In later years the Tamaha became blind and so infirm that she was carried to church.(28)

797 It was inevitable that many of those who professed conversion in the mass
771 movement in Ha'apai were little more than Christians in name. Almost too
much had been attempted too quickly by the missionaries. James Watkin and Peter Turner were disturbed because of the continued prevalence of immorality and other habits unworthy of converts. With such a widely scattered group as Ha'apai, closer supervision and the provision of more trained Tongan teachers were needed.

* * * *

797 In Vava'u the evangelization of the population occurred in the same rapid
643 manner as in Ha'apai and again through the influence of Taufa'ahau. At first
634 Finau 'Ulukalala was stolidly opposed to the new faith. His attitude had been
seen in his prohibition against the three Borabora L.M.S. teachers from 1822 to 1830, and he made this policy clear to John Williams when he met him in July 1830. By sending messages and by conversation when he met Taufa'ahau, Finau earnestly endeavoured to dissuade the chief of Ha'apai from accepting Christianity. Both before and after his visit to Lifuka in July 1830 this was evident. Once he added to his request the present of a large canoe which, Taufa'ahau declared, would make good firewood! Seemingly still adamant, Finau, however, was beginning to feel the current of popular feeling moving against him. A few of his people had gone to Ha'apai in their desire to learn the new religion. Taufa'ahau also was relentless in the pressure he exerted on Finau to persuade him to change.

Aleamotu'a Tupou in Tongatapu supported Taufa'ahau in urging Finau to accept the new religion. Finau used the services of a stranded English sailor in Vava'u to write to Nathaniel Turner, at the same time as he replied to one of Aleamotu'a's messages. The sincerity of this strange epistle may well be doubted as it was written on 19 March 1829, a year before he emphasized his hostility to Christian teaching when he met John Williams in Lifuka. The letter to Nathaniel Turner read as follows:—

> "Sir, I am so glad to hear that you are at Tongatapu, teaching my friend Tupou to know the Great God. I hope you will be so kind as to send to Port Jackson" (i.e., Sydney) "for more missionaries to come to my land, to teach me and my people. . . .

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> I am tired of my spirits; they tell me so many lies that I am sick of them. . . . My 797
> island, sir, will turn to the Great God, because I am the only chief on the island; I
> have no one to control me. When I turn, they all turn. To be sure, I did try to take a 643
> ship; but there will be no more of that . . . So no more from me, a wicked sinner. 634
> FINAU (his mark) XXX." (24)

At length Finau sent a message to Taufa'ahau offering to receive a missionary if one came direct from England; this was typical of a Tongan chief's pride and meant that Finau would look askance at anyone like Peter Vi from Ha'apai. Yet it was Peter Vi, who had been Taufa'ahau's emissary in negotiating with Finau, who accompanied Taufa'ahau to Vava'u in April 1831. It was Peter who preached the sermon in the first public Christian service in Vava'u, before Finau, Taufa'ahau, and their entourage.

On the Monday following that initial act of Christian worship, Finau and 797
Taufa'ahau set about their attack on the old religion in Vava'u. Finau never did 634
anything by halves. Placing seven of the principal gods in line, he warned each 776
in these terms: "I have brought you here to prove you. . . . If you are a god, 798
run away, or you shall be burned in the fire which I have prepared." When nothing happened Finau ordered the gods and their houses to be destroyed. Altogether eighteen idol-houses were burnt down. This took three days, and in the prevailing damp weather the smoke hung low over the island, to the dismay of the people who feared that this portended reprisals from the outraged deities. Taufa'ahau lent willing assistance to the exposure of the falsity of the old gods. In the village of Makave he stripped mats and native cloth from a "god", revealing a shell inside; some onlookers laughed and all, it is said, were ashamed. (25)

It was only after this assault by Tongan converts upon the old religion that 797
any European missionary visited Vava'u. John Thomas paid several visits from Ha'apai; on one of these he preached eighteen sermons in nine days. William Cross came in June 1831 and found 1,000 people willing to accept Christianity. In July 1831 two teachers, one from Ha'apai named David Fale, and Paul, a Vava'u man who had been instructed in Ha'apai, were appointed to Vava'u pending the arrival of a resident missionary. (26) They took sheets of hymns and portions of Scripture printed at Nuku'alofa. (Another source gives Jeremiah Kamoto as the name of the second teacher. (27))

The acceptance of Christianity in Vava'u, even under Finau's powerful 797
patronage, was not unquestioned. His half-brother, Lualala, who had been in 184
Fiji for some time and who was politically opposed to Finau, led a party of defiant 669
non-Christians. They built a fort at Otea on Kapa, one of the outlying islands of Vava'u. The forces of Finau and Taufa'ahau besieged the fort. When the brief contest ended the Ha'apai chief restrained Finau from killing any of the defenders. "George would not hear of any being put to death because Christianity teaches us to love our enemies." (28) This act of clemency to Lualala and his followers surprised everyone; but Taufa'ahau and Peter Vi insisted that it was the true Christian attitude. Lualala was expelled from Vava'u and told to return to Fiji, but he went to Tongatapu and attached himself to the Ha'a Havea chiefs, the opponents of Aleamotu'a Tupou. Lualala settled in the fort of Ngele'ia, near Ma'ofanga. Thomas said that Taufa'ahau's destruction of the gods in Ha'apai and Vava'u made the chiefs in Tongatapu fear that he would do the same there but, Thomas wrote, "He does not wish to go to war with the Tongatapu people". (29)

William Cross, then stationed in Tongatapu, was appointed to Vava'u at 797
the beginning of 1832. In January he set sail with his wife in a large canoe lent

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
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by Aleamotu'a. It was an old canoe that proved unmanageable in the storm 797 that struck it between Tongatapu and Nomuka, southern island of the Ha'apai group. During a battering of two days and a night the canoe was driven back, and at dusk on the second day it struck a reef. All the seventy occupants were swept into the sea. Mrs. Cross, a delicate woman, was struck repeatedly by the waves and she died in her husband's arms. He was unconscious when dragged ashore on the small island of Toketoke, near Atata, the island off the north-western tip of Tongatapu. Twenty-one were drowned. Mrs. Cross's body was washed up later at Hihifo and buried at Nuku'alofa. The bereaved missionary had lost all his possessions also. In the month following this tragedy he went alone to his task in Vava'u.

There was a heroic quality in this quiet missionary. After beginning his work in Vava'u Cross went, in May 1832, to the northern island of Niua Toputapu, 180 miles beyond Vava'u, and stayed there seven weeks winning converts. On 797 1 June 1833 Taufa'ahau also went to Niua Toputapu on a passing whaler, together 643 with a teacher who was appointed to that island. The people were surprised to 798 find that Taufa'ahau did not force them to change their religion although he did everything possible to expose the falsity of their idols as he had done in Ha'apai and Vava'u. Watkin afterwards reported (27 February 1834) that the first party 797 to take Christianity to Niua Fo'ou, the island to the west of Niua Toputapu, was menaced by the people according to their custom when any unexpected voyagers approached their lonely island; the Vava'u Christians had muskets but put only powder in them to frighten the islanders and gain a landing. Before long Christianity was firmly established on both these distant outposts of the Tongan group.

On 5 August 1832 Finau was baptized with the name of Zephaniah, together with eight of his children. A large chapel was built at the main village, Neiafu. On 9 August Cross held a service when the first post was driven. About 3,000 people were present at the opening service on 17 September.(30) First, the missionaries, Cross and Turner, entered, then the excited crowd trod on each other and almost pulled down the fence as they rushed to the doors. Vava'u became famous as "the land of chapels".(31) The enthusiastic villagers vied with [368] each other in erecting ornate chapels — a characteristic of Vava'u ever since.

Before the end of the year 1832, 660 people in Vava'u were meeting "in [794] class" and there were 1,012 in the schools. On 12 August 1833 the first Lovefeast [871] in Vava'u was held, with 2,000 present; "the thing was new to the people . . . many wept".(32) The 1833 report for the District showed:

Tongatapu	955 members,	204 on trial,	840 scholars	[794]
Ha'apai	2,000 members,	1,084 on trial,	2,613 scholars	[871]
Vava'u	900 members,	1,500 on trial,	2,252 scholars	

Finau died on 18 February 1833. He had nominated Taufa'ahau as his 643 successor and there was no opposition to Taufa'ahau adding Vava'u to his own 634 territory of Ha'apai. When Taufa'ahau was installed on 30 April all the Vava'u chiefs assented. Peter Turner was present when this occurred.(33) Some years afterwards it was said that Taufa'ahau was intended only to be regent for Finau's young son, Matekitonga, but there was no evidence of Finau having indicated this. Even if it were true, Taufa'ahau had become Tu'i Kanokupolu in 1845 and had thus united all Tonga under his rule, and this took place before Matekitonga had grown to manhood. Captain Peter Dillon, arch-critic of Taufa'ahau and the

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
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missionaries, alleged that Finau's half-brother, Lualala, should have succeeded 643
him; but he was half-Fijian and ineligible on that account, as David Cargill 634
showed in his book.(34)

Shortly after Taufa'ahau's installation as ruler of Vava'u he was rebuked 643
by Peter Turner and suspended from membership because he had taken some of 595
the deceased Finau's attractive wives. This was in accordance with old pre- 795
Christian customs but was a grave offence against Christian rules of morality and monogamy. Taufa'ahau told Turner that he had liberty to take the wives of his predecessor in the title and that, in any case, "Solomon was more guilty than he".(35) The missionaries felt that any favouritism toward Taufa'ahau would be fatal; already they noticed that some of the Vava'u people were being affected by his example. Turner wrote, "Taufa'ahau was at first offended and seemed to kick against necessary discipline".(36) Afterwards he confessed his fault and penitently asked to be readmitted to membership. When he was again a Church member he was married to Lupe Pau'u (Salote) according to Christian rites on 27 March 1834. He became a class-leader and local preacher on 9 October 1834.

An indication of the mass movement can be seen in the record of baptisms 795
which followed many weeks of instruction. For instance, in Vava'u 240 men were baptized at one service on 25 May 1834, 213 females on 4 June, and on 18 June, 119 children of parents already baptized. The records in Ha'apai were similar. At the same time the work of translation was proceeding, and in 1834 [213]
the complete Gospel of Matthew was printed.

To cope with their expanding duties the ranks of the missionaries were 797
augmented by the arrival of Charles Tucker, John Hobbs and David Cargill. It is strange that the names of Cargill and Tucker appeared in the British Conference Minutes in both 1832 and 1833 as appointments for Fiji but nothing was done to give effect to this.

A special District Meeting on 11 June 1834 reported that Tongan teachers had been successful in the evangelizing of Niua Toputapu and Niua Fo'ou. Peter Turner offered at this meeting to serve on Niua Toputapu but he could not be spared from his appointment at Vava'u. At this time the stationing in the Tonga District was —

Tongatapu:	Thomas, Cross, Hobbs.
Ha'apai :	Watkin, Tucker.
Vava'u :	P. Turner, Cargill.(37)

The second missionary in Vava'u resided at the inland village of Feletoa where the printing press was located after its removal from Nuku'alofa. Later, the second missionary in Ha'apai was stationed on the small western island of Tungua, the residence of the Tamaha.

Charles Tucker, an unassuming type, was born in 1808 at Horton, Glamorgan, Wales. He served for eight years, until 21 May 1841. His wife was energetic and capable; her teaching ability impressed visiting sea-captains who saw her schools.

John Hobbs arrived with Tucker on 21 June 1833. He was born in 1800 at St. Peters, Isle of Thanet, Kent. He first served in New Zealand together with Nathaniel Turner, from 1824 to 1827, and he resumed his ministry in New Zealand after leaving Tonga on 8 February 1838. He did valuable work in Tonga

[1833 - 1839]

797 in translation and printing. His ability in printing was regarded by Thomas as superior to Woon's.

David Cargill, M.A. (Aberdeen), who arrived in Tonga on 24 January 1834, was an outstanding member of the mission staff in both Tonga and Fiji. He was born in 1809 at Brechin, Forfar, Scotland. His family were Presbyterians as his descendants have been. It was while he was a student at King's College, Aberdeen University (1826-30), that he attended a Wesleyan revival service in the city and experienced an evangelical conversion. He graduated Master of Arts and offered for service in Wesleyan Missions. His bride, Margaret Smith, of Aberdeen, became a Wesleyan before they were married on 6 September 1832. In Vava'u and Fiji she nobly supported her brilliant husband. At the age of only thirty, after bearing six children of whom four survived, she died at Rewa, Fiji, on 2 June 1840. Cargill was the finest linguist among the early missionaries; with Cross, he became the pioneer to Fiji on 12 October 1835.

The total staff of seven missionaries in 1834 was not too large for the growing Church in Tonga; and suddenly in that year a sensational revival broke out. This had important results for the future of Wesleyan Missions in Tonga, Fiji and Samoa.

797
781 Extraordinary scenes, first in Vava'u and afterwards in the rest of the group, occurred in the early flush of the people's contact with the new faith. It was not surprising that this sudden onset of a "Pentecost", as the missionaries regarded it, began in Vava'u with its emotional people. Nevertheless, the missionaries believed it to be an answer to their own prayers; they had been concerned about the nominal nature of the acceptance of Christianity by most of the people and they had prayed for evidences of sincere penitence and a real change of life.

On the afternoon of a week-day, 23 July 1834, a local preacher, Isaiah Vovole, was preaching at the small village of 'Utui. His text was Luke xix. 41-42, Christ's lament over the city of Jerusalem that had rejected his warnings. During the sermon the people were so moved that they began to cry out aloud for God's forgiveness until their voices drowned the preacher's. Only nightfall stopped the service. The people of 'Utui stayed awake all that night waiting for the morning when a prayer-meeting followed.(38) From village to village the exciting scenes were repeated until in less than a week all Vava'u was aflame. As many as six prayer-meetings were held in some villages in one day. Homes as well as churches were used for the purpose. Schools were suspended for the time being.

On the second day Peter Turner went to 'Utui to inquire into what had happened in Isaiah Vovole's service and to encourage the people in seeking pardon for their sins. Taufa'ahau had heard about the excitement and wondered whether it was "something evil"; but Turner told him that it was another Pentecost and also that it resembled what had sometimes occurred in the early days of the Wesleyan revival in England.

For two weeks services of this nature continued. As many as 200 people lay unconscious on the floor of the church at Feletoa (39), and this was not exceptional. The sound of weeping in the churches often could be heard at some distance. It was usual for weeping to be followed by shouts of joy with the consciousness of forgiveness. More than 1,000 professed conversion in the first few days. Turner wrote,

> "While sitting in our house we heard, on all sides, persons praying and crying for mercy. It was almost impossible to sleep, such was the earnestness of persons crying for mercy, and others coming to tell us that they had obtained the blessing of salvation." (40)

[1834]

797 781 Turner, a revivalist preacher, always tended towards emotionalism. Though he in particular welcomed the movement he was not alone in his opinions. The scholarly David Cargill, newly arrived in Vava'u, and Charles Tucker in Ha'apai, viewed the spiritual avalanche in the same way as Turner. Cargill's statements are illuminating —

> 797 781 "In the church at Neiafu several hundreds of people simultaneously cried aloud for pardoning mercy. . . . Taufa'ahau seemed utterly confounded, and was seen at one time kneeling, and at another standing and surveying the congregation, and apparently irresolute how to behave. . . . Nearly 400 people were on their knees." (41)

643 The queen swooned and had to be carried out by the king and others. In the middle of that night the king sent a message to Peter Turner telling him that, while he and the queen were praying together in their bedroom, they felt the Spirit of God in such a manner that they experienced "an overwhelming sense of their guilt and misery in the sight of God, and they were unable to sleep". The missionaries and leading church-members had been praying for Taufa'ahau since his lapse into polygamy in the previous year. His conversion took place at a prayer-meeting on 31 July. Cargill reported,

> "The king fell on his knees on a mat in his pew, trembling and literally roaring. . . . Being at length enabled to exercise faith in the merits of the Redeemer, he exultingly exclaimed, 'The Lord has pardoned my sins'." (42)

This statement greatly affected the missionaries, the teachers, and the congregation of about 500. Since then, Cargill added, the king was "a humble, devoted man of God". He was admitted to the office of local preacher on 9 October 1834 and preached his first sermon at Makave on 17 October. "Many wept for joy" when they heard Taufa'ahau preach for the first time. When a new chapel was opened at Neiafu on 10 August 1836, the king preached in an English suit of clothes (the missionary, Stephen Rabone, reported). His text was the same as at the opening of the chapel at Lifuka in 1835 — Solomon's prayer at the dedication of the temple in Jerusalem.

797 781 One of the many hundreds converted in the 1834 revival was the former Borabora teacher, Taute, who was baptized Matthew, and became pastor-teacher at the village of Makave.

Meanwhile the "holy epidemic" quickly spread to Ha'apai. In a few days 2,000 there professed conversion. Tucker reported that he had to close the first revival service when daylight faded and that there were hundreds waiting for the resumption of worship at dawn when "some hundreds were obliged to remain in the chapel-yard" outside a crowded church. As many as five services were held in one day, 19 September.(43)

797 781 184 798 In Tongatapu the situation was different. Whereas no heathen were left in Vava'u and Ha'apai they were in the majority in Tongatapu. Notwithstanding this, the revival affected Tongatapu, though to a lesser extent than the northern islands. There was fierce opposition to Christianity, especially from "Mu'a, seat of the devil's government", as John Thomas termed it.(44) During the time of the revival in Tongatapu four chapels were burnt down by the non-Christian party, gardens were plundered, and many Christians were obliged to assemble in Nuku'alofa as a city of refuge. The District Meeting of the missionaries had to be postponed because of the hostility.

797 781 What should be said of this "Pentecost"? It came like refreshing showers to the missionaries who even wondered whether the world outside Tonga was

[1834-1847]

797 781 experiencing a similar visitation. It is natural to point to the Tongans' excitable temperament and also to the guilt-complex which the preaching of those days tended to produce. This does not explain everything. There was an undoubted change of behaviour in many of those who professed conversion in 1834. Their new and consistent pattern of living could not be attributed to transient emotionalism even though the effect soon faded with many others. Some of the converts became stalwart teachers, not only in Tonga itself, but in Fiji and Samoa; and some of these, in Fiji, passed through fires of persecution. Joel Bulu can be taken as a conspicuous illustration. His published life-story tells of a highly emotional conversion in Vava'u in June 1834, immediately before the revival itself broke out. The psychological details, the release from fear and guilt, the newly-found joy, can be analysed critically, but the result was a life of unswerving fidelity and sacrifice in this transformed Tongan who became Fiji's greatest missionary.

It is true that the 1834 experience disposed missionaries to expect a repetition. Peter Turner, after scenes of a similar kind in Samoa (1835-39), returned to Vava'u, and in 1846 experiences like those of 1834 took place under his leadership. On 4 February, 1846, he wrote that 529 people had been converted and that the chiefs had pardoned all lawbreakers — except those who had set houses on fire (an outbreak of arson had preceded the revival). Peter Turner's study was then a place of prayer for many penitents. Prayer-meetings were sometimes held at 5.30 a.m., 5 p.m. and from 8 to 10 p.m. on the same day.(43) Shortly afterwards, Walter Lawry visited Tonga as General Superintendent. He was disposed to disparage this revival (as did Stephen Rabone, a fellow-missionary), and at the District Meeting of 1847, over which Lawry presided, Turner came under criticism for what Lawry called the "unholy excitement" attending his ministry in Vava'u.

The Wesleyan Church in Tonga accepted as normal and desirable this emotionalism which was so vividly seen in the 1834 revival. Most of the missionaries sincerely encouraged it, believing that these emotional scenes were evidences of the Holy Spirit's converting power. Not all of them seemed to realize how easily the natural feelings of the Tongans could be aroused and how transient the experience could be in many cases.

797 781 795 794 However, the immediate benefits of the 1834 revival were striking. Membership soared although the missionaries were careful to receive only those who attended "class" and who gave proof of their conversion by changed conduct. Even with these requirements the District Meeting at the beginning of 1835 reported an increase of 3,602 members, making a total of 7,838. Ha'apai showed 3,448, Vava'u 3,061, Tongatapu significantly only 929, Niua Toputapu 400.

797 The Church in Vava'u felt a special responsibility for the two Niuas. In 1835 a party of 150 people went in two boats to Niua Fo'ou; seventy of them were lost in one boat. In another voyage forty were lost, and these included the senior teacher appointed to Niua Fo'ou; his body was washed up, still clutching his Bible. The District Meeting on 22 October 1836 appointed a missionary, John Spinney, to Niua Fo'ou; his health, unfortunately, was most precarious and he died, of tuberculosis, not long afterwards, without taking up this appointment or any other in the islands.

Niua Toputapu benefited from Peter Turner's visit of five months under special circumstances. He had left Vava'u on 15 January 1835 to take up his new appointment in Samoa. To the dismay of John Thomas, Turner set out in a boat of only 17 tons, with his wife, five teachers and fifteen other Tongans. The little craft ran into a hurricane before it reached Niua Toputapu after a full week of danger and exposure. Turner recorded that during these experiences the Tongans, huddled on the gale-swept deck, sang hymns and were remarkably cheerful. He and his wife were too weak to stand, let alone walk, when they reached Niua Toputapu. While waiting for a better vessel to call he preached, taught, and baptized the leading chief and his wife and many others including 200 children; he also married 290 couples. There were 557 meeting in class on Niua [794] Toputapu when Turner went on to Samoa and two chapels had been built during the five months.

A conspicuous result of the revival of 1834 was the decision of the District Meeting on 2 January 1835 to send William Cross and David Cargill to Fiji and Peter Turner to Samoa. Fiji already appeared on the British Conference station-sheet, but not Samoa. However, the District Meeting relied on the report of the Missionary Committee in London desiring everything possible to be done to establish a Mission in Samoa.(46) In extending their spheres of labour the missionaries were fulfilling the hopes that John Thomas himself had expressed — as long ago as 28 June 1829, when he looked forward to the spread of Wesleyan Missions to Fiji and Samoa, and again on 12 July 1831, when he wrote: "Tonga will be the key to very many islands in these seas".

Unfortunately for Tonga, by these decisions the missionaries were depriving their own Church of the much-needed consolidation of the results of the revival as well as failing to provide enough well-equipped teachers and future ministers. Such was the enthusiasm in the Tongan Church that there was no lack of volunteers for Fiji and Samoa, and the best teachers were sent. The Chairman, John Thomas, does not seem to have sufficiently realized the necessity for training and retaining indigenous leaders for Tonga. Furthermore, the staff in Tonga was weakened through sending three senior missionaries to Fiji and Samoa. The arrival of new men could not compensate for the loss of capable leaders like Cross, Cargill and Turner. Charles Tucker, after little more than one year in Tonga and with an imperfect knowledge of the language, was left in charge of Ha'apai single-handed, with a church of 3,500 members scattered through that group.

With the exception of a large part of Tongatapu where political circumstances complicated the position, the Tongan nation had been swept into Christianity in little more than five years. Everywhere, except in Tongatapu, the old religion seemed to have collapsed almost at a touch. For this, the influence of Taufa'ahau and Finau in Ha'apai and Vava'u, and, to a lesser extent, Aleamotu'a in Tongatapu, was largely responsible. Thomas West, the missionary who reviewed the history before and during his period of service (1846-55) in his book(47), assessed the reasons behind the change in the nation:—

> "We have seen, by what took place in Vava'u on the introduction of Christianity, how much the priestly craft, and the whole system of lies which it propagated and sustained, depended upon the countenance of the civil powers. No sooner was their protection withdrawn, than the whole fabric of heathenism collapsed and crumbled into ruin. It had no deep-seated and inherent vitality of its own, which could enable it to maintain its authority as a purely religious system. When left by the political power to its own resources, it fell at once, like Dagon before the ark of God. Hence the cause, in a secondary sense, of the rapid spread of the Gospel throughout the whole of these islands. And, although heathenism made a stand for years in Tongatapu, yet that was owing to political conditions, and not because of any inherent strength in heathenism itself."

[ca. 1834]

West could have said even more, had he realized the trend. The facts showed 797
that, at every stage, the influence of the chiefs was, in the final analysis, 622
determinative of events. The chief's attitude decided the substitution of Christianity 565
for the old religion, and the form of Christianity that was accepted (Protestant
or Roman Catholic); also, to some extent, the form of church government within
the Church and even its relation to the parent body.

The early missionaries left the "chiefly Church" as a legacy of mixed value to their successors. As Richard Amos wrote to Rabone, Missionary Secretary, on 27 February 1857, the Wesleyan Mission in Tonga suffered from too much deference to a chief and too much dependence on a chief.

After the sensational successes of 1834 the missionaries felt the pressing need 797
to develop a Christian conscience and consistent conduct among their converts.
It was their misfortune to be confronted with formidable opposition that sprang
up among an influential section of non-Christian chiefs and their followers in
Tongatapu. The period, 1835-40, was unsettled, both politically and religiously, 669
by war.

Footnotes:

(1) Turner, J. G., *The Pioneer Missionary*, p.103. 113

(2) Gilford, *Tongan Society*, p.348; West. *Ten Years in South Central Polynesia*, p.364, for Peter Vi's *Narrative*.

(3) Cross, W., *Journal*, 1 July 1830.

(4) Williams, J., *Narrative of Missionary Enterprises in the South Sea Islands*, pp.270-8, 1839 edition.

(5) Watkin, J., *Journal*, 1830-9, 28 March 1832. A.843. M.L.S.

(6) Rowe, G. S., *A Pioneer — Memoirs of Rev. J. Thomas.*

(7) Watkin, J., *Journal*, 1830-9, 4 August 1834. A.834. M.L.S.

(8) Williams, J., ibid, pp.277-8, 1839 edition; Williams and Barff, *Journal*, 8 July 1830. A.403. M.L.S.

(9) Peter Vi's *Narrative*, in West, *Ten Years in South Central Polynesia*, pp.367-8.

(10) Thomas, J., *Journal*, ibid, 5 August 1830; *Journal of Pacific History*, Vol. III, p.6.

(11) Thomas, J., *Diary and Letter-book*. A.1959. M.L.S.

(12) Thomas, J., ibid, 7 August 1831: M.M.S. records, 7 August 1831. Microfilm 43. M.L.S.

(13) Watkin, J., *Journal*. A.834-5. M.L.S.

(14) In 1832 Taufa'ahau had discarded one of his polygamous wives, a Samoan, and sent her [543]
back to her country. Evidently she had been baptized and named Salata (Salote). There [595]
is nothing to indicate any contact between her and Taufa'ahau after her return to Samoa.
His subsequent promotion of Wesleyanism in Samoa was due to his denominational [797]
interests and not because of this rejected Samoan wife. (See, contra, Garrett, John, *Journal
of Pacific History*, Vol. 9, p.65 and footnote. Also, L.M.S. *Journals*, 6 November 1832,
Box 7, M.L.S.)

(15) Thomas, J., ibid. A.1959. 12 July 1831.

(16) Turner, P., *Journal*, Vol. 1, p.67. B.301. M.L.S.

(17) Watkin, J., *Journal*. A.834-5. M.L.S.; Turner, P., *Journal*, Vol. 1. B.301. M.L.S.

(18) Watkin, J., *M.N.* — 21 March 1833.

(19) Thomas, J., *Diary and Letter Book*. A.1959. M.L.S.

(20) Thomas, J., ibid.

(21) Watkin, J. to Turner, N., 30 October 1835.

(22) Rabone, S., *Journal*, 20 February 1838. Set 47. M.O.M.C.

(23) M.M.S. *Records*, microfilm 43, M.L.S.; Turner, Peter, *Journal*, Vol. 10. B.309/1847. M.L.S.

(24) *Missionary Records*, microfilm Set 42. FM.1433-3; Farmer, S., *Tonga and the Friendly Islands*, pp.171-2.

(25) Turner, P., *Missionary Papers*, 49-50. A.1506. M.L.S.

(26) Thomas, J., *Diary and Letter Book*, 12 July 1831. A.1959. M.L.S.

(27) Peter Vi's *Narrative*, in Collocott, *Papers*, 207-2. M.L.S.

(28) Turner, P., *Journal*, 21 August 1831. B.301. M.L.S.

(29) Thomas to Committee, 15 March 1834. A.2838. M O.M.C.

(30) Turner, P., *Journal*, Vol. 1. B.301. M.L.S.

Chapter VIII.

THE 1835-40 CIVIL WARS — OR WARS OF RELIGION?

The intermittent wars in Tongatapu from 1835 to 1840 brought criticisms 797 against the missionaries and Taufa'ahau. There were tragic events during these 669 years, and some of the criticisms had justification while others were wild and unfounded.

Some writers, both contemporary and later, over-simplified the position in 797 regarding the causes of the conflict as either only political or only religious. Basil 669 Thomson (in 1893) gave a one-sided view of the 1835-40 struggle: 114

> "It was a missionary war — a crusade in which the club and the Bible were linked against the powers of darkness."[1] A

Latukefu dismisses Thomson's allegation as an over-simplification and emphasizes that the wars throughout the years were a continuation of the rebellion that had commenced forty years before, the civil war in which the Ha'a Havea chiefs of Tongatapu opposed one Tu'i Kanokupolu after another.(2) As rebels against lawful authority they also opposed the religion which the king had accepted (after 1829); they believed that Christianity would threaten their customs and erode their chiefly power.

The most violent attack upon both missionaries and Taufa'ahau came from Chevalier Dillon in 1838. He denounced John Thomas for inciting Taufa'ahau "by whose means and bloody assistance you undertook to propagate the mild doctrines of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ".(3)

Commodore Wilkes, leader of the U.S. Exploring Expedition in 1840, blamed the missionaries for regarding the war as an opportunity for converting the heathen.(4)

Against this there was the opinion of Captain Erskine, H.M.S. *Havannah*, in 1849, when there was still open opposition to the king's authority. He declared,

> "The objections of the strong heathen party in Tongatapu to join the rest of their countrymen arise more from a political than a religious feeling." (5)

Throughout these years Tongatapu was still largely both non-Christian and 797 in rebellion against Aleamotu'a Tupou, the Tu'i Kanokupolu. His authority was 669 only nominal, except in the Christian districts. Each outbreak of fighting began 643 with the rebels. When Aleamotu'a was attacked he sent for help from George [184] Taufa'ahau in the north.

The missionaries hoped that there would be no war but, when it broke out, they looked upon it as a struggle between light and darkness, with Taufa'ahau championing the cause of "Jehovah of Hosts" and the "deluded" rebels serving the cause of the devil. Thomas could not have foreseen the tragedies that would occur at the sacking of the forts at Ngele'ia and Hule in January 1837, but he sometimes made unfortunate use of the Old Testament narratives of Israel's wars against idolatrous neighbouring nations; and these must have had an effect upon

A /see 14: Thomson, this file -- Analyst/

[1827 - 1839]

Taufa'ahau and his army. Once again, we should make some allowance for 797
the social, intellectual and religious climate of the period while deploring that 669
missionaries did not then interpret the Gospel in the benign terms of the 20th 643
Century. Furthermore, whatever criticisms we may make, we should not overlook the sheer earnestness of these men, the unflagging zeal that had sent them to serve the cause of Christian Missions in Tonga.

Recent research (6) has shown that there was a change in missionary policy 797
after Nathaniel Turner left in 1831. He and William Cross had stressed the New Testament teachings of love, forgiveness of enemies, peace and goodwill. The early lesson-books and selected translations from the New Testament make this clear. At the District Meeting of December 1832, it was decided to publish parts of the Psalms (1-19), Isaiah (1-9), and I Samuel, which included references to the heathen who opposed Israel.(7) John Thomas's journal and correspondence revealed his belief that the Tongatapu heathen were fighting against Jehovah. Not all his sermons were from Old Testament texts, but he chose texts from Joshua and Judges concerning the overthrow of idol-worshippers — after he received news of the main campaign that began on 1 January 1837.(8) It cannot be maintained that Thomas or his colleagues instigated war but they made frequent comparisons between idol-worshippers of Old Testament times and the heathen in Tongatapu who opposed Christianity and who often persecuted its converts.

Thomas and his brethren seem to have been so elated by the rapid conversion of the northern islands and especially the emotional scenes of 1834 that they felt frustrated by the stubborn refusal of most of the chiefs and people in Tongatapu to follow the example of Ha'apai and Vava'u.

One of the new missionaries who came at this critical time seemed particularly harsh in his attitude. He was Stephen Rabone. He became a notable figure in missionary history; experience and better judgement corrected the early aggresiveness and rigidness evident in his journal. Born at Tipton, Staffordshire, in 1811, he arrived in Tonga on 14 June 1836 to begin a term of fourteen years. He was married to the sister of John Thomas whose wife was Rabone's step-sister. His most valuable contributions in later years were his translations. After returning to Australia in 1850 he became General Secretary of the Missionary Society, from 1863 until his death in 1872.

Matthew Wilson who arrived with Rabone was sent, two months afterwards, to support Peter Turner in Samoa. When Turner and he were recalled from Samoa on 23 May 1839, they resumed their ministry in Tonga. Matthew Wilson remained a faithful and effective missionary in Ha'apai and Tongatapu until 21 May 1853. Like Rabone, Wilson kept a useful journal.

Dr. Richard Burdsall Lyth, ordained minister and qualified surgeon, came to Tonga on 12 January 1838 but was transferred to Fiji on 1 July 1839 where he began a distinguished ministry of more than fifteen years.

The events of the 1835-40 period and the comments from the missionaries' journals and letters call for close examination.

* * * *

Soon after they had elected Aleamotu'a as Tu'i Kanokupolu in 1827 the 643
majority of the chiefs in Tongatapu began to show their disrespect, to flout his 669
622

[1835 -1837]

authority and assume independence. On several occasions they plotted to depose 643
him, with expulsion to Ha'apai or Vava'u. 669

At the beginning of 1835 there was a plot to replace Aleamotu'a with Fatu, 622
the chief of Mu'a.[9] Ma'afu, Lavaka, Vaea and Fohe consulted about this but
action was delayed until they communicated with Ata in whose territory of Hihifo
was the place of installing the Tu'i Kanokupolu. These Ha'a Havea chiefs built [712]
their forts at Pea, Ma'ofanga and Houma and, when Aleamotu'a followed with
a fort at Nuku'alofa, they protested. Aleamotu'a replied that his fort was only
for defence and he hoped that it would never be needed. It was built on Veiongo,
or Zion Hill, the site of the fortress in the 1807 war graphically described by
Mariner. The chapel was inside the fort but the missionaries' dwellings were 797
outside. Because of the danger of attacks, Watkin and Tucker sent their families 669
to Vava'u. This safety precaution of 1835 was repeated in 1837 and 1840. John
Hobbs, another missionary, reported that the rebels boasted that "an axe had
been sharpened to take off Watkin's head"[10]; the wives and children of the
mission families were mentioned in murderous threats, idle boasting though these
may have been.

It was opportune for the Nuku'alofa mission families that the American schooner *Blackbird* came on 25 September 1835 and was able to convey the women and children to Vava'u. It was this ship which then took the pioneers, Cross and Cargill and their party, to Lakeba, Fiji; it left Vava'u on 8 October 1835. Some weeks later, after a truce had been made in Tongatapu, the mission families returned to Nuku'alofa.

The unsettlement in 1835 was aggravated by a dispute at the village of 622
Nukunuku, west of Nuku'alofa. The chief, Tu'ivakano, who had professed 797
Christianity, recanted in order to save his title. When he again decided to be a 669
Christian he was made prisoner in his own town. The Christians in Tongatapu 798
wanted to force his release but the missionaries persuaded them not to take any
action that would precipitate open warfare. Afterwards, Tu'ivakano, now deposed
from his title, joined the loyalists at Nuku'alofa.[11]

A condition of the 1835 truce was that religious liberty should be enjoyed 798
on both sides. This was not fulfilled by the rebels who continued their attacks 669
on Christian parties working in their plantations or travelling along the roads.

The situation worsened in 1836. Three chapels were burnt down. One day [797]
in April the missionaries' families were suddenly obliged to take refuge inside
the Nuku'alofa fort when an attack was imminent. On 23 December 1836 Watkin [643]
wrote to Stephen Rabone, in Vava'u, stating that the rebels were again trying to
depose Aleamotu'a and "replace him with someone more favourable to their
views and practices".[12]

Tucker recorded three causes of the disputes — the rebellion against Aleamotu'a, the persecutions of Christian converts, and the opposition to Christianity itself.[13] He stated that daily prayers were being offered "for the poor, infatuated, rebellious and persecuting heathen that they would submit to the powers that be and thereby save themselves from destruction". He reported also that King George had sent a message to the chiefs in Tongatapu that he did not want to go to war with them.[14] Aleamotu'a had appealed to Taufa'ahau for support because of the rebels' numerical strength and aggressiveness.

The year 1837 opened ominously. Taufa'ahau arrived on 1 January. The 669
rebels, believing that the Christians would not fight on that day, a Sabbath, planned 643
798

[1837]

669 A call for surrender was first made, with an offer of pardon for all persons within
643 the fort. When this was refused, the whole of the 300 inhabitants of Hule, men,
721 women and children, were killed.

727 Taufa'ahau was said to have been affected by finding that there had been
798 a plot to ambush him on his way to Hule, and also that he was angered by seeing his brother fall, it was thought, mortally wounded, at the opening of the attack against Hule.(22) These things were irrelevant to the fact of the indiscriminate slaughter, as described by Watkin,

> "Hule was taken and sacked, with a tremendous number of persons perishing after offers of mercy had been rejected and derided, and the chief (Taufa'ahau) dared to do his worst." (23)

The dispossessed chief of Nukunuku, Tu'ivakano, with his followers, took a leading part in the carnage; their desire for revenge could not be an excuse. Taufa'ahau, in charge of operations, bore the main responsibility in any case.
669 Rabone, reporting from Vava'u, made these callous comments:

> 643 "Most awful news. Not less than 300 men, women and children have been murdered in
> 721 the taking of the fort at Hule. . . . It does appear that the Tongan heathen are given up
> 727 to a reprobate mind and are bent upon their own destruction for they have positively refused to lotu (= worship) and madly preferred dying in their sins." (24)

797 To some of the missionaries the slaughter had been "a visible mark of God's
798 displeasure against sin". Rabone wrote that Hule had been "an awfully wicked fortress but judgement has overtaken them".(25) Such statements are incomprehensible to us today.

Tucker, who referred to the war as a rebellion against Aleamotu'a with the design of expelling him, commented on 28 January:

> "We hope that the Lord will interpose on behalf of the besotted and deluded heathen that they will submit to lawful authority and no longer persecute the followers of Jesus Christ." (26)

He had not heard about the horrors of Hule when he wrote this. However, he was conscious of the fanaticism that gravely affected Taufa'ahau in this period. On 22 March 1837, Tucker wrote that Taufa'ahau had told him that —

> "he had no intention whatever when marching to Hule to destroy men, women and children but gave orders to spare them; but in a moment it came into his mind to put all to the sword — he said he believed it was a just judgement of God upon the people of that place." (27)

Watkin's comment does not palliate the offence —

> "The heathen have indicated that they would show no mercy. This fact induced the Christians to show no quarter on one or two occasions during the war, and which I deeply regret." (28)

After making every allowance for the complicated causes of the war and the prevailing excitement, the sacking of Hule is the most deplorable section of Tonga's history since Christianity entered the islands.

797 John Thomas, the chairman of the mission, commented, on 15 January, when he received the first news of the fighting in Tongatapu,

> "The news is very distressing. We had hoped there would have been no war." (29)

Nevertheless, his journal and letters show how he had compromised himself and how he was affected by Old Testament incidents. Writing to his parents on 2 February, he said,

> "We would have preferred the conversion and not the death of the heathen. They have preferred darkness to light 'because their deeds are evil'. The obstinate unbelief of the

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> Jews was the cause of their being destroyed by tens of thousands if not hundreds of thousands. It is very painful to see our dear people taken away from their peaceful dwellings to go to war and yet so satisfied of the goodness of their cause. . . . We have heard nothing for the last three weeks. but hope all is well, and God will continue to interpose on behalf of His cause." (30) 797

When, after writing this, he received news of the shocking slaughter at Hule, one would have expected a reaction of horror. However, it seemed as if he was obsessed with the comparison with Israel's victories. On 19 February he preached from Judges 5: 31, "So let thine enemies perish, O Lord, but let them that love thee be as the sun when it goeth forth in his might".(31) His comment on Hule, on 24 February, was,

> "Those who set themselves against the Lord and his anointed had been so utterly overcome that the people in eight or ten other forts had fled before any attack." (32)

At Pea there was no repetition of the fighting at Hule. Rabone wrote on 669
21 February, 798

> "Our people would have taken the fortification but received orders from the king (Taufa'ahau) not to do so." (33)

Again he wrote, on 3 March,

> "King George is waiting with uncommon patience to know their determination." (34)

A truce prevented a conflict at Pea.

Another non-Christian centre, Ma'ofanga, was treated drastically. Both Thomas and Rabone referred to the destruction of the sacred grove at Ma'ofanga by Taufa'ahau's army. The trees were cut down, some used as firewood for cooking food, and pieces of others brought back to Vava'u as trophies. Rabone remarked that in former times the mere touching of these trees was believed to cause death.(35) The Christians felt that their action exposed the falsity of heathen claims for the grove, but it added to the anger of those who still venerated these places.

A special allegation against Taufa'ahau came from a son of Charles Simonet, 669
the deserter from D'Urville's ship in 1827. The younger Simonet, about fifty 643
years later, declared that Taufa'ahau had brutally beaten to death a girl at Hule 727
with the butt-end of his musket when the elder Simonet, who was present, had refused to kill her.(36) The source of this allegation makes it suspect, especially when made so many years after the war of 1837. Taufa'ahau had been responsible for enough barbarity that year without having this inhuman act also charged against him.

From the same source came a story that the bodies of slain rebels were 669
placed by the victors outside the missionary Watkin's house at Nuku'alofa.(37) 727
There was no truth in this. It seems to have been a confusion with the fact that 797
the heads of rebels were placed outside Aleamotu'a's house after the sacking of Ngele'ia.

Thomas still showed a strange insensitiveness as when reporting the events 669
of the war to the Committee in London, on 19 April 1837 — 798

> "The war is now ended. The heathen have been made to know that they are but bad men and that the Lord reigneth. A few hundred have fallen amongst the heathen and a number of our people have been killed but they have died in a good cause. We shall now, I judge, gain access to the whole of Tonga (= Tongatapu). King George is conqueror but he gives all the praise to the Lord." (38) 797

In April Thomas came from Vava'u and visited the non-Christian chiefs, Fatu at Mu'a, Ma'afu at Vaini, and Ata at Hihifo. He found them, he said,

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"smarting under the wrath of God".(39) He took every opportunity to plead with 669
them to accept Christianity. He declared that "it had been not so much a war 798
against man as against God".(40) 797

The terms of peace offered to the defeated chiefs, and accepted by them, 728
were — to cease rebelling against the king, Aleamotu'a Tupou, not to persecute 669
Christian converts, and to give liberty of conscience in religion (this to apply to 798
both sides).(41) 622

When peace was made and the chiefs came to make their submission to the Tu'i Kanokupolu, wearing the traditional *ifi* leaves as tokens of surrender, Thomas said he wept to see so many chiefs,

> "sheep for whom the Great Shepherd gave His life and who had opposed God and were now in distress".(42)

All the rebel leaders were pardoned by Aleamotu'a and given their place in the kava ring as a proof of peace. Lavaka, the chief of Pea, was the only one to refuse submission although he did not continue fighting. In late April, Rabone reported hundreds of men were returning to Vava'u after the ending of hostilities.

A special District Meeting, on 4 May 1837, had to deal with a charge 797
against Watkin, who confessed to a misdemeanour and left the district. His brethren who had highly esteemed him were greatly shocked; they recommended Watkin to the mercy of the Committee in London.(43) Hobbs and Rabone offered to pay Watkin's travelling expenses to England.(44) The mantle of God's forgiveness could have been cast over Watkin but, unfortunately, the Frenchman, Simonet, gave a magnified account of the incident. Watkin's subsequent record speaks for itself. In New Zealand and Australia he continued his ministry with fidelity and success. Soon after leaving Tonga he wrote the appeal, "Pity poor Fiji", which had a remarkable effect in British Wesleyan circles and led to the sending of greater support to the struggling mission in Fiji. In 1869 Watkin visited Tonga as a deputation from the Australian Church, and this in itself was incompatible with the allegation of a grave offence of which Watkin had not been guilty. Three of his sons became Wesleyan ministers; one of them, Jabez Bunting Watkin, born on 31 March 1837 at Lifuka, Ha'apai (where Mrs. Watkin had gone for safety during the war), gave lifelong service to Tonga.

In his reports to the Committee on 13 and 23 June, Thomas showed deeper concern about Watkin's case than the savage events of the war. His statement regarding the war was,

> "I am happy to have it in my power to inform you that the war in Tonga is ended, much to the honour of the true religion, and our good king George Taufa'ahau. . . . We have now opened places for preaching at all the principal heathen settlements in Tonga, and there is every prospect that in a short time all Tonga will turn unto God." (45)
>
> "The war has ended so much to the honour of Jehovah of Hosts and his glorious cause in these seas, our way being open to reoccupy Hihifo, also other heathen settlements. . . . The good efforts of this successful war with the heathen and their gods by our Christian kings and their people will be felt in all the islands of these seas, and that in consequence of Tongatapu having been conquered by the Ha'apai and Vava'u Christians thousands will turn unto God. As even the heathen themselves say, God, the true God, fought against them in the war and hence they had no courage and fell before the Christians like chaff." (46)

When peace enabled the work at Hihifo to be recommenced Rabone was appointed to this place by the District Meeting. He took up residence on 26 June 1837, occupying the mission house that had been built by Thomas in 1826

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and not used for seven years after he went to Ha'apai in 1830. This house stood 797 outside Ata's fortress. Rabone's relationships with Ata and the non-Christian people of Hihifo were friendly although, later, he stupidly offended them by shooting a "pigeon", probably a flying fox, the totem-bird of Kolovai, the leading village in Hihifo. Fo'ui was the Christian refuge for the district while Kolovai was the heathen fortress. 'Ahome'e, chief of Fo'ui, became a Christian at this time, and his conversion greatly annoyed the non-Christian party. Before the fighting in 1840 Rabone had removed to Nuku'alofa, and the mission house at Hihifo was unoccupied again.

On 17 August Taufa'ahau visited Hihifo and "exhorted all parties to be at peace".(47) He declared,

> "Before the last war I told Lavaka and Fatu that, if they did not mind and desist, they would be taken. They were, and their bones lie in the scorching sun. I tell you the same." (48)

It was true that many of the followers of Lavaka and Fatu had been killed with the Nukunuku defenders of Hule and that many bodies had not been buried. Rabone, on 27 September, recorded that he had visited Hule on his way from Hihifo to Nuku'alofa, and had

> "counted twelve skulls in a circumference of three square yards. . . . Scores have been buried but many remain as visible marks of God's displeasure against them." (49)

Such a comment and the neglect to bury some of the fallen foes indicated gross disrespect for which Taufa'ahau could have been accountable. Again, the callousness of Rabone's words is most disturbing.

Before the end of 1837 (on 11 December), Ata met Taufa'ahau and gave [643] him lavish presentations of food, showing him every mark of courtesy and [622] deference. Although he consistently refused to accept Christianity he told his people not to engage in heavy and noisy labour on the Sabbath in consideration for the feelings of Christians in the district.(50)

* * * *

Charges arising out of the 1837 war were made against the missionaries 177 and Taufa'ahau by the Irish sea-captain, Peter Dillon (1788-1847). Dillon had 797 become conspicuous in the sandalwood and beche-de-mer trade between Fiji and other South Sea Islands and China, and in the timber trade with the East India Company. His early courageous exploits in 1813 in Vanua Levu, Fiji, when attacked by the people of the sandalwood coast, brought him fame. Much more renown came from his efforts to solve the mystery of the disappearance of the gallant French navigator, La Perouse, in 1788. Finally in 1827 Dillon found the relics of that expedition on the island of Vanikoro, in the Santa Cruz group; and, when he took these to France, the Government made him a Chevalier of the Legion of Honour with an annuity of 4,000 francs. Dillon was a nominal Roman Catholic but not at first hostile towards Protestant missionaries; afterwards he advocated the entry of French Roman Catholic priests to various island groups. His antagonism towards the Wesleyans seems to have been due to their strictness, and especially their endeavours to stop his habit of enticing women from the islands to accompany him on his cruises. He took a woman from Tongatapu in 1827, as Thomas reported, and on the same visit he took another from Vava'u. When he called at Vava'u again in 1837, he tried to take the same woman away. In the meantime she had become a Christian and she appealed to Thomas who

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advised her not to go with Dillon. Hobbs stated that Dillon "became infuriated" 177
because of what Thomas had done and refused even to unload the stores which 797
he had brought for the mission.(31)

Dillon received adverse reports of the missionaries' actions and on these he based his charges. Hobbs reported that

> "Dillon received his information on erroneous statements from worthless Europeans in these islands a long time and who were opposed to the missionaries on account of the restraint that was laid upon them by their influence." (32)

When Dillon was about to sail from Vava'u on 20 November 1837 he sent Thomas a letter, of that date, which he afterwards made public.

Dillon alleged that Taufa'ahau had no right to be ruler of Vava'u but was "a bloodthirsty, usurping assassin". He told Thomas,

> "By your religious cunning and jesuitical intrigue you have rendered this monster . . . a complete despot.
>
> "It has also been stated to me that you prevailed on your pliant and bloody friend, the usurper, to invade Tonga last March (sic) with 1,000 armed savages, who called themselves Christians . . . You assured these murderers of success, as they fought in the cause of God who marched in their ranks, although invisible. On arrival of these monsters at Tonga, they slaughtered both man, woman, and child; ripped open the bellies of unoffending females, tore from the womb their bleeding offspring, mutilated the limbs of children and thrust them into the bowels of the innocent bleeding murdered victims of that unhappy day."

He continued,

> "What will the charitable British public think, who contribute their mite to your Society, and on whose bounty you live in luxury in these islands, when they learn that you are propagating the sacred Scriptures, by destroying man, woman, and child in Tonga . . . ?
>
> "It is my duty, as a British subject and a gentleman, to bring these barbarous outrages before the British Government and the House of Commons . . . and His Majesty, the King of France, whose commission I have the honour to hold." (33)

Dillon also declared that Taufa'ahau intended to take a fleet again to Tongatapu, to

> "invite the chiefs of that island to a friendly feast. . . . Each of the Vava'u men are to have a large butcher's knife concealed under his dress; upon a signal being given, they are to pounce upon the unsuspecting, innocent victims, and butcher them to a man."

Dillon charged Thomas with being privy to this. There was not the slightest foundation for this charge; no such plot was ever contemplated by Taufa'ahau or others.

The Wesleyans' reply to Dillon's charges appeared, first, in the answers of the missionary, Hobbs, to the questions sent by the investigating General Superintendent of Wesleyan Missions in Australia and the South Seas, Joseph Orton, who received instructions on 20 September 1838 from the Committee in London to make a full inquiry. He left Australia with the intention of visiting Tonga but was
not able to proceed beyond New Zealand.(34) He sent memoranda, with detailed 177
questions inviting answers to all points raised by Dillon. The written answers were 797
made by Hobbs. Thomas's journal shows that he felt aggrieved by the questions 669
not being directed to himself but to Hobbs.(35) He also wrote in his journal at 798
this time,

> "I have done what I could to prevent our people wishing to go to war or to act towards the heathen in a cruel and bad spirit".(36)

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Hobbs supplied these answers to the main questions:

(1) Regarding Taufa'ahau being ruler of Vava'u — 177

> "Though not the hereditary successor of Finau he could not be viewed as a usurper; he was by request of Finau and the unanimous concurrence of the people made chief and confirmed according to custom by the chiefs." (Q.14) 797 669 798

(2) Regarding the use of the northern forces in Tongatapu, whether —

> "called in by the Christian party to their assistance against the heathen or exclusively a political movement".
>
> [Taufa'ahau] "was called in by Tupou. a Christian king, who was threatened by the heathens. And under these circumstances only exercised his right according to usage as king of Tonga to command the services of George. It is probable that the war originated out of the circumstances of the enmity of the heathens against the Christians, but it is certain that, whatever had caused this state of affairs, and had Christianity had nothing to do with the matter. Tupou would have called for the assistance of George, or any other chief likely to be of service to him, and that the consequences might have been more woeful." (Q.20)

(3) Regarding the charge that the object of —

> "George was to compel the heathen to embrace Christianity".
> [His object was] "not to compel the heathens to become Christians but to assist Tupou against the heathens who were threatening his destruction. Though it is probable that their enmity and opposition arose mainly out of their aversion to Christianity." (Q.21)

(4) Regarding the claim that the missionaries had influenced him —

> "George had long endured provocation from the heathen party of Tonga. And had he not been a Christian would long before have attacked the rebels — and it is likely would have possessed Tonga. It is possible that, had the missionaries positively disapproved of his assisting Tupou. he might have declined doing so; therefore it may at least be viewed as a kind of negative or silent approbation." (Q.22)

(5) Regarding the charge of cruelty, including the killing of women and children —

> "This is partially true. George, having been greatly aggravated during the contest, in the heat of feeling gave directions in storming the place 'not to leave a grasshopper' which is most significant, implying indiscriminate carnage which was lamentably fulfilled to the letter. at least for a time when women and children who came in the way were slain. When this came to the knowledge of the missionaries they told George of the impropriety of such a procedure, and advised to avoid anything of the kind in future. Consequently on his second attack he made overtures of mercy. Repeated messages of peace were proposed. . . . Some of the Christian chiefs were desirous to make the terms of peace the embracing of Christianity from which they were dissuaded by the missionaries." (Q.23) (57)

The frankness of Hobbs's answers to Orton who transmitted them to the Committee in London was not so disturbing to Thomas as the stinging rebuke he received from John Beecham, Missionary Secretary. This unusually sharp reproof came in the letter of 28 March 1838.(58) It referred to Thomas's letters about the war. Its marked disapproval of Thomas's attitude must have been responsible for his pacific policy in later years.

> "The war in Tonga. a subject in itself sufficiently painful, has been attended with circumstances which presented it to our minds as of a very revolting character. . . . The manner in which it was conducted by the king of Vava'u is in some respects highly objectionable. We view with unmingled abhorrence his procedure in storming one of the fortresses, and consigning to indiscriminate slaughter man, woman and child. . . . It was not enough for him to allege that some of those who now fought against him had manifested the greatest ingratitude by taking up arms a second time after he had spared their lives in a former rebellion against his authority. . . . And that he should assign the sudden decision of his mind to an impulse from Heaven which willed that he should destroy the whole fort was an instance of the grossest fanaticism calling for the severest rebuke from his teachers.

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> "There is great reason to apprehend the worst respecting the final condition of the heathen who fell in the war, but it is very objectionable to have unequivocally maintained that they went headlong to perdition. The spirit and precepts of Christianity do not allow us to dogmatize on such matters.
>
> "It has been remarked by some that the style (of your comments) resembled too much that of the sacred historian who narrated the destruction of the Canaanitish nations . . . and that a somewhat different mode of expression and reasoning would have been better suited to the character of Christian missionaries who are expressly sent into all the world to announce the merciful intention of Heaven towards every creature. . . .
>
> "It is our earnest hope that you will take care in your speaking and writing upon the subject for the future to avoid such expressions and remarks as would subject you to animadversions, and that you will faithfully perform your duty with regard to the king and endeavour to lead him to more compassionate views of the character and requirements of Christianity which he himself in fact appears to have better understood in an earlier part of his Christian career. His conduct in the late war in Tonga forms a painful contrast to his humane treatment of the vanquished in the great rebellion at Vava'u."

The results of Beecham's rebuke can be seen not only in Thomas's exercise of Christian compassion afterwards but also in Taufa'ahau's completely changed attitude in 1840 and the final war of 1852.

The Wesleyans' second reply to Dillon's charges came from an examination by the Tonga District Meeting in March 1841. It was not held earlier because this was the first occasion on which the new General Superintendent, John Waterhouse, was able to visit Tongatapu and preside at the District Meeting. Thomas, Rabone and Tucker were present at this Meeting in 1841; the others who had been serving in Tonga in 1837 had left. The District Meeting gave evidence, previously mentioned, that Taufa'ahau was not a usurper but the lawfully appointed ruler of Vava'u. Other main findings were:—

(1) Thomas did not persuade Taufa'ahau to go to Tongatapu, but Aleamotu'a Tupou sent for him when the heathen were preparing war against the Christians. The Tu'i Kanokupolu had the right to demand Taufa'ahau's services.

(2) Taufa'ahau did not go to Tongatapu with the intention of waging war but "on his arrival the heathen immediately commenced their attack".

(3) "The kings acted with marked forbearance . . . and George, complying with the request of Tupou, was, if possible, to act as peacemaker and for this purpose he negotiated with the heathen chiefs for nearly a fortnight, but without success."

(4) "The indiscriminate slaughter . . . met with the marked disapproval of the missionaries and has since been sincerely regretted, and by none more deeply than by King George himself."

(5) "That Mr. Thomas was trying to establish the authority of King George over the Navigators' Islands. No such thing had ever been heard or thought of."

Summing up,

> "The meeting is unanimously of the opinion that a more villainous and unfounded attack has never been made on the character of a Christian minister." (88)

(The District Meeting in 1841 also reviewed the events of the 1840 war which will be mentioned later.)

The third, and final, reply for the Wesleyans came from David Cargill's *Refutation of Chevalier Dillon's Slanderous Attacks on the Wesleyan Missionaries in the Friendly Islands*. This was published in London in 1842. Cargill declared "that the Christians did not take up arms either to propagate their religion or abolish heathenism". Only when other methods failed had they taken up arms to maintain their lawful ruler, Aleamotu'a Tupou. There had been several efforts to assassinate Tupou. The rebels always began the hostilities and they repeatedly

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refused offers of peace. The assault on Nuku'alofa on a Sabbath in January 1837 177
was led by Lualala, the rebel chief from Vava'u; when Dillon had met Lualala 797
in Lakeba, Fiji, he had promised to supply him with arms. Cargill also said that 669
the supporters of Aleamotu'a had made Taufa'ahau their commander as 798
Aleamotu'a was too old to lead them. He emphatically repudiated Dillon's charge
that Taufa'ahau was a "satanic-like monster" and also declared that his former
chairman, John Thomas, was in character the mildest of men.

After this it seems that no further reference was made to the tragedies of
the 1837 war. The truce that was made that year was an uneasy one, but better 728
feeling, on the whole, prevailed for nearly two years. On 14 May 1839, 643
Taufa'ahau's only daughter, Salote, was married to a Christian chief, the Tu'i 644
Pelehake, who had been in Fiji. All parties met amicably at Nuku'alofa for the 585
wedding celebrations. The missionaries who officiated, Rabone and Tucker,
recorded that the *Te Deum* was sung at the service in the chapel on Zion Hill.

* * * *

The regular work of the Mission proceeded in spite of the confusion in the 797
islands. At the District Meeting on 10 August 1839, Tongatapu reported a [794]
membership of 1,208 (a substantial increase), Ha'apai 2,890, Vava'u 4,268. This
meeting of 1839 was mortified by the loss of Samoa as a Wesleyan mission field,
but it recommended as new fields the New Hebrides, New Caledonia, Uvea,
Futuna, Niue, and Rotuma (it had first recommended Rotuma in 1835). There
was no lack of optimism with such a list! (60)

The disputes that continued in Tongatapu were complicated by factors neither political nor religious. This was particularly the case in Hihifo. Rabone, who left the Hihifo mission-house late in 1839 to live alongside Tucker in Nuku'alofa, wrote in December 1839:

> "At Hihifo heathen and Christians cannot agree. We do what we can to keep the Christians right but it is very difficult, inasmuch as their quarrels are principally of a family character." (61)

Rabone's journal of 22 January 1840 also showed the difficulty that the missionaries found in trying to restrain the war-like feelings of their own people who were nominal Christians of only a few years' standing:

> "It seems one of the most difficult things imaginable is to restrain these semi-savages from [181]
> war when once commenced, in fact it would appear that many of them actually delight
> in these scenes of bloodshed; we talk, we write, we promise, we threaten, but the old
> disposition of the people breaks through all."

On 14 January 1840 Ata's followers left the Hihifo fortress and murdered 669
four unsuspecting Christians working in their gardens. Aleamotu'a was visiting 798
Hihifo at that time, trying to effect a complete reconciliation. It was regarded as
unprecedented that an attack should take place while the king was making such
a visit. A party of eighty men was sent from Nuku'alofa to bring the old king
back safely. About the same time Ata besieged Fo'ui, the fort which the Christian
minority in the district had built for their protection. (62)

As in 1837, Aleamotu'a sent a hurried message to Taufa'ahau seeking his 643
help. He also gave Taufa'ahau a site in Nuku'alofa for his own fort; henceforth 669
there were two forts for the two kings. Rabone recorded his fear that 798

> "the awfully sickening scenes of 1837 will in all probability be again exhibited, but we [112]
> are for peace, O Lord, and we beseech Thee to give peace in our time." (63)

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A vessel, *Currency Lass*, called at Nuku'alofa during Wilkes's visit, after five 797
months at sea; it had on board two French Roman Catholic priests bound for 798
Uvea. Wilkes remarked on their not being invited to the mission-house but left on board. He was justified in regarding this as a breach of courtesy and hospitality, although he did not know the sectarian feeling aroused by the attempts already made to place priests at Vava'u, an entirely evangelized island, as well as the tragic religious strife prevailing at Uvea at that time. It was, unfortunately, one of the acts of passive hostility common between Protestants and Roman Catholic missionaries in the Pacific Islands in the mid-19th Century.

Wilkes placed a high estimate upon Taufa'ahau, with his height and athletic 177
build, as well as his deference to Aleamotu'a as Tu'i Kanokupolu. 643

> "He at once attracted all eyes; for, on approaching, every movement showed that he was in the habit of commanding those about him." (75)

Aleamotu'a, on the other hand, spent his time in playing with his grandchildren,
making sinnet (cord from coconut fibre), or dozing. Wilkes was impressed with [142]
the physical appearance and mental alertness of Taufa'ahau's men,

> "some of the finest specimens of the human race that can well be imagined, surpassing by symmetry and grace those of all the other groups we had visited." (76)

He wrote appreciatively of Tucker and still more of Mrs. Tucker, commenting 177
on the success of her school; he thought less favourably of Rabone and believed him to be aggressive. On 4 May Wilkes left for Fiji. Even in his short stay of ten days he had not been on shore every day. He acknowledged his indebtedness to Tucker and Rabone for the descriptions of Tongan customs and traditions which he recorded in his *Narrative*.

Only four days after Wilkes left, attacks were made on the kings' supporters 669
working in their gardens. In the week before the next visitor, Captain Croker, 798
came four old men were killed and their heads cut off as trophies. One night Aleamotu'a and some of his people slept outside the mission-house for its protection against a threatened attack. Rabone write in his *Journal*,

> "O God, we long for that day when Tonga shall be in peace from one end to another. . . . Lord, end these days." (77)

One of the most tragic days in this period was 24 June 1840, when Captain 177
Croker was killed at Pea. First, it is worthy of note that his sloop, H.M.S. 669
Favourite, had brought from Erromanga, New Hebrides, what he believed were 798
the mortal remains of the L.M.S. missionaries, John Williams and William Harris, for burial near the L.M.S. church in Apia, Samoa. It has been felt that the natives on Erromanga either deliberately deceived Croker or misunderstood him and allowed him to take from a cave remains which may not have been those of the missionaries who had been killed on their island on 20 November 1839. The L.M.S. historian in Samoa, Dr. G. A. Turner,(78) believed that the natives did not understand Croker's request because he had no interpreter. From Samoa Croker sailed to Vava'u and Nuku'alofa.

In view of the criticism concerning Croker's intervention and his death, what Thomas as well as Rabone and Tucker actually wrote at the time was important.
Croker called at Vava'u on 10 June 1840. John Thomas, as Chairman of the 177
Mission, asked him to intervene and make peace in Tongatapu. He wrote, 669

> "The state of war was begun by the heathen chiefs against King Josiah . . . All means 798
> used to restore peace having failed . . . we have much reason to fear that the consequences 797
> will be a still further loss of human life, both of heathen and Christians, a circumstance 728
> which we as missionaries deeply deplore but which we have no means to prevent. I do

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> earnestly hope that you will visit Tonga (= Tongatapu) at this critical time and you may 177
> be the means of inducing the heathen to discontinue the war."(79)

Thomas also showed Croker a copy of Dillon's charges against him. The captain 669
was highly indignant with Dillon's "most infamous letter"(80) and said that he 798
would expose the lies on his return to England.(81) The strong sympathy with the 797
missionaries that Croker felt affected his actions in the lamentable event in 728
Tongatapu.

On reaching Nuku'alofa on 21 June, Captain Croker was met by Tucker and Rabone who presented a written request the next day:

> "We strongly implore, as British subjects and Christian missionaries, your protection and assistance on behalf of ourselves and families. In consequence of the civil war which is now raging on this island our lives and property are in great danger day and night. Our premises stand outside the fort and are, consequently, comparatively unprotected; and we have no means at our command of removing to a place of safety. . . . The heathen have tried to fix on a plan to take Nuku'alofa by storm, but have been mercifully prevented. They have repeatedly made incursions, both by day and night, to within a short distance of this place. . . . We earnestly beg you . . . to assist us in the removal of our families to some place of safety."(82)

As the missionaries were criticized for leaving after the defeat at Pea, their request before Croker went there should be remembered.

Aleamotu'a and Taufa'ahau joined with the missionaries in asking Croker to be a peacemaker on the conditions he had drawn up. These were, that all fighting should cease forthwith, all forts of both parties dismantled, and that every man should return to his own village.

On the morning of 24 June the captain took his men and three guns to Pea 177
(a distance of about four miles) and was allowed to enter the fort for a parley. 669
The chiefs in Pea were given only half an hour to consider the terms, Croker 798
apparently thinking that longer time might enable them to get reinforcements from 728
Houma or elsewhere while pretending to be still considering the peace terms. Pea was a strong fort, with an earth-embankment 20 feet high and a trench 40 feet wide, and the only entrance was secured with piled-up coconut trunks. Two runaway English sailors, who had been living with the Tongan rebels for some time, were prominent in the defence of the fort. Croker had placed his carronades within musket-shot of the fort. When the half-hour was nearly over, a sailor, nicknamed Jemmy the Devil, appeared at the gate and asked Croker for a little more time; actually, the chiefs had almost agreed on accepting the terms. Croker, holding his watch, refused to wait. Exactly on time, he ran forward, sword in hand, calling out, "Now, bluejackets, follow me". Instantly the defenders opened fire, both with a carronade at the gateway and muskets through loopholes in the stockade. Almost at once Croker was wounded, but he still gallantly tried to reach the gate before being compelled through weakness to lean against a tree where he was shot again, this time through the heart. Two others were fatally shot and eighteen sailors were wounded. The rest brought all the wounded with their captain's body back to Nuku'alofa, leaving their three guns with the rebels.

Rabone gave a vivid description of the events of those days.

> "21 June. He [Croker] has called here at considerable expense of time and provisions to see if he can render any assistance towards establishing a peace."

> "23 June. Captain Croker is determined to take a force, guns and ammunition, to Pea, and so, in case of their objecting to his terms of peace, to drive them out of their fortress. We fear they [= Croker and his men] may be foolhardy and suffer for it, but we are at a loss what to say or think. . . ."

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> "24 June. O what a day! Captain Croker and his people to the number of 100 or more 177
> left here . . . for Pea. They arrived about 10 o'clock, and soon a message was brought
> here that Captain Croker was admitted into the fortress and that the heathen were 669
> willing to make peace. Scarcely had we given thanks to God in our minds for this 798
> joyful news but we heard the reports of guns . . . We supposed what we after knew 728
> was the case; that the heathen had at first professed willingness to accede to terms of peace, but that their object was something very different from that. But O, what a tale did we soon hear, that Captain Croker had determined on attacking the fortress and himself led the way without first battering at it with his large guns. The heathen waited for them, and Captain Croker was shot dead . . . Two of the men likely to die tonight, 17 or 18 more wounded, among them 1st Lieut. and 3rd Lieut. . . . Our hearts were broken when today they brought the dear captain, wrapped up in coconut leaves . . . O, his poor wife, and 5 or 6 children! . . ."

> "25 June. This morning Mr. Dunlop, 2nd Lieut., came on shore and informed us that the two poor fellows whom we feared concerning were no more and that they and Captain Croker would all be buried on shore this afternoon. We learnt from Mr. Dunlop that Captain Croker had left directions with Mr. Simmons, purser, that in case he should fall at Pea, what to do with his effects on board the vessel and where he wished to be buried. He had chosen to be interred near the chapel, inside the fence, facing the anchorage." [The grave is still to be seen on Zion hill.] "There are many most remarkable circumstances connected with this disaster, which go to show that it would appear Captain Croker had some presentiment of his death. We all remarked his manner on leaving us, we shook hands and he would proceed a few paces, return and again shake hands, then kissed the children . . ." (83)

The brave but imprudent captain was criticized for taking a large force with guns to Pea when his purpose was to offer peace; for placing the guns so close to the fort that the gunners could easily be shot; for not using the guns but relying on a charge of his sailors. Certainly he acted in ignorance or disregard of the strength of the fort and the resolute character of its 400-500 defenders. The rebel chiefs afterwards said that they had conversed with Croker in a friendly manner, that they were willing to accept the terms, and they were surprised when he attacked exactly at the end of the half-hour.(84)

Sir George Gipps, Governor of New South Wales, as the British authority concerned with incidents affecting British subjects as well as British warships in the South Seas, received a report from the acting commander of H.M.S. *Favourite*, Mr. Dunlop, when the sloop arrived at Sydney. Sir George was told that Captain Croker was "induced by the representatives of the Wesleyan Mission resident on the island to endeavour to effect peace, either by conciliation or force".(85) He gave the facts as narrated in the above paragraphs and made no comment in his report to the First Lord of the Admiralty. The Mission's version of the Governor's report was that he had found

> "that the missionaries did in no wise dictate to Captain Croker as to what measures he ought to adopt but were anxious for conciliation." (86)

On 22 August Lieut. Dunlop wrote to Sir George Gipps asking for a military force of about 120 men with two field pieces to be sent to Tongatapu to recover the three guns (two long 6-pounders and one 12-pounder). This request was sent to the Admiralty but no action was taken.(87)

Criticisms were levelled against Rabone and Tucker for removing to Vava'u 797
on H.M.S. *Favourite* after Croker's death. Actually, their predecessors had done 669
the same in 1835 and 1837. Their mission-houses were in an exposed position, 798
the women and children had found it necessary to enter the fort hurriedly when attacks were imminent, and guards had been placed outside the mission-houses

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at night-time. Nevertheless, Rabone, when in Vava'u with his family, noted in 797
his Journal on 18 July,

> "We hear some reports that the kings are displeased at our coming away, but we thought 669
> it prudent so to do, and our brethren all say the same." (58) 798

Thomas recorded that "King Josiah talked of casting us off and sending for missionaries from Tahiti" (= L.M.S.) and of employing a Tahitian Christian then living in Nuku'alofa as his missionary.(59) Evidently this mood soon passed.

At the earliest opportunity Thomas and Tucker came from Vava'u and visited Pea. They were allowed to enter this fort, and others, and to preach to the people within. Thomas was evidently *persona grata* with Fatu, Vaea and other rebel chiefs. He reported to the Committee in London that the heathen chiefs as well as the Christians had urgently asked him to move permanently to Nuku'alofa, and his wife wrote that "the heathen call my husband their *Fakamo'ui* which means saviour or deliverer".(60)

The rebels accepted peace terms on 15 August. Whether the missionaries' 669
persuasions were responsible for this, or whether the rebels' first feelings of 798
elation at the repulse of a party from a British warship had turned to some alarm 728
lest dire punishment be meted out to them by a larger vessel, the result was peace. It was unfortunate that the terms did not include what Croker had realized was essential for continued peace — the dismantling of all forts.

Thomas stated that the rebels admitted that in the 1837 war it was their 669
persecution of the Christians in Tongatapu that began the hostilities, but they said
this was not the case in 1840 and they pointed to Wesleyan chapels standing 798
outside the forts at Mu'a, Pea and Houma, as evidence that they were no longer persecutors. Thomas was also concerned about the conduct of some of the kings' forces. In July 1840 he wrote,

> "I have lifted up my voice like a trumpet against the sins of God's people in wishing to kill the heathen solely because they were heathen. I am compelled to believe that the heathen in Tongatapu have been ill-used by persons professing to be Christians." (61)

He stated that he had impressed upon the kings' forces that they should observe the principle, "from those to whom much is given much will be required". He added, evidently in reference to certain savage acts,

> "The kings and the Christian chiefs were not aware of the facts at the time." (62)

It was because of these things that Thomas asked Taufa'ahau and Aleamotu'a [728]
to call a "fast day of humiliation before God". This was observed in the new fort (Taufa'ahau's) at Kolofo'ou, Nuku'alofa, with many hundreds present and Thomas preaching.(63)

In March 1841, John Waterhouse, General Superintendent of the Missions, 797
visited Tongatapu. Waterhouse (1789-1842) was a Yorkshireman, appointed, with headquarters in Hobart, to supervise the whole of the Wesleyan Missions. He took over these duties from Orton in 1839. He was an experienced and capable minister who had laboured in English circuits for 29 years. Three of his sons became Wesleyan ministers, two of them missionaries in Fiji. No minister has left so many descendants who have served in Australian Overseas Missions as the names of Waterhouse in several generations, as well as Lelean, Churchward, Allen, and Oakley, bear witness. Waterhouse made two extensive tours of the South Seas in 1840 and 1841, each involving an absence of five months from home, and including New Zealand, Tonga (with visits to Niua Toputapu and

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Niua Fo'ou), Fiji, Rotuma, and Uvea. Everywhere the missionaries were encouraged by his wisdom and cheerfulness. Impressive in appearance and eloquent in speech, he gained the respect of chiefs and people. It was from exposure and continuous travelling in the South Seas and Tasmania that his health deteriorated and he died in Hobart, after less than three years' service. 797

Waterhouse first arrived in Vava'u on the missionary ship *Triton* on 24 June 1840; he brought with him two new missionaries, George Kevern (born in Devonport, England, in 1817) and Francis Wilson (born at Wharton Lodge, Bickerton, Yorkshire, in 1812). The *Triton* in 1840 did not call at Nuku'alofa but went direct from Vava'u to Fiji because of the imminent confinement of the wife of Thomas Williams, missionary to Fiji.

On the second voyage of the *Triton*, on 23 February 1841, Waterhouse brought another recruit, William Webb, who was born in 1812 at Botolph, Claydon, near Winslow, Buckinghamshire. Of Webb's eleven years in Tonga seven were spent on the lonely island of Tungua, in western Ha'apai.

When Waterhouse was in Tongatapu (March 1841) he visited Fatu, chief of Mu'a, who had been prominent in the rebellion. Fatu agreed to be reconciled to Aleamotu'a if he would come to see him. Putting his arms around Waterhouse, Fatu said, "You are my son. I want peace; but I am ashamed and afraid to go to Tupou. If he will visit me with you I will humble myself." This was done, with Fatu wearing the traditional token of *ifi* leaves. Waterhouse visited Pea also. He gave his impressions of Taufa'ahau whom he heard preaching, with these expressions — [643]

> "he combined the dignity of a king, the simplicity of a Christian, and the benignity of one called to preach the Gospel of the blessed God." (94)

The District Meeting, with Waterhouse presiding, was held on 23-24 March 1841. The Meeting inquired into the charges by Dillon in connection with the 1837 war, as already detailed. It had before it Dillon's further charges, contained in his letter of 4 December 1840 to Richard O'Farrell, Secretary to the Admiralty. In this letter Dillon criticized Croker for

> "volunteering his services to the Wesleyan missionaries at Tonga to murder and destroy the remnant of the innocent, unoffending natives of these islands".

Dillon had asked the British Government

> "to prevent the captains of men-of-war and the missionaries in future from exterminating the small remnant of Friendly Islanders now remaining. . . . Had Capt. Croker's conditions been complied with, of levelling the walls of the fort at Tonga, the missionary party would have slain every man, woman and child of the besieged, as they had done in March (sic) 1837." (95)

The Meeting dismissed these *ex parte* and distorted charges.(96) It also decided that Rabone and Tucker had been justified in temporarily removing with their families from Nuku'alofa in June 1840.

Waterhouse was seized with the importance of training indigenous preachers, and it was through his initiative that a training institution was established at Neiafu, Vava'u, with Francis Wilson as superintendent.

After this Meeting in March 1841 Waterhouse took with him several Tongan teachers for missionary work in Rotuma.

Waterhouse's visits coincided with the end of the tragic wars. For nearly twelve years afterwards Tonga was comparatively peaceful. This gave Taufa'ahau

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the opportunity for improving his people's social conditions. The missionaries also were anxious to consolidate the evangelistic gains of the pre-war years and to repair the moral damage of the war.(97)

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Footnotes

(1) Thomson, *Diversions of a Prime Minister.* p.350. 113
(2) Latukefu, *Church and State in Tonga,* p.108.
(3) Dillon to Thomas, 28 November 1837. Dixson Library, Sydney. 84/10.
(4) Wilkes, *Narrative of U.S. Exploring Expedition.* Vol. III, p.10.
(5) Erskine, *Journal of Cruise . . . Havannah.* p.12.
(6) I am greatly indebted to the Rev. Geoff Cummins, formerly of Tonga, and now post-graduate student at the A.N.U. for much information from the draft of his M.A. thesis, "School and Society in Tonga, 1826-1854", where the question of missionary implication in the wars is fully discussed. Also *Journal of Pacific History,* Vol. X, Part 1, pp.105-112; H. G. Cummins, Review of Latukefu, S., *Church and State in Tonga.*
(7) Watkin, *Papers.* A.1540. M.L.S.
(8) Microfilm, W.M.M.S., R.M. 145, Journal 35, N.L.C.
(9) Hobbs, *Journal.* A.N.U.
(10) Hobbs, ibid.
(11) Watkin, *Journal,* 22 September 1835. A.834-5. M.L.S.
(12) Rabone, *Journal.* Set 47. M.L.S.
(13) Tucker, *Journal,* 3 February 1837. R.M.145. N.L.C.
(14) Tucker, ibid.
(15) Brooks to Committee, 16 January 1837, R.M. 145. N.L.C.
(16) Rabone, ibid, 18 January 1837.
(17) Watkin, ibid, 11 January 1837.
(18) Hobbs, ibid.
(19) Hobbs, ibid.
(20) Hobbs, ibid.
(21) Hobbs, ibid.
(22) Hobbs, ibid.
(23) Watkin, ibid, 25 January 1837.
(24) Rabone, ibid, 14 February 1837.
(25) Rabone, ibid, 27 September 1837.
(26) Tucker, *Journal,* 28 January 1837.
(27) Tucker, *Journal,* 22 March 1837.
(28) Watkin to Committee, 24 March 1837. R.M. 144. N.L.C.
(29) Thomas, microfilm. R.M. 145. N.L.C.
(30) Thomas, *Letters.* A.1960. M.L.S.
(31) Thomas, microfilm. R.M. 145. N.L.C.
(32) Thomas, ibid.
(33) Rabone, ibid.
(34) Rabone, ibid.
(35) Rabone, ibid.
(36) Pacific Manuscripts Bureau. Reel 3. N.L.C.
(37) ibid; Blanc, Bishop J. F., *History of Tonga,* p.38.
(38) Thomas, *Letters.* A.1960. M.L.S.
(39) Thomas, microfilm. R.M. 145, Journal No. 35. N.L.C.
(40) Thomas, ibid.
(41) Tucker, microfilm. R.M. 145.
(42) Thomas, ibid.
(43) Rabone, ibid, 12 April and 4 May 1837.
(44) Thomas, W.M.M.S. microfilm 43. F.M. 1433-39. M.L.S.
(45) Thomas, 13 June 1837. R.M. 145.
(46) Thomas, ibid, 23 June 1837.
(47) Rabone, ibid.
(48) Rabone, ibid.
(49) Rabone, ibid.
(50) Rabone, ibid.
(51) *Memoranda,* W.M.M.S., South Seas. (Joseph Orton). Personal 6. N.L.C.
(52) *Memoranda,* ibid.
(53) Dillon to Thomas, 20 November 1837. Dixson Library, Sydney. 84/10.
(54) Orton, J., *Journal.* A.1714. M.L.S.
(55) Thomas, microfilm 46. F.M. 433-9. M.L.S.

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[1840-1844]

Chapter IX.

THE PROGRESS OF THE WESLEYAN MISSION AFTER 1840

The war had interfered sadly with the development of the work of the Mission — the increase of the people's knowledge, the strengthening of their faith, and the inculcation of principles of Christian behaviour. The missionaries had felt frustrated through the absence of fighting men from their homes in Ha'apai and Vava'u for long periods as well as the unsettlement in Tongatapu itself. 797

Little more than ten years had passed since the first converts made their profession, and most of them had had much less than ten years' acquaintance with Christianity. The missionaries knew that their tasks were only beginning. Public worship and teaching had to be supplemented by the "class meetings" for members. These meetings gave regular opportunities for supervising and testing the converts' moral and spiritual growth and for enabling the people themselves to express their new experience. The missionaries were convinced of the necessity for a system of strict discipline within the Church.

The complete evangelization of the main island of Tongatapu was a major objective after fighting ceased in 1840. Already there was cause for some satisfaction in the converts' loyalty in Tongatapu; opposition from non-Christian chiefs had produced greater fidelity and consistency there than in the pliant north. Breaking down the barrier of heathenism in Tongatapu proved a very different task to the evangelization of Ha'apai and Vava'u under the patronage of Taufa'ahau. Even with its best efforts the Wesleyan Mission did not make much headway before 1840 in the Hihifo district, nor did it meet with much success at Mu'a until 1850 nor until after the war of 1852 ended, at Houma and Pea.

The coming of peace enabled the missionaries to visit the non-Christian towns. John Thomas wrote on 13 April 1842: "As missionaries and friends of peace we are welcome in every part of Tongatapu".(1) Matthew Wilson, who reopened the station at Hihifo in 1841, often visited Houma and found the people friendly and ready to hear him. Fatai village had become a refuge for Christians from Houma.

In 1843 Fakafanua, the chief of Ma'ofanga, gave up his gods, one large whale's tooth and four small ones, called father and sons, wrapped up in mats. These gods had been kept at Pea and, when Fakafanua told his sons to bring them away, the Pea people said there would be a war if this happened because they feared that a drought or hurricane would follow the removal of the gods.(2) [776]

On 28 August 1844, Matthew Wilson recorded the funeral of Vaea, the Houma chief; he gave details of the old heathen ceremonies, men cutting themselves with knives and piercing their flesh with spears, and some adults and children (as young as five years or age) having their fingers amputated.(3) [764]

[1834-1850]

At Mu'a, Fatu, Lawry's old friend, remained obdurate. In 1842, when he 797 was dying, he was visited by Thomas and other missionaries. Before he died, a [782] relative was strangled to appease the gods. The first youth selected ran away. The next was a boy, about twelve years old, who was strangled with a cord held by his father and other men. Tungi, Fatu's son and successor, considered giving up his old religion and, during his uncertainty, both the heathen party and Roman Catholic priests (who had been in Tongatapu since 1842) tried to persuade him against the step which he finally took in 1850. During the previous year he permitted a Wesleyan missionary to reside at Mu'a. When he was converted about 200 of his people immediately followed him. Tungi's gods were given to Lawry who was visiting Tonga at the time. The old mission-house Lawry had occupied in 1822-3 had stood on the site of the chapel where Tungi publicly accepted Christianity. His decision had a marked effect in Hahake, the eastern section of Tongatapu.

Throughout these years nothing troubled the missionaries in all parts of the group more than evidences of instability. Perhaps they had expected too much too soon. Outward success in the northern islands had come almost too easily. It would be difficult to find another country in the 19th Century where thousands of converts were swept into a missionary church as quickly as in Tonga in the 1830's. Under these circumstances superficiality and a waning of enthusiasm were to be expected.

The missionaries must have realized that emotional revivals suited the Tongan [181] temperament and that some conversions would be short-lived. Yet they tended to be over-confident when such revivals took place and some of them expected a repetition. Peter Turner and his contemporaries showed this in 1834 and 1846 [781] in Vava'u. George Daniel was gladdened when, again in Vava'u, there was an emotional revival in 1855. Although much good came from these experiences some of the missionaries realized the lack of depth and of consistency with many of the people. Rabone's Journal showed the apprehension with which he heard of the "wild fire" in Vava'u in 1846.(4) Thomas Adams, a little later, showed a keener perception of the situation than other missionaries did, when he wrote:

> "These people are very excitable and very ignorant and consequently very unstable, and [181] much of the good has passed away." (5)

Even John Thomas wrote of "the instability which is characteristic of the Tonguese [181] which is like the morning cloud and the early dew which soon passeth away".

Clearly, systematic teaching and supervision were needed to prevent lapses into former immoral habits and to build up the converts in their faith. The critical mistake had occurred after the mass movement in 1834 when the work should have been consolidated, and when Cross, Cargill, and, a little later, Dr. Lyth, were sent to Fiji, and Peter Turner to Samoa, in all cases with the cream of the Tongan converts as teachers for the new fields which benefited at Tonga's expense.

The opportunities given by the restoration of peace in 1840 demanded more missionaries, and these of the highest intellectual and spiritual gifts. Unfortunately, there was an unevenness in the quality of the men serving in this period. The staff in Tonga suffered by comparison with men of the calibre of Hunt, Lyth, Thomas Williams, Hazlewood and Calvert in Fiji, men conspicuous in intellectual vigour as well as courage and enterprise. Naturally, there were exceptions. Tonga had talented men in Stephen Rabone and, later, Thomas West, Richard Amos and Thomas Adams, but they were not always given sufficient opportunities by their

[1840 - 1846]

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Chairman. The faithful John Thomas was not a strong leader and did not show an awareness of the progressive needs of the Mission. The work languished for some years through a lack of direction in policy. This was seen particularly in the slowness of translation and in the indifferent provision for education.

Not only was there less of the "blood and sweat and toil and tears" so manifest in the Mission in Fiji. It seemed that some missionaries in Tonga presumed upon the speedy success of the Mission and the influence they had gained with chiefs and people in the evangelized districts. A tendency to be overbearing, attributable in the case of John Thomas to his inferiority complex, had less excuse in others. Captain Erskine gave his impression that there was not the same easy approach to the Tongans that the L.M.S. missionaries in Samoa showed towards their people. He noted also that the Wesleyans in Tonga locked their gates at night-time to prevent thieving, a practice unknown with the missionaries in Samoa.(6)

During these years the staff was weakened by the death of two valuable missionaries — David Cargill in 1843, and Francis Wilson in 1846.

David Cargill, M.A. (Aberdeen), the pioneer with William Cross in Fiji in 1835, had lost his wife, Margaret, at Rewa on 2 June 1840. The poignant story of her death is related in the Fijian section of this history. Four of the six children had survived infancy and the bereaved father took them back to Britain with the intention of leaving them there for their education as his wife had requested. Evidently, after re-marrying, he thought it better to bring them back to his new appointment, Vava'u, together with a governess, Miss Hull, to teach them. His second wife bore him another child.

Cargill arrived at Vava'u on 21 January 1843. He was a true scholar, the outstanding linguist of the Missions in Tonga and Fiji, and his studies continued to the end. Henderson, historian and critic, regarded him as superior even to those eminent scholars, Hunt, Lyth, Hazlewood and Thomas Williams, "the most brilliant of all the missionaries in Fiji at this period".(7) He was not an easy colleague as the mild William Cross had found in Fiji. Peter Turner's lack of sympathy with Cargill may be attributed to difference in temperament. Rabone wrote of Cargill,

> "I rejoice in his appointment to this district, especially because of his translation of the Holy Scriptures";

but, soon after he met Cargill in Vava'u at the District Meeting, he mentioned his impression of the

> "almost unaccountable conduct of Bro. Cargill, some of his sayings and doings appear very strange." (8)

Cargill had a failing, not altogether unknown among preachers before abstinence became the rule in Wesleyan and other evangelical denominations. It is only right to remember his mental sufferings due to the loss of his first wife under painful circumstances, and to assign these as the reason for his depression and his indulgence. Henderson, who thought so highly of Cargill, wrote,

> "As for his regrettable end at Vava'u after his return from England, I am of the opinion that he acted in that dread hour from high and honourable motives. Finding that his intemperance was getting the better of him he decided to put an end to his life rather than take the risk of bringing discredit to the Mission which he had so brilliantly and faithfully served." (9)

An opinion from such an authority as Henderson must be treated with respect, but it is possible that Cargill's death was accidental, or at least due to

[1840-1847]

the mental strain he still suffered because of the death of his first wife. Rabone's Journal stated,

> "Cargill could scarce endure to hear the repetition of the name of his first wife, and it appears clear that a changed conduct is traceable from the event of her death." (10)

Thomas thought that Cargill had taken his own life but believed that he was deranged and that his abnormal state was due to the loss of the wife whom he "idolized".(11) The 1844 District Meeting decided that,

> "Evidence of two medical men goes to show that our Bro. Cargill died from the effects of laudanum taken under highly excited feelings." (12)

Cargill's Journal (13) indicates his renewed dedication to his missionary duties upon arriving in Vava'u. The last entries show his earnestness in his regular preaching and pastoral duties; they certainly do not indicate that he contemplated taking his own life. His keen discrimination was seen in his concern about those church-members whose

> "statements in class-meetings are superficial and monotonous. The declension and lowness of religious knowledge and feeling are solely attributable to the pernicious influence of the distracting civil wars at the island of Tongatapu." (14)

Shortly after midday on 24 April 1843, Cargill took a dose of laudanum. He told no one and remained reading in his study until the evening when he told his wife of his illness. An emetic was prepared and given him in liquid without his knowledge. His colleague, George Kevern, was called and treatment was received from a doctor (Dr. McCurdy) who sent orders to prevent him going off to sleep. Cargill told Kevern that he had taken laudanum by mistake. Several strong Tongans kept Cargill walking in the garden. A hot bath gave temporary relief from drowsiness, but, soon afterwards, about 12.30 a.m., he ceased to breathe. Stephen Rabone, then in Ha'apai, gave in his Journal many corroborative details of this sad event. Cargill was buried alongside the grave of his little boy who had died before his parents left Vava'u for Fiji in October 1835.

Cargill was the first Wesleyan missionary who died in Tonga. Three years afterwards another, Francis Wilson, passed away — also in Vava'u. Wilson, who arrived in Vava'u on 24 June 1840, had lost his wife on the voyage in the missionary vessel *Triton*; four days after leaving Auckland she passed away after giving birth to a still-born infant. Wilson was a most faithful missionary and greatly beloved by his colleagues, as their journals reveal. When Mrs. Cargill returned with five children to England, Wilson married Miss Hull, the governess, in 1843.

Francis Wilson's work centred around the new training institution established by the District Meeting of 1841 on the advice of John Waterhouse. He commenced the venture on 13 July 1841. With only nine students it seemed a small effort but Wilson realized the important developments for the future benefit of the Church. He devoted himself ardently to this work although often suffering from ill-health; his delicate state gave concern to his brethren (Rabone's Journal referred to Wilson's "profuse sweats"). When a revival broke out early in 1846, he asked to be carried to the chapel at Neiafu where, on his couch, he might witness scenes which refreshed him spiritually. On 4 March 1846 he died and was buried beside the grave of David Cargill.

Among new missionaries who arrived not long afterwards were some of notable ability. Those who came in 1847 accompanied the General Superintendent of Missions, Walter Lawry, in the new mission vessel, *John Wesley*.

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[1846-1860]

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Thomas West arrived on 19 June 1846. He was born at Glasgow in 1824. His work as a biblical translator was his chief contribution to the Mission, but his book, *Ten Years in South-Central Polynesia*, was valuable also as a record of those years, including the troubles preceding the war of 1852 and the events that ended all fighting in Tonga. Together with Thomas Adams, he participated in the peace negotiations.

Richard Amos, born in 1821, had been ordained in 1842 before serving in Sierra Leone for nearly three years. He had also taken a course at the Glasgow Normal Seminary and followed its methods after his arrival in Tonga on 12 June 1847 to become Superintendent of Schools. His work at the central institution at Nuku'alofa, and afterwards elsewhere in the group, showed his keenness and efficiency. He left for Australia in 1858.

Walter James Davis, born in 1824, came to Tonga as a missionary printer. While specializing in this work as a layman he was accepted for the ordained ministry in 1848. After ten years' service he retired to Australia but returned in 1861 after the departure of Thomas Adams and was Chairman of the Mission for six years.

George Daniel was born at Henbury. Bristol, in 1823. He came from England in 1847, together with Amos and Davis, and served for nine years before continuing his ministry in Victoria. West refers appreciatively to him in his history.

Thomas Adams, born in 1820 at Laneast, Cornwall, is commemorated in two chapters of *Methodist Good Companions* (Epworth Press, London, 1935), written by a vivacious historian, his granddaughter, Mrs. Elsie Harrison. After training at Richmond Theological College he sailed with Lawry but stayed in Sydney for a year, finally arriving in Tonga on 27 March 1848. His quality was seen in his being appointed Chairman for two terms, 1853-5, 1857-60 (he was in New South Wales, 1855-7). After the death of his devoted wife in 1860 in Vava'u, Adams returned to England with a large family of motherless children.

An unusual missionary in this period was George Miller. He had visited Tonga as a ship's surgeon on the whaler *Elizabeth*. Nathaniel Turner mentions Miller's helpfulness in the illness of Mrs. Cross, 31 December 1829.(15) Falling in love with a Tongan maiden, Miller promised to return and marry her; both were true to their compact during three years' separation. He settled in Tonga and by his conduct commended himself to the missionaries. He was accepted as an assistant missionary in 1841 and, after the usual probation, he was ordained in 1847. With his Tongan wife he was appreciated by the people and his medical skill made him most helpful to the missionaries' families as well as the Tongans. After his wife died, he married an English widow and served successfully, in Vava'u, Tungua, and Mu'a, until ill-health compelled his retirement to New Zealand in 1853.

Another minister was ordained with George Miller on 22 July 1847, during Walter Lawry's visit. This was Benjamin Latuselu, the first ordained Tongan minister. He had served in Samoa as well as Tonga with forcefulness and ability, aided probably by his chiefly rank. Peter Turner regarded him as equally effective with any European missionary, but he was unstable, as later events in his colourful career indicated. The *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine* (16) does not mention Miller's ordination but states that John Faupula and John Latu were ordained together with Latuselu; this is evidently incorrect. Lawry examined the three Tongan ministers (17) but he states that only one, Latuselu, was ordained at that time.(18)

[1839 - 1847]

Latuselu was at once appointed to take charge of Niua Toputapu. Faupula and 797
Latu were ordained at a later date.

Much responsibility devolved upon the ordained Tongan ministers, or Native Assistant Missionaries (N.A.M.) as they were officially termed. The success of the Mission also largely depended on the work of the pastor-teachers in the villages and the catechists who were the seniors among them and from whom the ordained ministers were chosen after further training. As in other Mission fields these men bore the brunt of the ongoing work at the local level. In preaching they were assisted by local preachers of whom there was never any dearth, such was the eagerness of Tongans to speak in public, to pray, and to lead the worship of congregations.

A vital part of the Mission's work of consolidation was educational. From 797
the outset the Mission's primary object in establishing schools was to enable 872
people to read the Scriptures. In 1839 there were 9,544 scholars in the Mission schools, "all taught gratuitously" as John Thomas noted.(19) The limited syllabus was academic. John Waterhouse, in his visit as General Superintendent in 1841, had the foresight to recognize the need for practical training suitable for the Tongans' needs, but many years passed before his vision was even partially realized.

Waterhouse in 1841 had also strongly urged that more should be done in 797
preparing men for the ministry. His policy was put into effect at once by the 874
establishment of the training institution at Vava'u with Francis Wilson. The District Meeting decided to call it "The Friendly Islands Wesleyan Academy for the training of Native Assistant Missionaries".(20)

The nine students in this "Academy" grew to fifteen in 1844. Care had to be taken not to hurt the feelings of the old teachers; the new ones on graduating
were not entitled "Assistant Missionaries" but only "teachers". English was [191]
attempted but soon given up, as all but two found it too difficult. One of these was the Fijian, John Faupula, who became an ornament to the ministry. Faupula had been the first convert in Lakeba, baptized there by David Cargill, but compelled to leave Fiji because of the opposition of his faither, Tui Nayau, chief of the Lau islands. He became a stalwart leader and the first in a distinguished family of ministers.

Taufa'ahau was interested in the new training venture at Neiafu. He ordered 797
a large party of men to erect the building, and this structure was actually built, 874
of native materials, in one day. Wilson wanted desks and benches, and these were 346
promptly made from bush timbers; the students did not sit on the floor as in the primary schools. He also wanted books and writing paper, not slates. Useful material was found in the simple text-books, in such subjects as geography, which had been written by the wife of Charles Tucker before her exertions undermined her health and led to her return with her husband and family in 1841.

In 1847 Waterhouse's successor, Lawry, brought the new mission vessel, 797
John Wesley, 250 tons, as a replacement for the notorious ship *Triton*, which had been slow, and often leaked badly, and was generally full of cockroaches. There now began, not only a new era in mission transport but also in the system and standard of education in Tonga. With Lawry came Richard Amos, who continued and expanded the work of Francis Wilson.

In his school at Nuku'alofa, Amos conducted classes for catechists and future 797
candidates for the ministry as well as primary school classes. In his lessons for 874

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catechists and preachers he used theological lectures prepared by the saintly 797
John Hunt who died in Fiji in 1848. Amos's institution became a model also in 874
its appearance; the homes of the married students were set in trim gardens and [351]
connected with well-kept paths. His students worked four hours each day in their
food-gardens on the block of 20 acres set apart for them. [877]

On his second visit in 1850, Lawry held an examination day for all the 797
Tongatapu schools. It was a great festival indeed. Lawry stood on Zion Hill and 872
was overwhelmed with emotion as he thought of the conditions that he found in
1822-3 and as he now saw the approaching lines of schools from the different
villages, accompanied by their choirs:

> "The processions emerged from the luxuriant groves of evergreens and shade, and [533]
> ascended the Chapel Hill, with measured step and slow pace, singing their 'songs of
> degrees' (psalms of ascents), the females taking their part and the men theirs, all joining
> in full chorus." (21)

So successful was the work of Amos in Nuku'alofa that other schools on his
model were set up. Still designated "Superintendent of Schools", Amos was
appointed to Vava'u. The Ha'apai Circuit in 1850 gave a glowing account of its [644]
schools; it referred particularly to Queen Salote (Lupe Pau'u), then resident in
Lifuka:

> "She not merely attends as a teacher, but tries to improve herself and, although an elderly lady, yet she makes constant improvement in reading, writing and arithmetic." (22)

Much depended upon the influence of the chiefs in the various districts, and [622]
reports showed that in some cases schools lapsed altogether because of the apathy
of the elders and their failure to encourage the children to attend. The imposition [689]
of civil penalties (e.g., fines) sometimes helped. Schools for adults gradually ceased. [871]

King George had strongly supported Amos's work at Nuku'alofa and this 797
school continued to flourish after Amos removed to Vava'u.(23) The sermon most 871
often quoted on the subject of education was given by the king in Fiji on his way
to Sydney in 1853. The text was Hosea iv. 6, "My people are destroyed for lack 643
of knowledge". In his sermon he declared that the Europeans had the advantage [829]
over Tongans, not in physical but in intellectual equipment, and their fundamental
strength lay in the Bible, the source of true knowledge. The king's words set the
goal for the future Tupou College.

The king in that sermon expressed what all Tongan converts believed; 797
Christianity was the religion of a Book. The Anglican divine, William Chillingworth, 779
may have exaggerated the case when he said in 1638, "The Bible and the Bible alone is the religion of Protestants", but every Protestant missionary considered it essential that the translated Scriptures should be in the hands of converts as soon as possible. The Roman Catholic priests in the Pacific had some justification for calling the Protestants "the Biblical missionaries". The pioneers, Nathaniel Turner and his colleagues, knew the importance of not only the Scriptures, but the catechism, hymns, and a simple liturgy for the people's use. The 1841 District Meeting, under John Waterhouse, set up a Translation Committee. The Meeting decided to "avoid as far as possible the introduction of foreign words" and also recommended that a specially qualified missionary be added to the staff for translating,

> "as the missionaries in Tonga do not profess a critical knowledge of the original tongues". (24)

[1843-1906]

Cargill, who had just returned from Fiji to Britain, was sent in 1843 in response 797
to that request; as a linguist he was of the same high order as J. E. Moulton 779
who came over twenty years later.

Some small portions of the Scriptures had been in print since 1833 and these had been revised and reprinted several times. The missionaries had been allotted various books of the Bible for translation. Although Thomas's journals and those of his colleagues refer frequently to this work it made only slow progress. It took twenty years to produce a complete Tongan New Testament. In 1849, at last, 4,000 copies of the New Testament were printed on the press in Vava'u.

Rabone was reluctant to criticize his brother-in-law, John Thomas, but the tardiness in translating irritated him. His journal stated that, on 20 June 1846, he received a complete copy of the Samoan New Testament after the L.M.S. missionaries had been in Samoa only ten years. He wrote,

> "O. the years we have wasted . . . while others have got the Word of God into the hands of the people. . . . Shame on us for verily we are guilty." (25)

On 12 December 1846 he heard of what the Wesleyans in Fiji had done in ten years, and commented,

> "They are making progress in the work of translation. I am ashamed for this district; we are not of one heart and mind, therefore we do not go as well with our work. They are of one mind in Fiji and therefore their work tells well." (26)

The dilatoriness of the Chairman is implied in Rabone's words on 25 June 1847:

> "We have not held a District Meeting since March 1845; also our printing is at a standstill and needs a new impulse. We are expecting a visit from Mr. Lawry." (27)

It was this District Meeting in 1847 over which Lawry presided that gave the new impulse for which Rabone and others were looking. With regard to translating, Lawry recorded —

> "This work has very urgent claims upon us, and those claims have existed for several years; but there is no sufficient reason why they have not been met long ago. I here record the opinion of most of the Tonga missionaries." (28)

It was decided that Rabone should revise the New Testament and continue with
Old Testament translation. Rabone also laid later generations under obligation [113]
to him by his painstaking work in producing a Tongan-English Vocabulary and
Grammar, printed on the mission press in Vava'u in 1846. Rabone accomplished a great deal of his translation before he had to leave Tonga in 1850 when West, Davis and Adams continued the Old Testament translation. The final production was largely the work of West.

Editions of the New Testament were published by the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1850 and 1854. Robert Young, the deputation from the British Wesleyan Conference, brought 10,000 copies on his visit in 1853. Thomas West had the satisfaction of seeing the whole Bible published by the Bible Society in 1862, after he had returned from Tonga. His was the translation used until Moulton's new version in 1880 (New Testament) and 1906 (Old Testament). West's is substiantially the version which the present dissenting churches, the Free Church of Tonga and the Church of Tonga, are using, instead of Moulton's.

The Wesleyans in both Tonga and Fiji used liturgical forms of worship. It is 797
true that they encouraged extemporaneous prayer but they knew the value of 796
ordered worship. With the Tongans' love of music there was no difficulty in [533]
accustoming the congregation to take part in a sung liturgy. Reference has been [779]

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made to the sonorous singing of the *Te Deum* at the marriage of Taufa'ahau's 797
daughter, Salote, to the Tu'i Pelehake in 1839. The District Meeting in 1841, 796
influenced by John Waterhouse and his experience of the Book of Common 779
Prayer in English Wesleyan services, decided that John Wesley's Abridgement of Morning Prayer from the Book of Common Prayer should be translated and should be used in all the large chapels where missionaries could guide the worship. John Thomas was anything but a high churchman or ritualist but he and the other missionaries loyally accepted the ruling.(29) The Hymn-book of 1849 had 189 hymns, the Morning Prayer service, and also the catechism. In the 1853 edition the Litany and Collects occupied 40 pages and the catechism 72 pages.

Lawry, in his 1850 visit, commented upon the worship in Zion, Nuku'alofa:

> "The serious devotional tone of this host of worshippers would bear a comparison with any congregation I ever saw in England. . . . The beautiful harmony with which they went through the responses in the Morning Service was very affecting, in tones like the sound of many waters. . . . Both the singing and the praying were performed by the entire congregation." (30)

A visiting Anglican physician, Dr. W. H. Harvey, of Trinity College, Dublin, made particular reference to the Tongan Wesleyans' use

> "of our noble Liturgy which we always use in the chapel service".(31)

It was this doctor who was so impressed with the need for more support for medical work that he instituted a Protestant Medical Aid Society. At a later date (1878), Sir Arthur Gordon, when High Commissioner, expressed surprise that "the Anglican Prayer Book" had been translated into Tongan and was regularly used by the Wesleyans.(32)

It was Dr. Moulton who retranslated the Liturgy into stately Tongan to replace what the early missionaries had given with their more restricted knowledge of the language. Both versions still stand in the book used by the Free Wesleyan Church although Moulton's is the one commonly used in worship today.

Tongans eagerly adopted European music and forms of worship. They also 797
introduced colourful patterns of their own, such as the watchnight service on 796
new year's eve, when the lights were brought to the church by all families. In [177]
the early days these were nut-shells filled with oil.(33) At these services several [533]
preachers dwelt solemnly upon the passing of the old year; after about two hours
the spirit of gravity was changed to a joyous welcome to the new year.

Another part of the missionaries' work was the introduction of treatment 797
for the people's diseases. Tongans had their own treatment which, generally 757
speaking, they have preferred, even to recent times. They were sometimes impressed, however, by the effect of the medicine brought by the missionaries and they were willing to use it if their own herbs failed. A limitation on the missionaries' efforts was the scanty knowledge they possessed. The situation was exceptional with qualified medical practitioners, R. B. Lyth, most of whose ministry was in Fiji, and George Miller. Shirley Baker, who served from 1860 onwards, had acquired a proficiency in prescribing.

An unusual case of a layman's description of what must have been polio- 164
myelitis is found in a letter from Mrs. Matthew Wilson at Hihifo to her parents 165
in England in November 1847. It was remarkable that one who had no medical knowledge whatever should describe symptoms so accurately. Poliomyelitis had

[1831-1847]

never been recognized as a separate entity by the medical profession at that time. 164
The missionary's wife wrote: 165

> "After Matthew returned from the islands a very severe affliction broke out. It is supposed to have been brought in a ship to Vava'u, from thence to Nuku'alofa in a canoe, and several of the canoe's crew first died in it. Then it broke out among the people at Nuku'alofa. We heard of the fearful devastation which it made among the people at that place, but nothing occurred here for some time. At length, it found its way to Hihifo, by people going backwards and forwards to Nuku'alofa to attend funerals, &c.
>
> "Some were taken in the way, returned, and died in a few days. It is quite a new complaint in these islands. The first week the complaint broke out here six died in it. We were constantly kept on our feet from the morning to night, giving out medicine, bleeding persons who were seized, &c. It generally attacks the young, strong and healthy. [797] Bleeding is considered indispensably necessary in this affliction. As many as fifteen have been bled in a day at this place. The people are seized in different ways, some at the back of the neck, others at the foot or feet, hand or arms, side, back &c., yet all one complaint. Then comes on a numbness in the limbs, some have much pain, others only a little. It often happens that one or both the arms, one or both the legs, sometimes one arm and one leg, or both arms and both legs, are numb, cold and dead, destitute of all use and feeling. It is almost always preceded by cold shivering, and that followed by a hot fever; very great constipation of the bowels is another very prominent feature in this complaint.
>
> "Many have died suddenly in it, tho' but a few hours before they seemed in full strength, only a little numbness in the limbs. My husband went to see a young woman who did not appear near death then, only both her arms were numb and dead. We went again to her and she was just dying as we entered the house, tho' that were only about three hours after my husband had been talking with her." (34)

In the mid-19th Century the Church was the centre of the community's life. 794
Tonga had become a nation at prayer, in all Wesleyan districts. The Sabbath 796
was the great day of the week, with crowded congregations, enthusiastic choirs,
and fervent preaching. Sunday began with prayer meetings at daylight, followed
by 9 a.m. and 3 p.m. services, also Sunday School and, generally, evening
gatherings of a more informal nature.

Sabbath observance had been readily accepted not only as a welcome 796
cessation from labour but as the external evidence of the change from a 527
non-Christian society. The people believed that the sternest divine sanctions, like their ancient *tapus*, guarded the Sabbath ordinance. This was clear from the early days as when, in 1831, a hurricane wrecked the Spanish brig, *Candide*, in Tongatapu, with some loss of life; the people believed that the tragedy was due to God's wrath upon a crew that had obtained wood and water on the Sabbath preceding the wreck.(35) Tonga has followed its policy of Sabbatarianism to the present day, and this has been embodied in its laws and the Constitution of 1875.

It was almost inevitable that religion tended to consist in compliance with 797
Church rules, as far as many converts were concerned. Attendance at Church in 795
Wesleyan districts was the universal custom; indeed it was specifically enjoined
in the Code of Vava'u, 1839, though evidently not enforced. John Thomas 797
declared that even sleeping during a church service was sinful; he believed it was 783
due to tiredness after Saturday night dancing. 513

> "I told them of the evil of such things and that it was a sin to sleep in the worship of God." (36)

Not only the prohibition of all work and games on Sunday but the rigid 797
control of personal behaviour became marked features of Tongan Wesleyanism. 794
This discipline became irksome to many as time went on. Thomas Adams, who
came in 1847, deplored the unwillingness of many converts to accept "the restraints

[1837-1851]

of the Gospel" (13 February 1850), and he wrote again, on 15 January 1851: 797
"Many young people have cast away the restraints of religion".(87) Modern 794
theologians would consider that these worthy men were insisting upon Old Testament law rather than "the Gospel".

The missionaries held the rigid views of behaviour found among Evangelicals in the mid-19th Century. They believed that prohibitions were necessary to mark the conversion from pagan practices, and they were saddened by instances of reaction against their policy. The Tonga Circuit report 1853-4 lamented the fact that "many who manifest great anxiety to progress in civilization imagine it necessary to throw off the restraints of religion".(88)

The Tongans' much-loved dancing was condemned by the early missionaries 797
because it often led to immorality, especially late at night; it was prohibited in 535
the Code of 1850. Actually, the words and actions of Tongan dances were more [833]
innocent than those used in other islands such as Rotuma where dances were definitely lascivious; in all cases, missionaries, who understood the languages better than most Europeans, knew the danger very well. To ban all dancing, however, and not just the night dances, was quite unjustifiable. Gradually the prohibition of these beautiful forms of recreation was relaxed. There has been no more popular, innocent, and indeed valuable cultural pastime in Tonga than the dances in which history, legends, occupations and even scenery are represented through singing and rhythmic movements.

Innocent sports, such as foot-races, canoe-races, and other diversions, were 797
banned because they had been used in pre-Christian days, and because they 526
occupied time that, the missionaries felt, should be given to productive employment. This insistence on a "work ethic" was characteristic of contemporary Protestant beliefs.

Smoking was prohibited for some years. Wilkes on his visit in 1840 noted 797
that it was very popular with the non-Christians but forbidden among the 276
converts whom Taufa'ahau had called upon to follow his example of abstinence. It was said to be undesirable and unhygienic when practised in crowded conditions. Rabone (29 September 1837) wrote that sometimes smoking led to a house being burnt down. It was also said that Tongans always swallowed the smoke, with harmful effects. More serious was the allegation that smoking gave opportunities for immoral conduct. W. G. R. Stephinson said that he had been told that, before their conversion, women smoking alongside men was a sign of their willingness
to practise immorality.(39) W. J. Davis (18 March 1862) said that smoking [833]

> is an introduction to the crying sin of Tonga, namely, fornication and adultery".(40)

The missionaries' example was emphasized. As early as 12 September 1838, Rabone wrote about another missionary who smoked:

> "Bro. ———————— must either give it up or the people may be allowed".(41)

The brother in question was soon transferred to Fiji (but not, apparently, because of his smoking) and he proved a failure there, on other grounds.

Kava drinking, universally practised and rooted in Tongan custom, was never 797
prohibited. In this respect the missionaries in Tonga differed from some of their 273
counterparts in Fiji.

All customs associated with pre-Christian days, such as the presentation of 797
gifts at funerals, were banned, as these were regarded as offerings to the dead. 178
The missionaries were motivated always by the desire to make a complete external [764]

[1835 - 1850]

797 178 break with the old life. Rabone reproved the people who brought gifts to a wedding and then waited in the expectation of receiving more than they had given (8 January 1838).(42)

797 291 Missionary approval of the adoption of European clothing seems to have been similar to parents' amusement with children's imitation of their elders. As far as leading church-members were concerned, European clothing became part of the formalities attached to worship on the Sabbath. Tongans needed no encouragement to make a good display on public occasions. It was from their own desire that Tongan preachers clothed themselves in ill-fitting black suits that were out of keeping with the climate. The women imitated the missionaries' wives and even outshone them in gaudy frocks and bonnets "from which streamed ribbons of nearly all the hues in the rainbow".(43) John Whewell, a missionary in 1856, strongly condemned the Tongans' desire for "our style of dress". Robert Young, the deputation from the British Conference in 1853, blamed manufacturers and traders for promoting the purchase of European clothing.(44)

797 643 As the years went by, Taufa'ahau's influence and his eloquence as a preacher continued to be invaluable assets of the Mission. The Tongatapu Circuit Reports of the period showed that the king's preaching in the villages was having an effect. In his visit in 1850 Lawry gave his opinion of the Wesleyans' champion:

> "The more I see of King George the more I am convinced that his high reputation for wisdom, piety and integrity has been well earned; and that, while he stands *first* in all these qualities, he is doing a great work in concert with the missionaries, in spreading the truth, and elevating the people under his dominion. He is a fine person, about 6 ft. 4 ins. high, and well proportioned, with a fine glow of comeliness, intelligence and Christian benevolence." (45)

Soon after his conversion Taufa'ahau had begun "to elevate the people under his dominion" (in Lawry's words) by applying Christian principles to Tonga's social conditions. In doing this he sought, and was often guided by, the opinions of the missionaries whom he regarded as his teachers and his friends.

797 643 566 As a beginning, in 1835 Taufa'ahau was persuaded by Charles Tucker, then a missionary in Ha'apai, to follow the 1833 declaration of emancipation for all slaves in British colonies. It is true that the conditions under which commoners in Tonga served their chiefs were different from the degraded slavery of negroes in the West Indies and other British possessions. However, the tide of humanitarianism that had been sweeping through Britain, especially under the influence of Evangelicals, was set against serfdom in any form. As a convert to the Christian faith, Taufa'ahau felt he should conform to the new pattern. Accordingly he declared his serfs free on 21 August 1835. So light were the bonds and so devoted the people that many wept and expressed their desire to remain in servitude to Taufa'ahau.

797 In giving advice when requested to do so, the missionaries knew that they must not contravene the "Instructions to Missionaries" issued by the Committee in London. This document, signed by the General Secretaries of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, Jabez Bunting, John Beecham and Robert Alder, on 30 September 1834, included the following:

> "V. We cannot omit, without neglecting our duty, to warn you against meddling with political parties, or secular disputes . . .
>
> IX. It is a positive rule against Wesleyan missionaries not to 'follow trade' . . . and to keep at the remotest distance from all temptation to a secular or mercenary enterprise."

The line between interference in politics and merely giving advice when requested 797
was often uncertain. This was a controversial matter when, after 1860, Shirley
Baker, while he was still a missionary, regularly gave the king advice.

At Taufa'ahau's request, Thomas helped him frame the Vava'u Code of 797
1839, the king's first venture in legislation on a European model. Promulgated 643
at Neiafu on 29 November 1839, it was the first written law in Tonga, the first 671
step also in limiting the power of the chiefs. It indicated, probably more accurately
than later and longer documents, what Taufa'ahau thought was suitable for his
people.

The opening phrases showed that the king based the Code on the recognition of God as the fount of law and authority:

> "It is of the God of heaven and earth that I have been appointed to speak to you; he [779]
> is King of Kings and Lord of Lords, he doeth whatsoever he pleaseth, he lifteth up one
> and putteth down another, he is righteous in all his work, we are all the work of his
> hands and the sheep of his pasture, and his will towards us is that we should be happy."

In this code the chiefs were directed to give land to their people who were [565]
under obligation to cultivate it properly. The emphasis placed on industrious [622]
habits is a strong feature of these laws. No man who refused to work was to be
fed or assisted, and unmarried women who did not work were to suffer in the [461]
same way. Chiefs were forbidden to take the property of commoners and they [689]
were not to take the law into their own hands. In order to safeguard the gardens [622]
it was made unlawful to turn pigs outside their sty. If a pig destroyed a garden, [565]
its owner was to shut it up immediately on receiving the complaint and to [685]
recompense the damage done; after a second offence it was lawful for the injured
person to kill the pig and keep its carcase.

Retailing "ardent spirits" was heavily punished. Adultery and fornication [273]
were made criminal offences. (Chevalier Peter Dillon criticized this section.) (46)
It was typical of the sternness with which the missionaries of that period were 671
endeavouring to enforce sexual purity that Rabone noted with satisfaction the 684
public flogging of two men and a woman found guilty of fornication. The flogging
was carried out by the order of the Governor of Vava'u.

> "May this chastisement be sanctified to their good and the good of all." (47)

These penalties seemed to show that the missionaries' stern denunciations from [797]
the pulpit were not always effective. John Thomas had told his people that, "if
they did not leave off their adultery and fornication, they would burn in hell
for ever", and he also found that, while warning the congregation in these terms,
he had to reprove some women twice for laughing.(48)

Other sections of the Code strongly reflected missionary influence. All work 671
and games were prohibited on the Sabbath. Attendance at public worship was 796
enjoined in these terms: 794

> "That all my people should attend to all the duties of religion towards God; that they 527
> should keep holy the Sabbath day, by abstaining from their worldly occupations and
> labours, and by attending to the preaching of the Word and the worship of God in
> their places of worship."

A court was established at Neiafu to sit monthly. Four chiefs were 671
appointed as magistrates. The Code of Vava'u was made applicable to Ha'apai 692
also, and to Tongatapu after Taufa'ahau became Tu'i Kanokupolu in 1845.

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[1844-1845]

Chapter X.

UNIFICATION AND UNSETTLEMENT IN THE KINGDOM

(1845-1852)

The opportunity for the unification of Tonga came after the death of the Tu'i Kanokupolu, Aleamotu'a, Josiah Tupou, on 18 November 1845. He had been a weak ruler, unable to control many of the chiefs of Tongatapu and dependent on Taufa'ahau's support. The missionaries knew his limitations but respected his sincerity as a Christian and especially commended his faithful attendance at church services. His last public act was the opening of a new church in 'Eua. 643 [797]

Taufa'ahau was unanimously chosen to succeed Aleamotu'a. Those who elected him included the Ha'a Havea chiefs (Ma'afu of Vaini, Lavaka of Pea, Vaea of Houma). After a seven years' interregnum he had been deliberately passed over in favour of Aleamotu'a in 1827 when he should have succeeded his father, Tupouto'a. By 1845 his right to the title could no longer be ignored. In intellectual powers and in qualities of leadership Taufa'ahau was clearly outstanding. He had gained a profound influence over all Tongans except the rebels in Tongatapu. He had also begun to realize the necessity for strengthening and unifying Tonga at a time when foreign nations were encroaching upon Pacific Islands groups. A disunited country was unlikely to survive.

On 4 December 1845, the traditional installation ceremony took place under the *koka* tree at Kanokupolu, Hihifo. The first cup of the royal kava was given to the new king with the name and title, "Taliai Tupou, Tu'i Kanokupolu". John Thomas noted that the king objected to the first name ("Taliai" being the name of the old family god), and Lauaki, the officiating *matapule*, altered it to "George Tupou", the name by which the king was known henceforth.(1) Thomas preached at the religious service that followed, his text being II Samuel xxiii. 3, 4, David's description of a just king, "ruling in the fear of God". The king set up his official residence at Nuku'alofa but he frequently preferred to stay in the northern islands. [551]

Although there had been outward unanimity in the election there was still an under-current of disaffection in one section and, as time went on, this was intensified by religious differences in Tongatapu. Even before 1845 there had been a suggestion of displacing Taufa'ahau in Vava'u. An ominous incident occurred in Fiji in August 1844, when Mgr. Bataillon told Lasike, a member of the Finau 'Ulukalala family then living at Lakeba, Fiji, that he would be installed in the chieftainship of Vava'u in place of Taufa'ahau "who was but an intruder" if he would become a Roman Catholic. 643 668

> "They talked as if ships of war were at their command to help their friends or punish their enemies."

The Tongan chief refused this suggestion.(2)

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[1845 - 1848]

After George became Tu'i Kanokupolu some elements in Tongatapu exalted 643
the position of the Tu'i Tonga as though he still had civil power and was superior
to the Tu'i Kanokupolu. King George went to Mu'a to confront Laufilitonga, 668
charging him with allowing these claims to civil authority to be put forward on his behalf. Laufilitonga then publicly disavowed any such claims or any superiority to the Tu'i Kanokupolu. With the death of Laufilitonga in 1865 the title of Tu'i Tonga lapsed and he had no successor. Henceforth there was no suggestion of a rival to Tupou I from that quarter.

Some thought of the son of Aleamotu'a, Henry Ma'afu, as a possible rival, but there was no support for him in 1845. He went to Fiji in 1848 and died there in 1881. It has been said that Tupou I wished to be rid of a rival, but evidently the avowed reason was correct; Ma'afu went to Fiji to take charge of the troublesome Tongans there and to advance his own interests. He did this so successfully that he became the powerful overlord of the Lau group and a disturber of the peace of Cakobau, ruler of Bau, for many years.

Taufa'ahau's position became secure in spite of the objections of Ha'a Havea chiefs and their open rebellion later. The title of Tu'i Kanokupolu itself became anachronistic when, in 1875, he was recognized as King of Tonga by the Constitution which has remained the foundation of Tonga's modern government. In 1877 the king's son, David 'Unga, cut down the *koka* tree at Kanokupolu so that no one might be installed there in future; and a small piece of the tree was sent to Sydney to be placed in the chair, the throne which was being prepared for the royal chapel at Nuku'alofa. It seemed as if Tupou I had heard of the stone of Scone in the British throne in Westminster Abbey.

In his concern for the country's development the king considered it advisable 643
to provide a more detailed system of laws and government than the Vava'u Code 671
of 1839 had given. In doing this he again sought missionary advice. With regard to the new Code of 1850, Thomas West wrote:

> "With the rapid advance of education, the king felt the need of a more comprehensive and complete code of laws for the government of his people. On this subject he frequently and earnestly conversed with the missionaries and, finally, applied for their official help in framing it."(3) [797]

The District Meeting of 1847, with Lawry presiding, considered the request and 643
recommended the king "to get the opinion and advice of the highest English legal 671
authority in New Zealand". When Sir William Martin, C.J., had given this, "a 177
translation of these laws was prepared by the missionaries and placed in the hands 797
of the king and chiefs for their united consideration".(4)

Notwithstanding this, Peter Turner wrote in his journal,

> "The king and chiefs are becoming jealous of our interfering in what they think their prerogatives. We have been recommending to them a better code of laws but, no, things must remain as they are and we are thought evil of for our wishes to elevate them in the scale of civilization." (5)

Perhaps Peter Turner was unduly pessimistic as the District Meeting, on 20 April 1848, decided that

> "the king, having repeatedly and earnestly requested assistance of the missionaries in preparing a code of laws for the government of his people, this Meeting appoints Bro. Rabone to prepare the said Code and agrees to follow, as far as practicable to this people, the Code adopted in Tahiti published in Ellis' 'Missionary Researches'."

Evidently this was the model suggested by the Chief Justice of New Zealand. West added:

> "We were very careful to impress them with the conviction that these laws must be

[1843 - 1850]

> adopted and promulgated as their own, and not as the laws of the missionaries. This was 643
> accordingly done: and when the code was finally completed and made law the missionaries 671
> found in it much that was contrary to their own views." (6) 177

Among important features of this Code were the following: 797

III. 1. "No respect of persons in the trial of offenders."

III. 3. "The remuneration which the judges and officers shall have made to them by the king is the distribution of the convicted persons amongst them, to labour for them at their respective places." [692]

VII. 4. "Let all know that the separating of man and wife is a difficult matter; since the marriage contract is a command of God, the minister must first marry them; but, in case of trial, and the crime proved, then the minister must pronounce them separated, in the large chapel, before all the people, even as their marriage was performed. Then the writing of divorce shall be given to the innocent party." [586]

VIII and IX. Punishments were provided for adultery and fornication. [684]

XI. "Dancing is strictly forbidden, as well as all heathen customs . . .". [689]

XVII. Abortion "is a most disgusting crime and highly deserves punishment". [684]

XXIX. The sale of land by anyone, chief or commoner, to any foreigner is forbidden. [685]

Lawry wrote of the provisions of the Code of 1850:

> "They are not all that we wish them to be . . . especially on the mode of paying the judges out of the fines levied on the offenders, which is sure to corrupt the seat of justice. . . . Upon the whole, however, this movement is a grand step towards the civilization of the entire nation. . . . There is no good reason why it has been so long delayed. . . . The Statute-book is to be printed at our Mission press." (7) [213]

While Tonga was becoming stabilized in its internal government, its relations 648
with the outside world brought other problems, and here also the Wesleyan
Mission became involved. The growing interest of foreign Powers in the Pacific 829
Islands was beginning to affect Tonga and the maintenance of Tonga's independence loomed large in the king's mind. He and his people were very fearful of any foreign designs, real or imaginary. Indeed no Pacific Islands group has been more sensitive at this point. The L.M.S. missionaries in 1797 were plagued by the false reports of the runaway sailors who told the Tongans that the missionaries were agents of Britain who had come to take away the country. Lawry in 1822-3 was harassed by similar lies. Being sold to a foreign nation or seeing their flag hauled down (in Tongan terms) was a lurking fear which unscrupulous Europeans could manipulate, as events in later years showed.

After 1843, when France annexed Tahiti, a cold shudder passed over many lands in the Pacific. The entry of the French priests into Tongatapu gave rise to some apprehension; if they had not so often spoken of support from French warships the people's fears might soon have subsided. Tupou I realized that France had been aided in Tahiti by the divisions among Tahitian chiefs and the disloyalty of some of them to their monarch. He feared the effects of possible disunity and disloyalty in Tongatapu.

The first approach for British assistance was made by Aleamotu'a. On 19 February 1844 he sent a letter appealing for protection, to Robert FitzRoy, Governor of New Zealand, for transmission to Queen Victoria. Evidently it was sent to the Colonial Office and then to Lord Aberdeen at the Foreign Office, but there was no reply. Its contents revealed the agitation felt by Tongan chiefs because of French policy in the Pacific. (The letter in the Mitchell Library, Sydney, is signed "George of Tonga" but that signature is crossed out and "Josiah" substituted). The letter stated,

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[1850]

By 1850 the missionaries again expressed their fear that Tonga could not hold out against French designs against its integrity. Their suggestions that Tonga might have to seek protection from Britain annoyed the king who thought that his overtures for friendly relations were being misinterpreted. John Thomas had been responsible for transmitting these, as he thought, innocently, and the king expressed displeasure with Thomas. The old missionary felt keenly the strained relationship that was growing up between him and his old friend. Thomas wrote, 797 648 643

> "I am thought to have used cunning in order to get the Friendly Islands for the British Government, merely because I advised the king at a time when they feared they should have become the slaves of the French, to apply to the English Government for *protection* — to offer themselves to be the friends or subjects of the English (for England has no slaves). France has taken some countries and sometimes threatened Tonga, evils the Lord has averted, English ships of war having more frequently entered and have watched over the people in love." (18)

It would seem that Thomas did not realize that he was on highly dangerous ground when he advised that Tongans should be friends "or subjects".

Peter Turner also referred to the changed feeling, when mentioning the discussions between the king and the missionaries in drawing up the Code of 1850:

> "This people are jealous of any foreign interference, and sometimes have even questioned the motives of their missionaries, whether they may not wish to bring them under some foreign government. This is the reason why we have done more to promote a code of laws like those of Tahiti and the Sandwich Islands." (19) [829]

The most definite expression of Tupou's will is recorded by Walter Lawry in the account of his 1850 visit. It indicates also the Wesleyan Mission's support for the king's determination to maintain Tonga's independence. Coming from Lawry, as General Superintendent of Missions, it could be taken as an official missionary endorsement of the king's policy. Lawry was present when King George was entertained on board H.M.S. *Meander*, Captain the Honourable Henry Keppel, on 21 June 1850, when the king said publicly:

> "I return you my thanks for your kind visit. . . . What is most a matter of thanksgiving is, that Britain has sent us the gospel and the missionaries and the sacred book. . . . It is great love shown to a weak and friendless people, that a wise and powerful nation, such as Britain, should cast its shadow over us. Under this shadow we live. We know of confusion produced in the world by the French and others. We wish not their visit nor friendship. Theirs is a deadly shade." (20)

Following a conversation with the king, Lawry recorded:

"To prevent all possibility of mistake, I wrote the king this morning (25 June 1850) the following note —

To King George Tupou:

I beg to ask, with great respect, whether I understood the matter correctly last night; namely, First, That you were determined not to part with any land in your dominions throughout the Friendly Isles. Secondly, That though you greatly desire the friendship and alliance of Great Britain, yet you do not intend to be in subjection to any Power or State whatever, but to remain, you and your people, a free and independent nation:

I am, Sir, Your obedient and respectful friend, Walter Lawry.

The King's answer:

My mind is, that I will not verily sell any piece of land in Tonga; for it is small; then, what of it can we sell? And what would be left for ourselves?

I verily wish to be the friend of Britain, in friendly alliance, with all fellowship; but it is not my mind, nor the mind of my people, that we should be subject to any other people or kingdom in this world. But it is my mind to remain an independent nation.

I am, George Tupou." (21)

[1829-1837]

This determination that Tonga should remain independent for all time has undoubtedly been fixed in the minds of the king, his successors, and the people of Tonga ever since. 648 643 829

* * * *

It was highly regrettable that the entry of the Roman Catholic priests into Tonga should be associated with fears of French aggression, especially when the Roman Catholic Mission had every right to be considered on its merits. The Wesleyans could be expected to resent the coming of a second Christian Mission into any district already occupied and evangelized; but it was unfortunate that what should have been only a religious question was affected by international politics and also by the residence of the priests in an area where the Ha'a Havea chiefs were continuing their opposition to the authority of George Tupou I. 797 798

The priests could not have realized when they began at Pea that their presence would lead to sharp divisions and be associated with a new threat to the unifying rule of the Tu'i Kanokupolu. Unfortunately, for years the efforts of the king to consolidate his kingdom were hindered by the new cleavage amongst his people. 797 668

The first suggestion for the entry of the priests into Tonga and other island groups in the Central Pacific had come from the adventurous Peter Dillon. In September 1829 he recommended to Bishop de Solages, for transmission to the French Government, a proposal that it "undertake a great programme of missionary expansion . . . where people are the prey of ignorant Methodists". He named Tahiti, Tonga, Fiji, the Solomons, and New Zealand.(22) Dillon offered his services in such an enterprise but these were not accepted. 797

The actual establishment of the Mission was the work of the scholarly Bishop Pompallier, supported by priests of the Marist Order. Before leaving France he had an audience with the French king and received from Louis Philippe a letter commending him to all French warship captains in the Pacific.

On 26 October 1837, Bishop Pompallier called at Vava'u in the ship *Raiatea*. John Thomas was absent at a District Meeting at Lifuka. Three priests and two brothers accompanied the Bishop who asked Taufa'ahau for permission to leave priests on the island. The king replied that all the people of Vava'u had become Christians, and to this the Bishop urged that his was the only true religion. When John Thomas arrived, two days later, he told the Bishop that any decision to receive the priests was the right of Taufa'ahau. Thomas pointed out the undesirability of dividing a people, already united in one faith and under one civil ruler, by introducing another teaching. Thomas recorded that the Bishop replied that "it was farthest from his intention to interfere with us in instructing the people; his only wish was to leave two or three priests to learn the language". It was said that these priests would also look after a depot of stores for use in other groups. Taufa'ahau said that he saw no useful purpose in priests staying for three months to learn the language. Thomas advised the Bishop to go to unevangelized groups and said that the Wesleyans were already operating in Fiji, Samoa, the two Niuas, as well as the rest of Tonga. At the Bishop's request Thomas gave him copies of Wesleyan books printed in Tongan, Fijian and Samoan.(23) 797 798

The Roman Catholics were making good their claim to evangelize every part of the globe. It was reasonable, nevertheless, for the Wesleyans to regard it as 797

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[1838-1842]

unnecessary to begin operations in islands where heathenism had disappeared and 797 all the people had, at least nominally, accepted Christianity. This argument was valid in Vava'u, Ha'apai, and the Niuas. On the other hand, the Roman Catholics rightly contended that part of Tongatapu was still heathen and had rejected Wesleyan teaching. This was their claim when they began at Pea in 1842 although, afterwards, they extended their work to every part of Tonga.

There was never any doubt about both the devotion and the courage of the pioneer Roman Catholic missionaries in the Pacific. Bishop Pompallier calmly faced threats of death at Uvea (Wallis Island). Father Chanel suffered martyrdom at Futuna (Horne Island).

Peter Dillon, who visited Tonga again in 1838 and 1841, declared: "If His 797 Majesty Louis Philippe would now come forward I could procure for him the 648 sovereignty of Tonga and all the Friendly Islands at the trifling expense of a few thousand francs". This was stated in a letter to Father Colin, founder of the Marist Order, on 10 June 1841.(24) He also suggested to Father Colin that a French company should buy land in Tonga. All these plans were rejected by Father Colin who, however, persisted in endeavouring to place priests in Tonga.

On 17 December 1841, a French warship, *L'Allier*, Captain du Bouzet, called at Vava'u. In the harbour the captain fired a salvo of guns in honour of Bishop Pompallier. (In New Zealand, not long before, the Bishop had disembarked with a nine-gun salute from a French corvette.) The captain called the chiefs of Vava'u to meet him and he

> "read them a well-deserved lesson on civilization; he reproached them with the intolerance (imposed by the Methodist missionaries) they had shown me (= the Bishop) nearly four years before, in refusing to allow me to stay on their island." (25)

Both Peter Turner and Francis Wilson, who were in Vava'u in 1841, in reporting the Bishop's second visit, said, "The captain asked the chiefs if they knew what the French had done at Tahiti; they answered 'Yes'." Rabone (then in Ha'apai) also reported,

> "They asked the chiefs if they had not heard what they had done at Tahiti and other places, evidently to intimidate." (26)

The captain read a letter authorized by the French king insisting on the right of all French subjects to receive a welcome when they came to any land for any purpose. The letter to Taufa'ahau from the French king was in English. With a few minor grammatical corrections, this letter set out that Bishop Pompallier

> "to whom has been entrusted the whole Christian Mission to evangelize the natives of the South Sea Islands has not received . . . in 1838 the kind reception that a French subject should expect . . . he was refused permission to land a man of his attendance, though he took upon himself not to meddle with religious subjects . . . I have been charged by my Government to demand of your Majesty the motives of such an exclusion altogether inconsistent with the laws and customs of civilized people. The Government of His Majesty the king of the French has the right of requiring a good reception for all French people and their admission into Vava'u and all islands submissive to the authority of Your Majesty, whether for the purpose of commerce or any lawful purpose. . . . To deny these henceforth to them would be noticed as a bad dealing to the French Government who would do for his subjects what the importance of the case would require." (27)

Turner invited the Bishop to call on him and they had a friendly conversation 777 centering, however, on the controversial claim of the Roman Catholics to be the only true Church.(28)

[1837-1843]

Especially during the first half of the 19th Century, following the Tractarian 797
Movement and the revival of Roman Catholicism in England, the dislike and 798
disparagement of Roman Catholic doctrines by Evangelicals was extremely marked. Many Protestant commentators on the New Testament identified "Babylon", "the Man of Sin" and other biblical symbols with the Roman Catholic Church and the Pope. John Thomas's words are revolting to modern ears, but he was echoing the feelings of his time when, after the 1837 visit of the Bishop and priests to Vava'u, he wrote,

> "Nor may the Mother of harlots and her children gain any footing in the Friendly Islands or any of the islands of the sea." (29)

Walter Lawry, visiting Tonga in 1847, referred to "Heathenism and Popery, its first cousin".(30) "Popery", the usual term, caused obsessive fear in the minds of Wesleyan missionaries in Tonga and Fiji throughout this period. Greatly as we now deplore these false and unseemly criticisms of the Roman Catholic Church, we have to recognize that the totally changed attitude, mutually adopted, in comparatively recent years, has been largely due to the benevolence and wisdom of the late Pope John XXIII.

The Wesleyans were hostile towards the priests' entry, not only on religious grounds and because they had been first in the field. National antagonism intensified the feeling of distrust. The Wesleyans and their followers feared the aggression of the French in the South Pacific; for, however imprudent the L.M.S. missionaries were in seeking to deny entry to French priests in Tahiti, there was no doubt about the French authorities' disregard for the Tahitians' interests afterwards and their ruthlessness in annexing the country. New Caledonia also had come under French domination. Tonga was on the direct route between Tahiti and New Caledonia.

On 26 May 1843, after complaints from the Wesleyan Missionary Society in London, the British Foreign Office wrote to the French Government that it seemed "as if there were a fixed intention on the part of the French authorities in the South Pacific to compel the king of the Friendly Islands to receive into his territories certain French Roman Catholic priests". The Foreign Office suggested that the French missionaries should "direct their pious zeal towards islands which are still immersed in the darkness of paganism".(31)

Captain Erskine, H.M.S. *Havannah*, who visited the islands in 1849, was not an admirer of the Wesleyan missionaries in Tonga and believed them to be below the quality of both the L.M.S. missionaries in Samoa and the Wesleyans in Fiji. Yet he was firmly of the opinion that Roman Catholics and Protestants should not operate in the same fields:

> "The intrusion, however good-intentioned, must always be liable to the imputation of making ungenerous use of the firstcomer's exertions. . . . The forced obligation to admit priests was a feeling which need not proceed from fanatical or narrow-minded motives." (32)

After the rebuffs in Vava'u, the priests succeeded in establishing their Mission 797
in Tongatapu. The Wesleyan missionaries were temporarily absent at a District Meeting and Taufa'ahau also was in the north. Aleamotu'a did not offer any protest. On 3 July 1842 Bishop Pompallier, Father Chevron, and Brother Attele landed at Pea. They were received by a chief, Moeaki, who had professed conversion with the Wesleyans but had lapsed into heathenism.

> "It was plain to see that the hour of salvation had arrived for the people of Tongatapu,"

[1842-1852]

the Bishop declared.(83) The priests soon "traversed the whole island". The party of about thirty comprised converts from Uvea and a few Tongans who had been living at Uvea. The Uveans afterwards settled at the village of Holonga, in Hahake. Father Chevron continued a faithful ministry in Tonga until his death 42 years later and his piety was a cherished memory with his people. 797

The Mission was extended to Mu'a, the ancient seat of the Tu'i Tonga. The priests, like their Wesleyan rivals, knew the importance of converting chiefs, and for years they endeavoured to secure the adhesion of Laufilitonga, the Tu'i Tonga; finally he was baptized in 1851. Mu'a and Ma'ofanga became notable Roman Catholic centres.

As the priests' ministrations developed, the Wesleyans complained about the different attitude of the Roman Catholic Mission towards certain moral and social problems. The Tu'i Tonga and other chiefs were not obliged to adopt monogamy immediately as the Wesleyans had insisted should be done by their converts. Also the priests permitted dancing, smoking and other practices, and did not insist on Sabbath observance according to the Wesleyan pattern. This led to some defections from the Wesleyan side. Thomas expressed his opinion that [798]

> "Popery was much more suited to the Tongan easy flesh-pleasing habit than the religion of the Bible." (84)

In these words Thomas showed the distinction he made between what he called "the religion of the Bible" and the priests' teachings, as well as underlining the difficulty that "the restraint of the Gospel" placed on Wesleyan converts.

A major difficulty was political. If suspicions of French designs against Tonga's independence seemed exaggerated, there was a stronger grievance arising from the priests' support for those chiefs with whom they resided and who were opposed to the Tu'i Kanokupolu. When the priests resided in the villages of the Ha'a Havea chiefs and converted some of them it was not surprising that they became sympathetic towards their cause and critical of Taufa'ahau as the leading protagonist for the Wesleyans. From the modern viewpoint, the bitterness of sectarian strife in those years is difficult to understand and impossible to approve. It remained a running sore in Tongan society for many years. 797 668

Tonga's last war, in 1852, was the final effort of the rebels who defied the authority of the king they had elected in 1845. Unhappily, religious differences entered into this struggle. Captain Erskine, who has been quoted (see beginning of Chapter VIII) for pointing out that the objections of "the strong heathen party in Tongatapu . . . arise more from a political than a religious feeling", also wrote — 797 669

> "The heathen or opposition party in Tonga have apparently adopted the French Roman Catholic priests, with the sole object of holding out against George's authority which he would otherwise have long since succeeded in quietly establishing." (85)

The king's forces were composed mainly of Wesleyans, but they included some Roman Catholics and some non-Christians. The rebels also were mixed, as far as religion was concerned. The young Wesleyan chief from Vava'u, Matekitonga, son of Finau 'Ulukalala III and not considered for the succession to the chieftainship of Vava'u in 1833, was among the rebels at Pea. The Tu'i Tonga, Laufilitonga, was neutral.

The rebellions of the Ha'a Havea chiefs were encouraged by the priests, generally tacitly, but sometimes openly as when they told the chiefs that a French

[1845-1851]

warship would come to support them. Thomas West, the missionary, stated that, 797
soon after George's election as Tu'i Kanokupolu in 1845, the priests 669

> "began, at first secretly, and then openly, to undermine and deny his authority". (36)

After agreeing to the election, Ma'afu (son of the old blind chief of the 1840 643
period), Lavaka and Vaea began to oppose the king. They did this by harbouring 668
men who had broken the king's laws and, even more defiantly, by rebuilding the
forts of Houma and Pea in clear breach of the undertaking which all parties had
given upon Tupou's accession in 1845. The king had demolished the fort at
Nuku'alofa on Zion or Mission Hill, as a proof of his own peaceful policy.

After 1845 the king removed to Lifuka, staying there, except for short periods, until 1851. He left Ma'afu and Lavaka responsible for peace and order in Tongatapu, seemingly testing their loyalty. When he visited Tongatapu in 1850 after the re-fortifying of Houma and Pea, the chiefs denied any intention of open rebellion. Accepting their word, the king took no steps against them, except to appoint a new governor, Haumono Mafile'o, before returning to Ha'apai.

The king's feelings were shown in 1850 when he went to Mu'a and held a 643
public assembly. In this he directly charged the priests with supporting his 668
opponents. To Father Chevron he said, "The rebellion is with you", and, when 797
this was denied, he went on,

> "You cannot get out of this; and let me tell you we are not now afraid of French men-of-war; . . . We are not to be rebelled against and have divisions sowed among us. You must behave like a Christian man or I will send you out of the land." (37)

The tension of the period, with mixed political and religious elements, could 797
be found in an incident in 1850. Uvea (Wallis Island), north of Samoa, was one 798
of the worst examples of sectarian strife in the Pacific. It had first received 171
Wesleyan converts from Niua Toputapu and then Tongan teachers, left there by
visiting Wesleyan missionaries. Before long, French priests arrived and began a
Mission which grew steadily. Under the form of religious rivalry, old tribal quarrels
broke out fiercely on the island. In 1850 two American vessels with 500 people 797
from Uvea arrived at Vava'u. Whether all, or even some, had been expelled is 798
not clear but all wanted to leave an island that was plunged in civil war. The 500
refugees were taken away on the understanding that they would work for the
American ship-owners on plantations on Fanning Island, north-central Pacific.
On reaching Vava'u they deserted the vessels and sought permission to remain
ashore. The Americans, naturally, felt that they had been tricked.

Bishop Bataillon, successor to Bishop Pompallier, called on King George
at Nuku'alofa to explain that the Uveans had not been persecuted and had not
left Uvea for that reason. Tupou took the opportunity of telling the Bishop that 797
many Roman Catholics in Tongatapu were disputing his lawful rule. In reply, 798
the Bishop charged the king with not allowing Roman Catholics freedom of 643
worship; the king denied this and added that Wesleyan preachers were not allowed
to hold services at Pea. (38)

The king himself, however, was not consistent. In 1851, when a Tongan chief, Sovea, who had been converted to Roman Catholicism in Fiji, returned to his own land, together with a French lay brother, with the intention of building a church in Nuku'alofa, he was forbidden to do this by Tupou. Although the king stated that Sovea had entered surreptitiously into the community and he was annoyed for this reason, his prohibition of building a Roman Catholic church was

[1852]

unjustified; and it is probable, without any direct evidence, that the Wesleyan 797
missionaries supported his decision.(39) 798

As far as the king's political position was concerned, events were moving to 643
a crisis. When Tupou finally removed from Ha'apai to Nuku'alofa in 1851, the
Ha'a Havea chiefs at Pea and Houma declared their complete independence. They 643
refused to demolish their forts and even declined to meet the king to discuss the 669
situation. He had shown much forbearance but he could not be expected to carry tolerance further. The real issue was whether Tonga was to be a united kingdom under its rightful ruler or whether any district, as the rebels contended, should be allowed to declare its independence.

When it was clear that the rebels' belligerence was growing and when they were preparing to attack Nuku'alofa, Tupou declared war on 1 March 1852. He distributed rifles to the loyal chiefs, with the order that they should act only on the defensive.(40) Everything pointed to the king's anxiety to avoid bloodshed. Naturally, he was endeavouring to be discreet also for fear of involvement with the French authorities. Pea and Houma were besieged but not attacked. Four divisions from Nuku'alofa, Mu'a, Ha'apai and Vava'u built earthworks and invested Pea. Ata and the men of Hihifo were entrusted with the siege of Houma. A few casualties took place around both forts; Haumono Mafile'o, governor of Tongatapu, was fatally wounded while on patrol duty outside Pea. On two occasions when Richard Amos was conducting Sunday services with the besiegers of Pea his party was fired on from the fort.

On 2 March 1852, a French whaler, *Gustave*, delivered ammunition to the besieged in Pea.(41) On 20 March one of the missionaries at Nuku'alofa, William Webb, died. In delicate health for some time, he had been grieved by the war and
in his dying moments he prayed for the return of peace. On 13 April the French 643
warship, *Henri*, Captain Nalliez, brought the Roman Catholic Bishop Bataillon 669
again. The Bishop told the king that he had heard in Samoa that the remaining 797
non-Christians and the Roman Catholic converts in Tonga were being driven out of the country. To this the king replied,

> "The report you heard in Samoa was a lying report. This is not a religious war, but a civil war. This you might have known from the fact that the Roman Catholics of Mu'a as well as the heathens are fighting against Pea. This is the same at Ma'ofanga also, where Papists, heathens, and Protestants are all marshalled under one chief, the chief of the place. The object of the present war is to subject the rebels to the government of their country. There is one thing, however, I must make known to you. It appears evil in my eyes that your converts in general have joined the heathens in opposing my rule." (42)

The king also quoted from a letter written by Father Chevron to the chief, Tungi, governor of Hahake, the eastern district of Tongatapu. In this Father Chevron said that the Roman Catholics could not acknowledge Tupou as king because of the difference in religion.(43) There is, however, no evidence that this was the official policy of the Roman Catholic Church, certainly not after peace was made in 1852. The king offered to send Bishop Bataillon under a flag of truce to visit the priests in Pea but the Bishop declined and went there independently. Captain Nalliez offered to remove the priests to Tahiti; and the king pointed out that he had already suggested that they should leave Pea for safety's sake. Being satisfied at this point, Captain Nalliez told the king,

> "If they choose to remain, the consequences are with themselves. You, as king, have done your duty in offering them protection." (44)

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On 27 June Father Calignon, who had been in Pea throughout this period, went 643
to Tahiti saying that he would return with a warship. 669

Houma surrendered on 11 July after the king had sent offers of peace several 797
times. When the chiefs Vaea and Fohe made their submission to the king, they [728]
were freely pardoned, were given their places in the king's kava ring, and had their positions fully recognized.(45)

Before war was declared on 1 March, and several times since then, the king had asked the French priests to leave Pea lest anything happen to create a difficulty with the French Government. They were offered refuge in Nuku'alofa or Mu'a. It was greatly to the priests' credit that they said they would remain with their converts in the fort. They had also declined to sail to Tahiti with the warship *Henri* in April. The defenders of Pea were determined to hold out, believing that a warship would come any day to their assistance, especially as Father Calignon had gone to Tahiti for this purpose. The king's army had orders to attack Pea immediately upon a French ship being sighted.

On 9 August a warship hove in sight, but it proved to be H.M.S. *Calliope*, 669
Captain Sir Everard Home, Senior Commander of the Sydney and New Zealand 797
stations, who had met the king on a previous visit. Captain Home at once offered 728
to make peace, if possible. He sent a letter to the priests offering them safety on his ship; again they declined. The terms he proposed were that all the rebels would be spared on condition that all fortifications were levelled and every man returned to his own town. At first the rebel chiefs asked that the king's son and a Wesleyan missionary should be sent to Pea as hostages for the chiefs' safety when they surrendered; this the king declined to do. Ma'afu and Lavaka then came to the king's camp and told him that they were willing to accept the terms. Before they returned to their fort next morning, however, it had been captured.

Early that morning, 17 August, the Vava'u division noticed that the gate opposite them was unguarded, probably because the defenders believed that a surrender was almost decided upon. Instantly the Vava'u men, always prone to excitement ("the Irish of Tonga" they have been called), entered the fort with loud shouts. They were followed by the rest of the king's forces and the burning of houses inside the fort began. The victors were getting out of hand. Captain Home, on his way from Nuku'alofa, with the missionaries, West and Amos, hurried forward and found that the king was checking the destruction of property. Special care was taken to prevent damage to the priests and their possessions. Unfortunately, their chapel was already in flames, but its contents as well as the priests' residence and their personal property were saved. No lives were lost in the capture of Pea. The king's clemency, as at Houma a few weeks before, had a healing effect. Not long afterwards Ma'afu and Lavaka came to the missionaries and thanked them for their part in bringing peace and a general amnesty.(46) On the day following the capture the king ordered the fortifications of Pea to be levelled. The last fight in Tonga was over.

Captain Home sailed away seven days later, but before leaving he wrote to 648
Tupou verifying the efforts he had made to protect the lives and property of the 643
priests at Pea. This proof was useful when the long-expected French warship came on 12 November 1852. Captain Belland, *La Moselle*, inquired into the complaints taken to Tahiti by Father Calignon. After a full investigation he expressed himself as satisfied with the king's account of what had happened. West

[1852-1855]

was not the interpreter for this inquiry, but afterwards Captain Belland said to him: 648 643

> "Tell the king that I have known many chiefs in the South Sea Islands, but I have never met his equal. The French have acknowledged his authority by directing me to him as supreme ruler in Tonga. He must, however, employ his authority in protecting all foreigners from insult, and must allow his subjects to choose what religion they please; but all must submit to the law of the land. Should any Frenchman be guilty in future of such intermeddling with the government as has been proved orally in this case, he has only to procure documentary evidence of the fact and the French Government will not fail promptly to punish the offender by his removal from the country or otherwise, whether he be a priest or merely a layman." (47)

It was obvious that Father Calignon had failed in his charges against the king. Captain Belland would not allow him to remain in Tongatapu but took him back to Tahiti. 797

Nothing further transpired until 9 January 1855, when the French governor of Tahiti, M. de Bouzet, came to Nuku'alofa together with Father Calignon. He brought a treaty already written and needing only the king's signature. This visit differed from Captain Belland's, for the governor seemed to think that Tupou had been treated too favourably then. He may have believed that, because Captain Belland was a Protestant, he had been unduly lenient. The king was practically forced to sign the treaty although he objected to Clause III; no banishment or loss of property because of religion, as this clause mentioned, had actually occurred, and the governor offered no proof that anything of the kind had taken place. 648 643

The French Treaty of 1855, nevertheless, was of value as the first official recognition of Tupou's sovereignty and Tonga's independence by a foreign nation. It showed that Tupou was regarded as capable of ruling his country and preventing trouble occurring to European residents — a different position from that of Cakobau in Fiji. Clause I of the Treaty stated that there should be peace and friendship between Tupou and Napoleon III. Clause II promised freedom of worship. Clause III stated that Tongans banished or robbed of their land because of their religion were to be allowed to return and receive their land. Another clause promised that French subjects in Tonga would be protected.

This Treaty did not entirely allay fears of French aggression, and these were not confined to the king and his friends. British naval officers were disturbed by the French attitude. Commodore Fremantle in 1855 suggested British protectorates over Fiji, Samoa and Tonga, so that they would be a buffer between French colonies in the east (Tahiti, &c.) and the west (New Caledonia). No action followed Fremantle's suggestion. John Thomas, in writing to Eggleston, Missionary Secretary, referred to Commodore Fremantle's visit and his "good advice to the king", with his hope that "lasting good will follow". Thomas added,

> "Nothing will tend more to prevent the encroachments of the French than an occasional and friendly visit of an English ship of war." (48)

A later Admiralty report to the British Government declared,

> "The French seemed to be conspiring to add Tonga in the centre to their already large possessions. . . . It might be inconvenient in the future . . . if enemy ships should lie in the harbour of Tongatapu within a few hundred miles of the track of our homeward-bound gold ships from Sydney and Melbourne." (49)

[1856-1858]

On 12 May 1856, Tupou wrote to Queen Victoria requesting her to enter into a Treaty, and stating: 648 643

> "We are a small and weak kingdom and fear the encroachments of a great foreign Power. We entreat that our independent existence as a kingdom should be granted to us." (50)

Owing to the error of the merchant to whom this message was given for delivery, the letter was unanswered until 1858, when the appeal was rejected.

> "The Colonial Office told a Wesleyan deputation which was urging compliance with King George's request that Her Majesty's Government could not guarantee the independence of the Friendly Islands but that the appointment of a consul constituted a recognition of its present independence." (51)

In the sectarian rivalry that followed the French Treaty of 1855 neither 797 party was blameless. Thomas West related, with some satisfaction, the king's 798 evasion of the priests' requests for land to build a chapel at Nuku'alofa.(52) This refusal was in clear contravention of the terms of the Treaty recognizing freedom of worship.

The Wesleyan attitude towards the priests' desire to enter Ha'apai was still more obstructive. In July 1858, Father Calignon and another priest appeared at Lifuka with the intention of establishing a Mission there. When the governor of 797 Ha'apai, Josiah Lausi'i, delayed permission even to land because, he said, this 798 was a matter for the king who was then in Vava'u, Father Calignon sought the 648 good offices of the captain of the frigate *La Bayonnaise* which had called at Nuku'alofa. The captain demanded that the king depose the governor. He also required the king to sign an undertaking to convey the priests to Ha'apai, with their servants and baggage, to grant them a piece of land, and to build for them two houses equal in every respect to those occupied by Wesleyan missionaries. John Thomas, writing to Eggleston, Missionary Secretary, on 19 August 1858, stated that he had been present at the interview between the French captain and the king;

> "the captain was not to be moved by anything that was said but considered the king had been guilty of a breach of the Treaty, which he considered a declaration of war, and he was determined to punish the king and his people for it." (53)

Thomas Adams, in a letter to Eggleston (18 October 1858), stated that the king was given the alternatives of war or signing the undertaking.

> 'So much for French justice. To submit to humiliating requests or lose his kingdom. King George asked for arbitration from a neutral power but this was indignantly refused." (54)

The Wesleyans, however, had been in the wrong through the action of their missionary in Ha'apai, John Vercoe. John Thomas realized this when he added to his complaint to Eggleston (19 August 1858),

> "What makes the matter the more painful is, that it is reported that it was at the urgent request of Bro. Vercoe that the priests were sent away." (55)

Vercoe had reported his action in a letter to Eggleston on 13 August 1858 and may have expected approval but, on the contrary, the Missionary Secretary replied in reproof (30 September 1858):

> "The Church of Rome is chargeable and justly so with intolerance because she employs the civil power in preventing Protestant teaching where she has the predominance, and we must not imitate her intolerance in our own advice to the Government under which we may live. . . . I have been privately informed that intelligence reached Sydney of your proceeding at a public meeting to determine whether the priests should come on

[1852-1860]

> shore or not, and that this fact gave severity to the penalty on the part of the French Government." (56) 797

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In a letter to Thomas (1 October) Eggleston regretted that Vercoe had acted obstructively; 648

> "The advice was wrong and under present circumstances most impolitic." (57)

Although the Missionary Committee in Sydney had arranged for a deputation to the Colonial Office in London protesting against the pressure the French had put upon King George in this matter, Eggleston's letters make clear the embarrassment which the missionary authorities themselves felt.

Meanwhile the king was obliged to transport the priests in his own vessel to Ha'apai where the Wesleyan chiefs and people were compelled to build two houses for the priests. This enforced labour was an infelicitous introduction for the Roman Catholic Mission in Ha'apai. After six months there was still not one convert; the church bell was rung regularly, but without any response. It was little wonder that John Thomas wrote:

> "It was not in this way the Protestants gained a footing among the natives of these islands." (58)

The local situation worsened when, in July 1859, Father Calignon was refused permission by the governor to bury in the Wesleyan cemetery at Lifuka the child of the only convert in Ha'apai at that time. The governor told the priest that the burial could take place anywhere else.(59) This sorry affair culminated in the visit of another warship. The French captain complained to Mumui, then governor of Tongatapu, that Lausi'i had not been removed from his governorship of Ha'apai and also that no Roman Catholic had been given office in the Government of Tonga. The captain sent a message to the king threatening to deport him to New Caledonia. Though Morrell comments that "it was all mere bluster",(60) such a threat was not calculated to improve relationships with Tonga. One can imagine the reaction of the chiefs and people if they knew of the possibility of their king being deported; in all probability they did not know. However, at least, Lausi'i was removed from his position in Ha'apai.

The seriousness with which the Wesleyan Missionary Committee in England viewed "the aggression by the French, influenced by the Roman Catholic priests" was seen in the request for a deputation to the Colonial Secretary on 2 February 1859. This was followed by another approach from the Committee to the Prime Minister, Lord Palmerston, on 2 July 1860, urging that such action be taken by Britain as might be "best calculated to save King George from further annoyance and the (Wesleyan) Mission from being destroyed". Still another communication from the Committee in England asked that the British Government make a "Treaty of Unity and Commerce" with King George in terms of the 1856 request from the king that had not been delivered, through error, until 1858. The Committee made it clear that only "friendly recognition" was desired. It was particularly requested that 797 648

> "a clause should be inserted by which Her Majesty would engage in case of difficulties arising between him (King George) and other Powers to use her friendly offices for the preservation of peace." (61)

No definite action was forthcoming from Britain in response to these requests.

In the years immediately following the war of 1852, the Wesleyan missionaries were disturbed by the priests' policy in permitting "Sabbath desecration" and 797 798

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other practices which Wesleyans disapproved. The priests declared that, even if 797
their converts' actions contravened the laws of Tonga, "the suppression of them 798
by the Government would be a breach of the second clause of the French Treaty, and France would punish any breach of that Treaty". Thus it seemed that "freedom of worship" in the Treaty was being interpreted as freedom to adopt practices forbidden in Tongan law; at least the Wesleyan missionaries so regarded it, as revealed in their comment, "This is the first cause of our anxiety".(62)

More Wesleyan "anxiety" was reflected, not long afterwards, in a letter from George Lee, Chairman of the District, to Eggleston (8 September 1862, from Vava'u):

> "The priests told the king, in the presence of Mr. Moss [his Secretary] that he and the Queen and all the Tonguese married by Wesleyan missionaries are living in adultery. . . . The king is a sound Protestant but it will be a miracle of mercy if he can keep clear of papal and French intrigues." (63)

It would seem that the missionaries were too sensitive in their disagreements with their rivals and prone to exaggerate mild situations.

Before long the priests realized that their political activities and their reliance 797
upon French warships had alienated them from the Tongan people as a whole. When this attitude changed, their Mission benefited. Their real merit, in piety and charitable works, began to influence many people and the numbers of Roman Catholics grew, especially in central and eastern Tongatapu.

More important than sectarian disputes was the Wesleyan missionaries' concentration on repairing the moral and religious damage of the war period. Through the dislocation of Tongan society under war-time conditions passions 797
had been inflamed and virtues had faded. The Tongatapu Circuit Report for 794
1855 referred to continued difficulties:

> "Our backsliders are not confined to those who have professed the name of Christ for a few years only. Would that it was so! But we have written in this black roll the names of local preachers, [class] leaders, long-standing members, and, after having been reproved, rebuked and exhorted, without effect, they have been excluded from church membership. Numbers, Tongatapu Circuit church-members, last year, 2,249; this year, 2,094." (64)

Furthermore, the missionaries had to deal with numbers of people in 797
Tongatapu accepting Christianity for the first time. They sought to inculcate in them Christian principles, by preaching, oversight in class-meetings, and by renewed attention to the schools. An encouraging evidence of progress in the general work was mentioned in the Ha'apai Circuit Report of 1856; it stated that fourteen men had volunteered that year from Ha'apai to go to Fiji and Samoa as pastor-teachers.

In October 1853 Tonga was visited by Robert Young, the deputation sent by the British Wesleyan Conference to inspect the Missions in Tonga and Fiji as well as in Australia and New Zealand, with a view to the separation of the Wesleyan Church in these countries from the British Conference, a proposal which became effective in 1855 as a result of Young's report. His book, *The Southern World, Journal of a Deputation*, vividly recorded his experiences. He was accompanied on his tour of Tonga and Fiji by Nathaniel Turner, then a senior minister in Australia, who rejoiced to see the progress of the work he had begun twenty-six years before.

Like the missionaries, Young had nothing but praise for King George. He [643]
was struck with both the physique and the manners of the island ruler, particularly mentioning his "dignified meekness".

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Young reported the typical Sunday appointments — 5.30 a.m., prayer-meeting 797
with the king and queen present; 8 a.m., Sunday School; 9 a.m., public worship 796
with about 700 crowded into Zion Chapel and many others outside; 2 p.m., 794
Sunday School again with the Queen one of the teachers; 3 p.m., another service.
Young met one of the leading chiefs from Pea, formerly a rebel and now a
worshipper, and also a son of the Tu'i Tonga, Laufilitonga, a Wesleyan local
preacher. Not only Sabbath observance but the universal practice of family
prayers was noted by the visitor. He did not, however, approve the adoption of
European clothing.

Clearly the organization of the whole Mission in Tonga favourably impressed 797
Robert Young. Tonga then had 109 chapels, 527 local preachers, 7,000 church [368]
members, 185 schools with 7,279 pupils (adults and children). An eight hours' [793]
examination of the schools in Nuku'alofa showed Young the work of Richard
Amos. The pupils had followed custom in oiling their bodies for the occasion. [794]
Long Scripture passages had been memorized, and so had names of the rivers [877]
in Europe, the countries in the American continent, and the distances from 797
London of the principal towns in England! A class of 150 men, "full of vigour, 872
worked sums in Arithmetic with as much energy as if a war-whoop had been [302]
sounded, and the effect was startling when they chanted the multiplication table"!
Young mentioned that Thomas Adams, whose brother was a noted English
astronomer, had predicted the time of an eclipse of the moon with a precision
that amazed the Tongans.

The decade which followed the end of the war in 1852 represented a high 797
water mark in the history of the Wesleyan Mission. Not only was outward success
manifest but harmony prevailed, both harmony in the ranks of the missionaries
and, generally, between them and the king. It was to be rudely broken in a few
years.

Footnotes:

(1) Thomas, J., *Journal*, microfilm 44. F.M. 1433-39. M.L.S.
(2) Lyth, R. B., *Journal*, Vol. 2. B.534. M.L.S.; and Lyth, *Day Book*. B.535. M.L.S.; also Wallis, Mrs. M. C, *Life in Fiji for five years among the cannibals*, p.394; Derrick, R. A., *A History of Fiji*, p.100.
(3) West, T., *Ten Years in South-Central Polynesia*, pp.211-2.
(4) West, ibid, p.212.
(5) Turner, P., *Journal*, Vol. 10, 20 November 1848. B.309. M.L.S.; *M.N.*, IX, p.71.
(6) West, ibid, pp.212-3.
(7) Lawry, W., *2nd Visit, Friendly Islands and Fiji, 1850*, pp.81-2.
(8) Thomas, J., *Letters*, 10 February 1844. A.1960. M.L.S.
(9) *M.N.*, 1846, p.44; Farmer, S., *Tonga and the Friendly Islands*, p.364.
(10) Brookes, J. I., *International Rivalry in Pacific Islands 1800-75*, p.168; Leconte, *Memoires Pittoresques d'un Officer de Marine*, II, pp.426-7, 585.
(11) Brookes, ibid, p.168.
(12) Lawry, W., *Friendly and Feejee Islands, Missionary Visit, 1847*, p.62.
(13) Lawry, ibid, p.62.
(14) Cummins, H. G., *Sources of Tongan History*, p.422.
(15) Ross, Angus, *New Zealand Aspirations in the pacific in the 19th Century*, p.44.
(16) Cummins, ibid, p.424.
(17) Cummins, ibid, p.427.
(18) Thomas, J., *Journal*, 21 February 1850. Microfilm 44. F.M. 1433-49. M.L.S.
(19) Turner, P., *Journal*, 11 June 1850, Vol. 10. B.309. M.L.S.; *M.N.*, 1851, p.511.
(20) Lawry, W., *Second Missionary Visit to Friendly and Feejee Islands, 1850*, p.63.
(21) Lawry, ibid, pp.71-2.
(22) Brookes, J. I., *International Rivalry in the Pacific Islands 1800-75*, p.74.
(23) Pompallier, J. B., *Early History of the Catholic Church in Oceania*, pp.14-16; *M.N.*, 1838.

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[1852-1853]

Chapter XI.

GEORGE TUPOU I AND CHURCH-STATE RELATIONSHIPS

(1852-1862)

After the last war in 1852 George Tupou I was secure in his rule and authority. The Code of 1850 had introduced a respectable system of law and government. The French, of whom he had been suspicious, had recognized the independence of his country by the Treaty of 1855. He was still an ardent supporter of the Wesleyan Mission. 643 [648] [797]

The king was in the noonday of his vigour and intellectual strength. The missionaries' opinions may have been biassed; but a eulogy such as the Frenchman, Captain Belland, had given in 1852 represented the reputation that Tupou was gaining. Basil Thomson's opinion, given much later, reflected the general feeling of those who met the king,

> "a man who would have been remarkable in any country".(1)

With the internal settlement of Tonga complete, the king was free to learn more about the outside world in 1853. The *John Wesley*, with British Wesleyan deputation, Robert Young, on board, gave means of travel and companionship. When the vessel was ready to sail, "thousands lined the shores" to see Tupou go on board. The crowds wept at his departure with typical Tongan emotion.

As the *John Wesley* was sailing up Sydney Harbour and Mr. Young was pointing out places along the shores and the buildings of the city he expected that the king would display some astonishment. However, on being asked "What do you think of all this?" the king quietly remarked, "I will tell you tomorrow!" Like a true Tongan he knew how to conceal his thoughts when he so desired.

The king preached in Wesleyan churches in Sydney. His appearance and his statements about the change in Tonga through Christian teachings made a powerful impression. When he held up his hands in preaching there were two little fingers which had lost two joints through the customs of sacrifice when he was a boy. Stephen Rabone, then in Sydney, had been given an idol which the king made the subject of one of his addresses.(2) During his visit to Hobart he was made his first pair of shoes. A Tongan choir in 1933 was shown the wooden cast from which the shoes were made; this had been kept in a church museum and the Tongan lads secured it for their own museum at Tupou College.

One result of the king's visit was his determination to raise the missionary contributions of his people, a decision that he communicated to Robert Young. This became a subject of criticism later, but it was Tupou himself who resolved to begin this policy. 643 797

He was surprised to find poverty and to see some people sleeping in the parks of Sydney. This was in sharp contrast to the customs of his own country which ensured hospitality and shared means of living for all. The most significant 643

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
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[1853-1855]

The most significant
result of the visit was the king's resolve that there should be no sale of land in 643
Tonga, but only a leasehold system that would retain ownership in the government 423
itself. Preventing the alienation of land to any foreigners was a vitally important
policy for Tonga's future.

On the way to Sydney, *John Wesley* spent some time in Fiji for the sake 643
of Robert Young's inspection. Tupou met Cakobau and advised him to accept
Christianity. He saw how the spirit of rebellion was dividing Fiji and endangering 648
Cakobau's authority. It was then that he offered to bring aid to Cakobau who [797]
promised to give him a large canoe, *Ra Marama*. The king returned to Fiji to
obtain this canoe in 1855.

It has been alleged that Tupou was seeking territorial expansion in Fiji. At the time of the 1855 war there was nothing to suggest this. His relative, Henry Ma'afu, son of Aleamotu'a, had gone to Fiji in 1848 at the age of twenty-one, sent by Tupou to control the unruly Tongans. Ma'afu set out to profit by the divided state of Fiji and, when he conquered any territory, he divided the land among his followers. as, he said, William the Conqueror had done after 1066. Gradually, Ma'afu made himself overlord of a great part of the Lau group, with his seat of government at Lomaloma in Vanuabalavu. His subsequent rivalry with Cakobau helped to hasten the cession of Fiji to Britain in 1874. His methods of promoting Christianity also brought embarrassment to the Wesleyan missionaries in Fiji.

Tupou went to Fiji in 1855, ostensibly to gain possession of the canoe, *Ra Marama*, promised him in his 1853 visit. He felt it wise to take 2,000 men with him in case he was attacked. However, a stronger motive must have been the bolstering of Cakobau's tottering rule which was being assailed by rebellious chiefs on all sides.

The details of the Battle of Kaba on 7 April 1855 can be left to the section of this history dealing with the Wesleyan Mission in Fiji. The vigorous attack of the Tongans carried all before it at Kaba, the rebels' stronghold. Their Fijian allies, although they had not taken part in the attack, killed 150 people, including women and children, and they would have followed their custom of a cannibal feast if Tupou had not prevented them. The other Fijian rebel forts quickly surrendered rather than experience the Tongan shock tactics. If Tupou had not helped Cakobau, the capital, Bau, would have fallen and Cakobau's rule would have been at an end. Resultant anarchy would probably have led to the intervention of white nations. The restoration of Cakobau to his authority removed the possibility of a partition of Fiji among foreign powers, and when Cakobau eventually ceded his country to Britain in 1874 it was undivided.

After the war ended, Tupou and his men visited various parts of Fiji, with
the numerous local preachers in the forces taking services. Everywhere they urged [797]
the Fijians to turn from heathenism.

Up to this point, 1855, the case for Tupou's disinterestedness seems clear enough. With Ma'afu's increasing involvement and his growing success a change in the king's attitude seems to have occurred. He began to support the claims of Tongans to land in the Lau group. He also pressed for payment of £12,000 from Cakobau for the expenses of his intervention on Cakobau's behalf in 1855. W. T. Pritchard, British Consul in Fiji, obtained from Ma'afu, on behalf of Tupou, a renunciation of claims to land and any political aspirations (14

[1846 - 1863]

December 1859).[3] Both in Fiji and Tonga the missionaries were troubled about 643
Tonga's policy towards Fiji; they regarded a Tongan invasion as intolerable and 648
believed it would also give the Christian religion a setback in both countries.[4] James Calvert, veteran missionary in Fiji, urged Pritchard to go to Tonga to settle the problem. He went in 1862, arriving on 23 April, and conducting negotiations with the king for more than a week. Each day there was a Wesleyan missionary present at these discussions. Finally Pritchard induced the king to sign a document renouncing all territorial claims in Fiji and abandoning any designs against that country.[5] The Chairman in Tonga, W. J. Davis, reported this to Eggleston, Missionary Secretary, on 10 June 1862:

> "Mr. Pritchard has formed a treaty with King George to the following effect:
>
> (1) Not to urge any claim on Fiji until the decision of Her Britannic Majesty is known.
>
> (2) To recall from Fiji the two men against whom the Consul has complained.
>
> (3) To pass such measures at this Parliament as shall effectually prevent the bad conduct of Tongans in Fiji and to outlaw the Tongans who disobey the said laws.
>
> (4) To prevent all Tongan interference in the sale of lands, general trade and politics in Fiji, indeed all interference between the British and Fijians.
>
> (5) To send a chief immediately after this Parliament to see all these things carried out." [6]

The Tongan chiefs were outspoken in their opposition to any project for sending an army to Fiji and probably they had more influence with Tupou than anyone else in bringing about an amicable settlement. Two leading chiefs went to Ovalau to meet Pritchard in 1863 and they gave him an assurance of non-aggression from Tonga.

Pritchard reported that the king had been reluctant to sign in 1862. It was believed that he hoped to gain advantages in Fiji before the annexation by Britain, the objective Pritchard was actively seeking, unsuccessfully as it transpired. The Wesleyan missionaries in Fiji had begun to regard annexation as inevitable because of the absence of firm government and the continuance of disorder. The 643
king was not pleased with the Tongan Wesleyan missionaries' support for 648
Pritchard. Here was another indication that the bonds of friendship between the 797
king and his former advisers were beginning to weaken.

* * * *

The veteran John Thomas, who had given displeasure to the king, had left 797
Tonga before Pritchard's visit took place. He had grown weary in well doing. Conditions had changed sadly for him. Always prone to discouragement, he was distressed by the waning of enthusiasm and the resentment of spiritual discipline among many of the people. He was not adaptable by nature and his intellectual limitations hampered him as the necessity for enlightened leadership found him wanting. As early as 1833 he had mentioned a desire for retirement (in his Journal, 25 May 1833).[7] In 1840 his Journal showed his sensitiveness to his colleagues' criticisms:

> "I have been tempted to believe that some of my brethren wonder why I do not go home. I have always felt that the work is too great for me; I am not learned, nay, I am grossly ignorant." [8]

In 1846, at the end of twenty years' service, his retirement seemed definite; it would have been happier for him if he had left then. He was respected for his piety and devotion, but his lack of leadership made his colleagues complain, both among themselves and to visiting Superintendents, Waterhouse and Lawry.

[1847-1848]

797

After the 1847 District Meeting, Lawry wrote to the Missionary Secretaries in London, on 8 January 1848:

> "The Rev. John Thomas leaves the Friendly Isles the next time the *John Wesley* goes up . . . He is a good man but not fit to be Chairman of the District." (9)

Thomas's Journal confirms this expectation of leaving in 1848. Lawry contrasted the rather backward state of the work in Tonga at that time, especially in translation and the disagreements of the Mission staff, with the progress and the harmony in Fiji. He attributed the lack of "unity of design and very little brotherly love" to Thomas's unfitness (16 February 1848). Again he wrote,

> "I think him [Thomas] as pious and holy as any man can be with the same amount of self-will and stubbornness."

On 31 March, Lawry wrote to the Missionary Secretaries in London,

> "Mr. Thomas sees no need of educating the natives, for they have nothing, he says, to apply their knowledge to!"

Again to the Secretaries, on 31 July 1848,

> "On my leaving Tonga I was spared the duty of telling Mr. Thomas what impression the Mission had made on my mind concerning himself. . . . But I wrote to Mr. Rabone, who was then at Vava'u, that he must occupy the chair from the time that Mr. Thomas should leave the District . . . In this *private* letter to Mr. Rabone I stated pretty fully what impressions had been made on my mind concerning Mr. Thomas. . . . At the next District Meeting this letter was read in public and a minute made thereon, the meeting giving me no notice thereof."

(The private letter to Rabone is mentioned in the District Meeting Minutes, 1848, in a later paragraph.)

As far as Lawry was concerned the situation had not improved when he wrote on 7 August:

> "Thomas has changed his mind and will not come. He is very angry with me (as he was with Mr. Waterhouse, whose view of him was as my own). . . . His defective knowledge on very many important points, such as translation of the Scriptures and education for the people, utterly unfit him to be at the head of this greatly injured Mission, upon which he has long been a very heavy drag."

Again, on 30 September 1848, Lawry wrote:

> "Poor Thomas has got all by the ears with his brethren here, especially with Turner and Wilson, to whom may be added King George, but he is resolved to inflict his erring government on that Mission for a longer period. . . . As a private Christian and a faithful missionary, in many respects, I honour John Thomas, but, as one having to rule, where the literary character of his work assumes such an important character, I deeply deplore the evils which have come out of his official administration."

Lawry supported his criticism with a letter he received from James Watkin, formerly in Tonga, another from the mild-mannered Matthew Wilson, and the unanimous verbal statements that the missionaries had given him.

Poor Thomas's side of the argument is seen in the following entry in his Journal:

> "Although I have done everything I could to serve this District and to serve my brethren in it, yet have I failed to give satisfaction, and also I know of no brother that will take my part or stand by me in my trouble. . . . I am almost broken-hearted but I wait on the Lord . . . I see no way for any escape from trouble in this District . . . The brethren by their writing and talking against me have called forth Mr. Lawry's painful and disorderly letter . . . I have no wish to defend myself, . . . let me go quietly away . . ." (10)

Although his colleagues had undoubtedly been dissatisfied and critical their sympathies were aroused on his behalf by Lawry's letter, as the resolution in the District Meeting (20 April 1848) discloses:

[1848-1856]

> "That this meeting, having ascertained that a letter has been received from the Rev. Walter Lawry stating that the brethren of this District regard their Chairman as a hindrance to their work and no longer acceptable or useful as a missionary to the people, we hereby state that no such misrepresentations have been made by this District, and sympathize with the Chairman because of such painful statements which have brought forth such a strong condemnatory letter from the General Visitor which the brethren now assembled cannot but regard in its language and statements as an unworthy and uncalled for attack upon an aged brother." (11) 797

The situation was aggravated by Thomas objecting to Lawry as General Superintendent and Visitor having authority over him as Chairman of the Tonga District; Lawry makes this clear in his letter of 27 February 1849 to the Secretaries in London. Altogether it was another unfortunate disagreement among missionaries. It is possible that there was some personal friction between Lawry and Thomas after their early experiences more than twenty years before. Nevertheless the opinions of the brethren, including Stephen Rabone, brother-in-law of Thomas, indicate that Thomas had at least outstayed his usefulness.

Rabone was surprised that Lawry should prefer him as Thomas's successor to Peter Turner who was his senior. In his Journal he wrote:

> "I know Mr. Waterhouse highly recommended Bro. P. Turner for the successor of Mr. Thomas. Mr. Lawry has taken a very different view of Bro. Turner's qualifications." (12)

The 1849 District Meeting passed a motion eulogizing Thomas's work, referred to his "declining years", but indicated no expectation of his returning to Tonga. It also approved Peter Turner leaving because of the serious state of his wife's health, and it unanimously recommended Rabone to be Chairman. As it happened, Rabone also was obliged, for health reasons, to return to Australia in 1850.

To John Thomas's great sorrow the relationship between himself and the king, his convert and old friend, had changed. On 17 March 1848 there was a significant entry in Thomas's Journal: 797 643

> "I had an interview with the King. He is not as free as he was."

Thomas then spoke to the king about his possible return to England,

> "but the king was silent". (13)

A few days later, on 29 March, Thomas called on the king and told him that the District Meeting had been critical of him and that the king had been named as having made complaints about him. Tupou replied that Lawry and Wilson had interviewed him and asked him about Thomas, and he had told them that there were people in Nuku'alofa who complained about Thomas's conduct (but in what respect was not made clear). Even though this conversation was inconclusive, Thomas's Journal showed his distress as he felt he was no longer useful in Tonga.(14)

The advice and support that Thomas had formerly given had been appreciated but what had been natural in earlier years had become inappropriate when Tupou was proving himself a ruler equal to the new conditions. Thomas did not realize that the king no longer needed to be under his tutelage. The old missionary also expressed his concern that he was suspected by the king of misrepresenting Tongans as being willing to be "the friends or subjects" of Britain (see p. 101).(15) After his return in 1856, another letter on this subject gave the king more offence; Thomas was acting innocently but imprudently.

When Thomas went from Vava'u to England in 1850 his ship did not call at Nuku'alofa. Thomas in his Journal showed how much he wished he could 797

[1850 - 1860]

have seen again the grave of his little son and could have met friends at Nuku'alofa.(16) He reached London on the day of the Annual Missionary Meeting in May 1851. He was unremembered, unknown. Exeter Hall was full to capacity. Thomas crept into the back row on the platform, unrecognized, and there he heard Lawry, of all people, eloquently dilating upon the triumphs of the Gospel in far-off Tonga. The meek little Chairman of the Tonga Mission who had taken a large part in this work was sitting unobserved not far behind the speaker! 797

Thomas tried to take up circuit work in England but found himself unfitted after an absence of nearly thirty years. In his Journal he had confessed, "I am wretchedly inferior as an English speaker",(17) and this was not only due to his continuous use of Tongan. Furthermore, his heart was still in Tonga. He wrote,

> "I thought it was my duty to leave, not indeed a final departure. I thought I might have to return" (those words were underlined, this being unusual in his Journal). . . . "I am not able to feel at home in any part where I go. The Friendly Islands seem my home. They are my people, my spiritual children. . . . and I long after them as a father does after his children" (again underlined).(18)

He arrived back in Tonga on 26 July 1856 but stayed only three years. Again it was apparent that he was a doubtful asset to the work. During this period he recorded occasional interviews with the king who sometimes was "very cordial and free". However, just before the king went north to Ha'apai and Vava'u, on 12 September 1859, Thomas wrote: 797 643

> "I accompanied Mrs. Thomas to take leave of the Queen. I questioned the king whether anything had grieved them which led to their remove (sic) or whether we may expect him back again. . . . No doubt he has business and I do not know that I ought to be told what it is."(19)

There is no reference to the king's reply to the missionary's question. It seems that Tupou deliberately did not say farewell to the man who had been his father-in-God in the early years. This cut the old missionary to the heart.

At the king's suggestion a gift of £100 from the 1876 Jubilee Fund was sent to John Thomas, then in rather penurious circumstances. This thoughtful act moved the old man to deep gratitude (29 May 1877).(20) Predeceased by his wife in 1867, Thomas passed away on 29 January 1881. 797

Thomas Adams, in his letters, referred to the pioneer as "Father Thomas"; this seems to have been customary with other missionaries of the period also, and not so much because of his patriarchial status as for his benevolent character. Justice indeed should be done to his dogged and faithful ministry, whatever its limitations, and to his unswerving loyalty to Wesleyan principles, even if this was over-rigid. At much sacrifice, including the loss of their only child, who died on 22 April 1843, barely eight years of age, Thomas and his wife had served continuously without furlough until 1850. A colleague, W. G. R. Stephinson, on the eve of Thomas's final departure, summed up his fellow-missionaries' estimate of his virtues; he had

> "the patience of Job, the meekness of Moses, the zeal, endurance and perseverance of Paul".(21)

• • • •

New missionaries during this period were the following:—

John Vercoe, born in Cornwall in 1827, a nephew of Walter Lawry, who served for six years (1854-60), chiefly in Ha'apai.

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[1855-1890]

John Whewell, born in 1825 at Glossop, Derbyshire, who arrived on 26 July 1855, and continued for ten years. 797

George Lee, born at Tullamore, Ireland, in 1829, who served from 17 May 1857 to January 1869.

William G. R. Stephinson, born at Sunderland in 1829, whose ministry in Tonga lasted for twelve years (1858-70).

Martin Dyson, born at Wash, near Huddersfield, Yorkshire, in 1830, who arrived in Tonga on 17 May 1857 and was immediately directed to serve in Samoa to re-establish the Mission there. Against his own judgement he obeyed and served in Samoa with discretion and ability for eight years. He then returned to Tonga where he continued from 23 October 1865 until 2 January 1869.

Frank Firth, born at Doncaster, Yorkshire, in 1840, who served in Tonga 1861-5 and Samoa 1865-9.

Shirley Baker, who arrived in 1860 and who needs much closer attention than the others, even at the beginning of his colourful career of twenty years as missionary followed by ten years as Premier of Tonga. The events of the Baker regime had such important consequences in the history of Tonga that they demand close examination.

Baker threw the apple of discord into the Wesleyan Mission staff very soon after his arrival, and from the time he became Chairman in 1869 he was the centre of continuous controversy. Born in London in 1836, he was only a lad of sixteen when he arrived alone in Australia. He lived in the Castlemaine district of Victoria, where he became a lay preacher in 1857. Having offered for missionary service he was ordained on 15 July 1860 and sailed for Tonga, arriving on 14 August 1860. His theological training was nil; his general education had been meagre but his voluminous letters and reports increasingly showed clarity in thought and expression. Soon after he joined the Mission staff he attracted attention by his forcefulness and administrative abilities. His boundless self-confidence and ambition were allied to a capacity for concentration on every enterprise he undertook. He had an ingratiating style which sought the favour of those above him.

Very early Baker obtained the king's confidence. Armed with this, he believed that he could carry everything before him, and he did so, generally, for nearly thirty years. [643] Indeed he seemed invulnerable during attacks from all quarters — from traders, British Government officials in Fiji, and his Church. Departing entirely from the paternalism of Thomas and other older missionaries, he adopted a flattering manner that brought him increasing influence over the king; and, as the years went by, the king became more dependent on him for political advice and also for medical attention. [643]

Baker strongly supported the Tongans' policy of national independence, both before and after he was Premier, and his influence over the king was largely due to his advocacy of Tonga's rights. 797 648 His pro-German policy, however, brought him under grave suspicion from the British authorities. His plots against the Tonga Government after he was dismissed from the Premiership and deported in 1890 and, finally, his favouring annexation by New Zealand in 1900 threw doubts on his sincerity.

Somehow Baker became comparatively well-to-do, able to lend money to the Government and holding investments in Auckland until the financial crash 797

[1862-1885]

797 in 1893. He had some knowledge of pharmacy before he went to Tonga. During a long furlough of nearly three years in Sydney (1867-9) he walked the hospitals to acquire a limited knowledge of medicine; he used this on his return to Tonga, with assistance to the Mission staff and their families, for which they were grateful, and in professional services to other Europeans as well as Tongans. He claimed to have treated Europeans without asking for payment, and there is no reason to believe either that his charges were excessive or that he neglected his Mission duties because of medical work.

He never forgave the Church in Australia for recalling him in 1879; he deliberately circumvented its decision that he should leave Tonga and he broke his own pledge to do so in order to become Premier in 1880. His actions in 1885 in setting up an independent church, the Free Church (22), could have been founded on a genuine belief that an independent nation should have a self-governing Church, had it not been for the evidence of his vindictiveness towards the Australian Church authorities. All this does not absolve the Wesleyan leaders in Australia from blame for delaying their consent to Tonga becoming a self-governing Church, in spite of their suspicion of what Baker would do with a Church that he would be free to control at will. The crowning wrong of Baker's regime was his allowing the bitter persecutions of those Wesleyans who refused to join the Free Church in 1885 and afterwards. [798]

After Baker became Chairman in 1869, he deliberately sought to please the Wesleyan authorities in Australia by raising large sums, to be applied particularly to the expansion of other Missions, e.g., New Britain. The methods he used were strongly criticized by English traders, by Government officials in Fiji, and by his own missionary colleagues. A colleague, Jabez Bunting Watkin, was most critical of Baker's "vaulting ambition" and declared that he should leave Tonga for the good of the Mission in 1878-9; later, Watkin became Baker's confederate in establishing the Free Church in 1885. In the early years, however, fortune seemed to smile on this ambitious missionary. This was particularly evident in a year famous in Tonga's history — 1862.

* * * *

527 [671] A festival such as Tonga had not known before was held on 4 June 1862. It marked "Emancipation Day" and the promulgation of the Code of 1862, and it has been observed as an annual holiday ever since. Over 3,000 visitors came from the northern islands in 49 canoes. They were entertained for over two months with 150,000 yams and 9,000 large pigs as part of the bountiful provision offered to all. Basil Thomson's comment was apt, if exaggerated: after two months of wastefulness, "the land was as bare as if a swarm of locusts had passed over it".(23) The mats and native cloth *(ngatu)* presented to the Queen formed two enormous heaps, "each the size of a tolerable wheat-stack".

527 796 On Whitsunday, the Sunday following 4 June, a thanksgiving service was held in the open air with a congregation of nearly 5,000. The king must have felt justifiable satisfaction as he surveyed this scene. The assembly sang "Jesus shall reign" with full-throated Tongan fervour. The first prayer was offered by a chief, David 'Ahome'e; as a missionary present said, "Thank God, the Tongans can pray, though it may be, as one from Samoa says, 'They pray like steam'." [779] The delivery of 10,000 copies of the complete Bible, largely the work of Thomas

[1862]

West, then in England, printed by the British and Foreign Bible Society, 527
synchronized with this epoch-making year. 796

"All laws relating to serfdom are repealed" was the essence of the detailed 779
provision for the abolition of Tonga's old feudal system. What had been included 566
in the Codes of 1839 and 1850 was made explicit now, in spite of the reluctance 671
of many chiefs. Though the serfdom that had existed in Tonga was not comparable to slavery under masters of another race, as in America, yet the ancient absolute power of Tongan chiefs over the lives and property of their people was out of keeping with the position of the country in 1862. The day of the warrior-chief had passed, and with the spread of education and the acceptance of Christian principles equal opportunities for commoners with chiefs had to be recognized.
Not only was the arbitrary rule of the chiefs ended, but the king's own authority [643]
itself was limited by the Code of 1862.

Under the new Code, land was to be allotted by the chiefs to their people. 671
All males sixteen years and over were entitled to their allotments, with right of 423
continued possession, provided that the rent was paid. The poll-tax was fixed at [622]
three dollars. (Tongan dollar = four shillings.) The rent to be paid to the chiefs
for tax-allotments was two shillings per annum. This system of guaranteeing land [651]
to all Tongan males has been followed ever since, only the scarcity of land and [427]
the population explosion in recent years preventing its full implementation. Salaries [652]
to judges and other civil servants were to be paid from public revenue, not from fines as under the old system. Customs duties were fixed.

4 June 1862 is commemorated also for the beginning of parliamentary 646
government. However, there was as yet no formal parliament and a cabinet was not formed until 1875. The first Premier, Crown Prince David 'Unga, was not appointed until 1876. Parliaments met very infrequently in the early period — 1867, 1870, 1874.

Much of the Codes of 1839 and 1850 was incorporated in the Code of 1862, 671
but it was also directly influenced by the Hawaiian Constitution of 1855, and the 177
advice of a journalist, Charles St. Julian, afterwards Hawaiian Consul in Sydney, who sent suggestions to the king.(24)

Shirley Baker, only two years in Tonga, but already making his presence felt, 797
was entrusted with writing out the Code. Whether, at this early stage in his 671
career, he did much more than that for the king is doubtful.

The missionaries had much less to do with the Code of 1862 than with the 797
previous codes even though the king sometimes consulted them about it. He 671
had reached the stage when he did not generally desire the same dependence on 643
their advice. Some years before this, Richard Amos, when writing to John Eggleston, Missionary Secretary, had represented the missionaries' opinion: "The king happens to have a will of his own" (26 October 1857).

Other differences appeared. The king's policy did not always conform to the
missionaries' interpretation of Scripture. W. J. Davis wrote to Eggleston that he [586]
had spoken to the king who wished to allow divorce and re-marriage after three years' separation, a provision that Davis regarded as "a violation of Scripture" (6 September 1861).(25) The missionaries regretted certain significant omissions in the new Code; adultery and fornication were punishable as before, but there was no longer a prohibition of native dancing.

[1862]

The king had written to John Eggleston, Missionary Secretary, suggesting 797
that the missionary collections should be free-will offerings and not, in any sense, 643
exactions upon the people. Eggleston not only agreed with this but added that, 794
if the collections were enforced by kingly authority, the priests might expect the
same for their Church. In this letter (19 September 1862) Eggleston consoled
with Tupou in the loss of his son, Vuna, but expressed a sentiment strange to
our modern ears,

> "Had he lived he might have been led astray and died without hope, and then you might have been for ever separated." (26)

The ceremonies at Vuna's funeral showed a change in the people's mood 644
and a sharp resentment from the king and chiefs against the missionaries' strict 764
supervision. When the burial took place at 'Uiha in January 1862, the old
custom of presenting mats &c. *(tukuofo)* as to the dead was revived. It was said
by some that the presentations were made to the king, by others that it was a
mark of respect to the dead. The procedure was that mats and food were taken [775]
to the grave, with a prayer that the spirit of the dead would not return to curse
the people.(27) It was because this was the original purpose of *tukuofo* that it
had been banned. John Thomas in his Journal recorded the promise of the king
in 1848 to prohibit *tukuofo* and his injunction upon the chiefs to observe this.(28)
The legal prohibition, however, had been removed in 1861.

W. J. Davis, who was Chairman of the Mission in 1862, lacked the sensitivity 643
and good judgment of his predecessor, Thomas Adams. When the funeral 797
presentations were made, Davis expelled between 30 and 40 preachers from
their positions for three months; these included some of the chiefs. "The king
and queen were in a great state of exasperation because of this" and, later, "The
king was still pained" (29) — so much so that he resigned from all his positions in
the Church.

Davis wrote to Eggleston, Missionary Secretary, about what had happened 797
and stated that the decision to expel had been taken by a unanimous vote in
the District Meeting".(30) Davis spoke of "doing battle in high places" against the
chiefs and the Parliament. Eggleston, however, wrote an official letter of
disapproval, and also a "private and confidential" reply which was firm and
explicit indeed:

> "Unless you greatly alter you will drive the king and queen and all who love them away from our Church. . . . You will create an impassable gulf between yourself and King George for all you say will most likely be repeated to His Majesty. . . . I believe slander is doing far more mischief in your group than drinking or smoking. I feel assured that, if your letters were read in Conference, they would seriously affect your position, and I am anxious that you should not act in a way that will compel the Conference to appoint some other brother to take charge of the district. . . .
>
> "The king's unwillingness to treat with you on matters connected with the Church might arise not from indifference to the subjects but from the deep sense of injury inflicted upon him and his people by an undue severity in the exercise of discipline. You cannot rule him and others now like a parent of children; they will not submit to it." (31)

Those closing words might well have been underlined for the benefit of all missionaries in Tonga at that time and in following years.

The Conference in Sydney endorsed Eggleston's action. It also resolved to send Stephen Rabone, "as an old pastor and friend of the king" to visit Tonga, believing that "his counsels would be beneficial to all at this trying period in the history of the Mission".(32) Rabone was unable to make this visit.

[1862 - 1865]

Eggleston also reproved Davis for making the rule about *tukuofo*. He wrote to Davis (7 July 1863): 797

> "Rabone does not seem to view the case as you do with reference to the usage or law of the district. . . . He said that when George's first child died the people were anxious to show their love, that George discouraged it but many made presents. He said that discipline was not exercised over it and he would not think of taking such a step. He said the thing should be discountenanced but that he should consider it not right to deal with it judicially . . . It is illegal; no district can make laws for itself. Any regulation it wishes to be binding on individual members must be sent to the Conference and be enacted before it can have the force of law." (33)

When Thomas Adams in England heard of these occurrences he disagreed with what had been done in Tonga:

> "I think nothing but sin should cause expulsion from society [= membership]. We may become too fastidious and overbearing." (34)

Another missionary, John Whewell, reported to Eggleston on 27 October 1863 that the king and queen were meeting as class-members again (35), but the stern action of Davis and his colleagues was not easily forgotten. 643 797

The missionaries looked with suspicion upon the new order which the king was establishing, and especially the Code of 1862. Their forebodings were not shared by Eggleston who wrote to the Chairman, Davis,

> "King George cannot live for ever, and he is evidently preparing his powerful mind for a form and institution of government that will prevent anarchy when he is removed. . . . My fear is that, if the king is estranged from the missionaries and is shut out from their counsels, the style of government will be less perfect than if he had the advantage of their advice." (36)

The missionaries believed that the granting of "emancipation" in 1862 was leading to abuses. They had relied overmuch on the sanctions of the civil government to enforce moral standards, and now they feared what would follow the removal of some of the legal restraints. The implications of the concept of "freedom" in the people's minds troubled them. George Lee wrote to Eggleston, on 16 May 1862: 797

> "Many of the bad characters are in hopes of such a change in the constitution of the islands government as will leave them free to act as their depraved natures suggest unpunished, uncensured by those in power, and unrestrained."

The Tongatapu Circuit Report in 1863 gave this review of the situation: 797

> "The transition state through which the islands have lately been passing, effecting an entire revolution in things of a political character, putting into the hands of our chiefs wealth to which they have hitherto been strangers and releasing the people from a state of semi-barbarian servitude to one of almost unrestrained liberty — taking away safeguards which had hitherto been regarded as wholesome and beneficial — has in some instances had an injurious tendency by introducing our people into scenes of danger and temptation heretofore unanticipated and unknown." 181

The continued disquiet and concern of the missionaries can be seen in the Ha'apai Circuit Report in 1865:

> "The circumstances surrounding the sudden introduction of liberty . . . are far from being favourable to the cultivation of the religious element . . . Hence the abounding licentiousness among the young, impatience felt towards everything that would restrain bad habits and lead to virtue. . . . Profligacy, theft, and bad conduct were never so prevalent as at the present time." (37)

All these reports reflected the difficulties of men who were labouring to build up a young Christian nation under swiftly changing social conditions.

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[1856 - 1865]

Even if the king's attitude towards the missionaries was not the same as in earlier years, he was, generally speaking, on friendly terms with them and showed them much kindness. His personal exertions in rescuing Mrs. Amos and family from their mission-house in Vava'u, when it was demolished in the hurricane of 10 December 1856, was only one clear example.(38) He was also actively engaged in preaching, except during the period of the *tukuofo* incident. When Thomas Adams reported to Eggleston a spiritual movement in Vava'u in which more than a hundred were converted, these included some members of the king's family, and Adams especially mentioned the earnestness of Tupou's preaching.(39) The king frequently acknowledged his country's indebtedness to the Wesleyan Mission, for religious, educational, and social benefits. A signal mark of his gratitude was the building of a new chapel on Zion Hill, Nuku'alofa. Not only did he advocate and promote this and express his will that it should be opened free of debt, but he gave $2,000 as a personal donation and he was present daily directing the work of building. The chapel was opened in July 1865. 643 797 [368]

Nevertheless, there were more clouds on the horizon. Shirley Baker reported to Eggleston (21 April 1863):

> "The king has shown that he is determined to be king. He does not seem to have the same confidence in us as he had: he sees we are not exactly one!" (40)

This was an understatement indeed; and it came from Baker, who was prominent in the Mission quarrels and scandals of the next twenty years. The lack of unity in the staff became the undoing of the Wesleyan Mission in Tonga, and it sprang especially from the rivalry of Baker and Moulton.

* * * *

James Egan Moulton was one of a line of preachers that went back to John Wesley's days. He was born in 1841 at North Shields, Northumberland, and brought up in a Wesleyan parsonage. He and his three brothers were all singularly gifted. The eldest was William Fiddian, headmaster of the Leys School, Cambridge, and a member of the New Testament Revision Committee, Westminster Abbey, 1870-80. The others were John Fletcher, who became a Lord Justice of Appeal, and Richard Green, Professor of English Literature, Chicago University. J. E. Moulton himself was a sound scholar in Hebrew and Greek, and was regarded by his brothers as even more talented than they. He offered for foreign missionary work in China; this was changed to Fiji, and he studied the Fijian language on the voyage from England. From June 1863 until May 1865 he was detained in Sydney as Acting Headmaster of Newington College, the newly-established Wesleyan boys' school. He was married in Sydney on 23 December 1864 to a niece of John Eggleston, Missionary Secretary. 797

George Tupou had ardently supported the work of Richard Amos and others in education; the schools had grown to 161, with 654 teachers and 6,164 pupils (in 1858). The king wanted education of a higher standard. When he heard of Moulton, he requested the Church authorities in Sydney to send him to Tonga instead of Fiji. Moulton arrived in Nuku'alofa on 30 May 1865. With intervals towards the end of his life he served Tonga for forty years. Moulton met the king's ambition for an advanced institution, and his genius attracted young men and, later, young women, who were introduced to knowledge of the outside world, past and present. His creation of an intellectual elite was not so fortunate in some of its effects. 643 871 797 873

[1865-1869]

So much attention afterwards was given to Moulton as an educator that his 797 outstanding ability as a biblical scholar and translator tended to be overlooked. He was masterly in scriptural exegesis according to the best scholarship of his day. He quickly became an expert in the Tongan language and eventually [779] re-translated the whole Bible from the original tongues, giving a classical Tongan rendering. His brother, Professor R. G. Moulton, considered that he did for Tongan what Dante did for Mediaeval Italian, "preparing the raw Italian to be a vehicle of the poetry that was coming".(41) His only fault as translator came from being pedantic, choosing some words and phrases that even then were passing out of use. Perhaps an even greater bequest to the Tongan people were his inspiring hymns. These were distinguished by their literary beauty, their deeply spiritual content, and their faithfulness to Tongan thought and imagery. E. E. Crosby, a young colleague well acquainted with the language, said of Moulton's hymns, "In his hymns his translations surpassed the original as John Wesley's translations from the German are said to do". These hymns showed a startling superiority to the feeble and repetitive hymns of the early missionaries.

Moulton was an accomplished musician. Some of his hymns were set to the popular Sankey tunes of the day, but many of the tunes were of stately quality. Also, Moulton taught his College choir anthems from Handel and other great composers. He had to manufacture a special tonic sol-fa to do this, substituting numerals for the sounds "do-re-mi" &c. which, he quickly found, included vulgarities in Tongan.

In 1899 he was honoured with the degree of Doctor of Divinity by the Victoria University, Toronto, through the nomination of his brother, after the exhibition of some of his work at the Chicago Exposition. It is as "Dr. Moulton" that he is remembered in Tonga.

Physically, he was impressive, with his leonine head and beard, and his commanding presence. There was a flamboyant side to his nature that appealed to the Tongan love of display. Intellectually, he was a giant. It was pitiful that a man of his stature should have become embroiled in squalid quarrels with Shirley Baker, who soon became jealous of his success and finally used his influence with the king to destroy, at least temporarily, Moulton's lifework. Fortunately, his solid achievements are recognized today in the Church and the land to which his genius was dedicated.

Moulton made his plans for the formal opening of Tupou College in February 797 1866. The Minutes of the Australasian Conference showed the title "Native Training 873 Institution" and "District Training Institution" alongside Moulton's name for the years 1865-8, and the name "Tupou College" did not appear in the Minutes until 1869. From the outset, however, Moulton was determined that it should be a "College". Outsiders smiled at such a name for an island school; no other school in the Pacific had been so called. George Tupou sanctioned the use of his royal name for the College. Among the first students was Wellington Ngu, the king's [644] grandson; incidentally, Moulton required, and the king agreed, that the prince should observe all the rules and enjoy no special privileges.

Moulton had special aims as well as a distinctive curriculum for his College. 797 He sought to prepare the most promising pupils for positions in the Government 873 and the Church. The College was not a formal theological institution as Francis 874 Wilson's "Academy" had been in Vava'u in 1841 nor did it follow the model of Richard Amos, who combined a course of theological studies with his general

[ca. 1866- 1873]

teaching. At Tupou College biblical exegesis and doctrines and church history 797
were taught, but only as a minor part of a wide general curriculum. The emphasis 873
on preparing students for Government positions and the absence of a separate 874
theological section brought criticisms from some of Moulton's colleagues. J. B. Watkin wrote to Stephen Rabone, now Missionary Secretary, on 13 December 1874:

> "I must say that, had I known that the College would have become what it is, I should have opposed it with all my might. I do not consider that the fruit brought forth is at all commensurate with the expense incurred; practically the College is almost useless. . . . We have attempted what we cannot possibly maintain. My opinion is that an institution like that of the late Mr. Amos's would have been far more useful than the present affair." (42)

It became clear that Moulton wanted to control the College as though it was virtually independent of the District Meeting. He claimed freedom to enrol students for Government positions, with a bonus from the Government for their expenses. He held services for the College separately from the Zion congregation. His expenditure called forth criticism from his colleagues. One of them, Henry Greenwood, wrote to Rabone (10 August 1872):

> "Mr. Moulton has spent hundreds of pounds on the College, under the plea that permission was granted by the deputation [= Rabone and Watkin in 1869] and all we had to do was to pass the balance sheet when the money has been expended . . . Hundreds of pounds have been expended without the consent of the District Meeting or the Committee in Sydney. . . .
>
> "Though a large amount of money was given by the friends in Australia with the idea that the College was for the training of Native Assistant Missionaries the fruit of all these years in that particular is one catechist." (43)

The Missionary Committee in Sydney, on 7 April 1873, received, and evidently endorsed, a recommendation from the Tonga District Meeting:

> "In the opinion of the Meeting it is exceedingly desirable that the training of native ministers should be kept prominently before the conductors (sic) of Tupou College." (44)

It was regrettable that such a unique educational project as Tupou College should be affected by disputes among the missionaries, a recurring skirmish for which Moulton's obstinacy was partly responsible. Greenwood reported,

> "Ever since the commencement of the College it has been a source of dissension between Mr. Moulton and the brethren." (45)

Moulton's ambitions were seen in his curriculum. The teaching of English was attempted but given up as proving too difficult (especially when the students had little opportunity of practice with a very small European population). Even Latin and French were tried but quickly discarded as unsuitable. In general, Moulton followed a syllabus approximating to one generally used in the English public schools of the day. He stressed mathematics, in which he himself excelled and for which he believed Tongans were well adapted, though educators since his time have not always agreed with that opinion. The syllabus included geography (of the formal type then in vogue), history (especially ancient history), astronomy, physics and chemistry, which gave students illustrations for sermons and addresses rather than strictly scientific training. It was amazing that this indefatigable teacher wrote all his text-books in Tongan and also printed them on a printing press which he had ingeniously acquired.

Criticisms were launched against Moulton's educational schemes as too academic and beyond the Tongans' needs, and also against his methods of stimulating ambition, especially by the use of gowns and trenchers for "graduates".

[1866-1874]

In Moulton's view it was the only "University" Tongans were likely to know in the 19th Century and, therefore, University-type insignia were warranted. When Sir Arthur Gordon, Governor of Fiji, visited Tonga in 1878, while Moulton was in England on translation work, he was greeted at Tupou College by David Tonga, who had been the first pupil, first dux, and was acting headmaster during Moulton's absence. Gordon wrote, 797 873 874

> "At Tupou College, the principal, a native elaborately got up in clerical and academical costume, mortar-board and all, received me." (46)

An honour-board system was a stimulus for the students. A series of these boards, from 1866 to the present, carefully treasured, had a great influence on the progress of Tupou College. At the Centenary the names of these men and women were read for hours to a hushed assembly of several thousands in the open air. In his later years Moulton instituted a system of post-graduate lessons, to foster continued keenness. Whatever criticisms may be made against the gowns &c., there is no doubt that Moulton instilled a love of learning in many of the Tongans, and he produced men of ability and marked spirituality who became outstanding leaders in Church and Government. Taken altogether, Moulton's work at Tupou College fully merited the praise and popularity he received.

It is not surprising that Moulton met disappointments also. All was not well with the morals of some students, and Baker was not alone in pointing this out. In 1873 Moulton's own report read:

> "The number of backsliders is far greater than we anticipated; so far it has been chiefly amongst the Government students, and the licentiousness of the youths of rank is incorrigible. This is a circumstance that causes us the deepest concern and bodes ill for the future of Tonga." (47) [181]

Moulton found it necessary to expel such "incorrigible" students.

The king was most gratified with the progress of the College. In 1870 he gave a scholarship worth £200, tenable for two years. In 1873 the first organ in Tonga was installed at the College. It was, naturally, in the pre-secession days that the enrolment was larger, the interest more intense, and the atmosphere free from the feuding that followed the foundation of a rival college in 1882 and a rival Church in 1885. [643]

Lorimer Fison, M.A. (Cambridge), Wesleyan missionary from Fiji, visited Tonga in November 1874 and brought a pre-conceived disbelief in the suitability of a "College" transplanted into the Central Pacific. Writing to *Sydney Morning Herald*, on 21 June 1875, he described his inspection of Moulton's classes. He acknowledged his prejudice; he stated that he had heard that the curriculum made students conceited but he concluded that this happened only with the less worthy lads. He tested (of course, through translation) the work done in mathematics, geography &c., and noted that the College possessed a telescope and meteorological equipment. He was amazed when Moulton's college choir sang Handel's "Dettingen Te Deum" and Mozart's "Gloria". Altogether, Fison not only withdrew his disbelief but added that Moulton's genius should have "a wider and more important field" than Tonga. He was justified in this opinion of a brilliant man who remained in this small field, heading for ignominious quarrels and crushing defeats.

Whenever Baker visited Australia he praised Moulton's work at Tupou College, as H. C. Oldmeadow heard him do while he was on furlough.(48) The College was held up before Australian audiences as crowning evidence of progress

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[1869-1880]

in the Mission. Baker adopted a very different attitude when he returned to Tonga. 797 His jealousy had been aroused as early as 1869 by the praise given by the 873 deputation, Rabone and Watkin: they spoke of the College as a "positive wonder" 874 and Moulton as "an encyclopaedia of accomplishment". They had noted that the students were "all dressed in European attire" and gave evidence of success with chemistry, surveying, and translating from Homer into Tongan hexameters! (49)

Baker began his disastrous policy of inflated fund-raising to please the Committee in Sydney and also as a counter-balance to the popularity of Moulton with the Committee. Moulton complained that Baker was discouraging enrolments as well as criticizing the College's usefulness.(50) It became apparent that Baker wished to get rid of such a talented rival as Moulton; this was shown in his letter to Chapman, Missionary Secretary (5 July 1872):

> "As things are the College is a nuisance and the sooner either Mr. Moulton goes or changes the better. or else let the College go for it is a hindrance to our work and only causing unpleasantness." (51)

Later, on 16 July 1874, Baker wrote to Chapman, stating that three ministers such as J. B. Watkin, together with a lay headmaster for Tupou College, would meet all the needs of the Mission and the College.(52) This clear indication of Baker's obstructive policy was given before the increased tension of following years, and before 1877 when he was glad to see Moulton depart to England for three years to revise the Tongan New Testament.

On the other hand, Moulton was at fault in acting as no head of a Church school should have done. Whatever his feelings about Baker's antipathy towards him and the College, he was not justified in his determination to keep the College free from the control of the District Meeting. His practice of expending money at the College and expecting almost automatic acceptance by the District Meeting had irked his brethren who drew up regulations on both College expenditure and discipline in December 1871. Moulton heatedly resigned and only withdrew on condition that the College be removed to Pangaimotu, an island about three miles from Nuku'alofa, where he could be relieved from the presence of his critical brethren. He wrote to Chapman (21 May 1872):

> "The prospect of removing the College was started in consequence of a resolution proposed by Mr. Baker and accepted by the majority which took the spiritual oversight of the College out of my hands and vested it in the Nuku'alofa minister. I immediately resigned and put it to them whether any brother would accept charge under such conditions. It was to obviate the necessity of my resignation that the removal was proposed. . . . I don't think that I am unreasonable, but I cannot accept the decision of the District Meeting." (53)

(W. T. Rabone, missionary, son of Stephen Rabone, wrote to his father that he had voted with Moulton but he deplored the quarrelling, 8 May 1872.) (54) When [643] the king heard of the proposal to remove the College to Pangaimotu he wrote a protest to the Missionary Committee in Sydney. Rather than offend the king, the Committee supported Moulton and censured Baker. If Baker from that time onwards was Moulton's sworn foe, he had some excuse.

This was the background to the personal rivalry that brought dire penalties to both College and Mission. The last evidence of Moulton's policy of College independence was his leaving David Tonga in charge while he was absent in England, 1877-80, with instructions not to allow interference with College administration. Before this happened David and his wife, Rachel, had been sent

[1877-1880]

by the District Meeting to Sydney for one year's experience, especially in English. 797
Moulton, writing to Chapman, on 3 May 1877, on the eve of his departure, said: 873

> "If left to itself the College would stand and prosper under the headmastership of David. 874
> Alas, that *IF*!" (55) (56)

There seems truth in Baker's charge that Moulton was forming a College
party within the Church.(57) Moulton was in fact creating an intellectual elite. [571]
This was dangerous in a country where families quarrelled so readily; there now [181]
arose an elitist quarrel which could, and did, lead finally to a religious division [184]
which split Tonga asunder. This was in addition to the ambition, jealousy and
factiousness within the Mission staff. The evidence points to an element of defiance
on Moulton's part which a man less bellicose than Baker would not readily
overlook.

Footnotes:

(1) W.P.H.C. Inward Correspondence, general, No. 287 of 1891; Scarr, D., *Fragments of Empire*, p.4. 113
(2) *M.N.*, 1854, p.754.
(3) Pritchard, W. T., *Polynesian Reminiscences*, p.233; Derrick, R. A., *A History of Fiji*, p.143.
(4) Eggleston to Davis, 20 September 1863. Catalogue 33. M.O.M.C.
(5) Pritchard, ibid, p.289; Derrick, ibid, p.151.
(6) Davis to Eggleston, 10 June 1862. Item 170, Pt. 1. M.O.M.C.
(7) Thomas, J., *Journal*. Item 46. F.M. 1433-39. M.L.S.
(8) Thomas, ibid. Item 46.
(9) I am indebted to the Rev. E. W. Hames, Auckland, for the correspondence between Lawry and the Secretaries in London; see also Hames, E. W., *Walter Lawry and the Wesleyan Mission in the South Seas*, pp.35-6.
(10) Thomas, J., *Journal*. Microfilm 46. F.M. 1433-39. M.L.S.
(11) Tonga District Meeting *Minutes*, 1849. B.668. M.L.S.
(12) Rabone, S., *Journal*, 22 July 1847. Set 47. M.O.M.C.
(13) Thomas, J., *Journal*. Microfilm 44. F.M. 1433-39. M.L.S.
(14) Thomas, ibid.
(15) Thomas, ibid, 19 November 1849.
(16) Thomas, ibid. Microfilm 44. F.M. 1433-39. M.L.S.
(17) Thomas, ibid. Microfilm 46.
(18) Thomas, ibid. Microfilm 46.
(19) Thomas, ibid. Microfilm 45.
(20) Thomas, ibid, May 1877. M.L.S.
(21) Stephinson, W. G. R., *Journal*. A.N.U.
(22) "Free Church" was the popular name for the Church set up in 1885 with the official title, "The Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga". In this history the short name, "Free Church", is used in references to it before 1924. The full legal name is used after re-union in 1924. [795]
(23) Thomson, Basil, *Diversions of a Prime Minister*, p.222.
(24) Cummins, H. G., *Sources of Tongan History*, pp.135-47, for advice given by Charles St. Julian.
(25) Davis to Chapman. Item 170, Pt. 1. M.O.M.C.
(26) Eggleston, J., *Journal*. September 1862.
(27) Firth, F. to Eggleston, 21 February and 24 March 1862. Item 170. M.O.M.C.
(28) Thomas, *Journal*. Microfilm 44. F.M. 1433-39. M.L.S.
(29) Stephinson, W. G. R., *Journal*. A.N.U.
(30) Davis to Eggleston, 27 April 1863. Item 170. M.O.M.C.
(31) Eggleston to Davis. Item 169. M.O.M.C.
(32) Eggleston to Davis. Item 33. M.O.M.C.
(33) Eggleston to Davis, 7 July 1863.
(34) Adams to Rabone, 16 June 1863. Uncat. set 197. Item 2. M.O.M.C.
(35) Whewell to Eggleston. Item 170. M.O.M.C.
(36) Eggleston to Davis, 20 September 1862. Catalogue 33. M.O.M.C.
(37) *Reports*. F.W.C.
(38) Amos to Eggleston, 27 February 1857. Item 170, Pt. 2. M.O.M.C.; *M.N.*, 1857.
(39) Adams to Eggleston, 8 February 1859. Item 170, Pt. 2. M.O.M.C.
(40) Baker to Eggleston. Catalogue 101. M.O.M.C.

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(41) Moulton. J. E., *Moulton of Tonga.* p.11.
(42) Watkin to Rabone. Item 170. M.O.M.C.
(43) Greenwood to Rabone. Item 170. M.O.M.C.
(44) Missionary Committee Minutes. Sydney. M.O.M.C.
(45) Greenwood to Rabone. 10 August 1872: 25 April 1873. Item 170. M.O.M.C.
(46) Gordon. Sir Arthur. *Public and Private Life*, Vol. III, p.105.
(47) Tonga District Meeting *Minutes*. 1873. F.W.C.
(48) Oldmeadow. H. C.. *Journal*. May 1878.
(49) *M.N.*, July/October 1869. p.148: *M.N.*, 1870, 1872.
(50) Moulton to Chapman. 21 May 1872, 13 July 1872, 2 June 1873. Cat. 99. M.O.M.C.
(51) Baker to Chapman. 5 July 1872. Catalogue 101. M.O.M.C.
(52) Baker to Chapman. 16 July 1874. Catalogue 101. M.O.M.C.
(53) Moulton to Chapman. Catalogue 99. M.O.M.C.
(54) Rabone. W. T. to Rabone. S. Item 170. M.O.M.C.
(55) Moulton to Chapman. Catalogue 99. M.O.M.C.
(56) Strange to say. Baker told Chapman that. during Moulton's absence in England, he himself was teaching theology. physiology and chemistry at the College, and two of his children were teaching singing and English. (11 July 1878. Catalogue 101. M.O.M.C.) [797] [873] [874]
(57) Baker to Chapman. Set 197. Item 2, 12 February 1877, alleging that Moulton had "made parties. College versus Church".

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[1867-1875]

Chapter XII.

THE MISSION STAFF, "A HOUSE DIVIDED AGAINST ITSELF"

In writing to Moulton on 15 October 1873, Chapman, Missionary Secretary, warned him and the other missionaries in Tonga against becoming "a house divided against itself" with the inevitable consequences.(1) Chapman was replying to one of Moulton's letters criticizing Baker. Unfortunately, Moulton did not pay sufficient attention to the warning. One of his colleagues, Greenwood, had written in his journal (12 March 1872): "Our District is torn with dissension".(2)

This controversy always centred around Baker. Not long after his arrival in Tonga in 1860 he began to receive censure from his colleagues because of his political activities, as seen in his frequent consultations with the king, and also because of his medical work from which it was said he was gaining an extra income. In 1869, after three years' absence in Sydney (a furlough protracted beyond what Stephen Rabone, then Missionary Secretary, thought reasonable, even recognizing Mrs. Baker's ill-health at the time), Baker returned — and as Chairman of the District. With the public addresses he had given in Sydney on behalf of Missions and with his obsequious attitude towards the Missionary Committee, he had won their good opinion so that, when a successor to George Lee was needed, Baker was chosen. W. G. R. Stephinson, who had been twelve years in Tonga as against Baker's six years, was certainly not pleased. Stephinson's feelings about the Chairmanship were unimportant, but there is reason to regard his personal quarrels with Baker as an originating factor in the bitter feuds that grew disastrously. Stephinson and Baker set in motion the disgraceful machinery of open strife on the Staff.

Most of the missionaries who entered the scene in this period became involved in the disputes with Baker:—

George Minns, born in Launceston in 1841, an earnest missionary who fought against much ill-health, with two terms of service, 1867-74 and 1878-81. His Journal shows his fears regarding the spiritual state of the Church and the harmful influence of Baker.

William Thomas Rabone, son of Stephen Rabone, born in Tongatapu in 1840, serving from 1867 to 1874, without any recorded part in the internal troubles of the Mission.

Henry Greenwood, born at Clayton, North Yorkshire, in 1842, married to a daughter of Francis Tuckfield, pioneer Wesleyan Missionary to the aborigines in Victoria. He served in Tonga from 1869 to 1875 and generally gave support to Baker.

David Wylie, born at Tranmere, South Australia, in 1841, a missionary in Tonga for barely two years (May 1869 to January 1871), clashing with Baker. Afterwards he laboured in Fiji for eight years.

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[1870-1877]

James Thomas, born at Hobart in 1846, a missionary in Tonga from 1871 to 1877, very hostile towards Baker. 797

In little more than a year after Baker's return in 1869 as Chairman, Stephinson and Wylie brought serious charges against him affecting his moral character. A special District Meeting was held at Lifuka on 23 August 1870 to hear these. Those present, beside Baker, were Watkin, Moulton, Stephinson, W. T. Rabone, Wylie and Greenwood. The details of the charges and evidence are in the Minute Book in the Church Office at Nuku'alofa, and the charges are quoted verbatim by Rutherford.(3) Baker refused to vacate the chair when the brethren, except Watkin and Greenwood, protested against his presiding over his own trial. He debarred Stephinson and Wylie from voting in the cases where they gave evidence. The Tongan witnesses showed a reluctance to be explicit or [829] to say anything against the Chairman (who was regarded as a great chief in Tongan custom). On a charge of imprecatory language against a chief ("Would that Tu'uhetoka were dead! If he were dead, my prayer would be answered") Baker was found guilty, three votes to two, with another not voting. On four charges of improper behaviour towards several women and one man, Baker was acquitted, all either agreeing with these verdicts or not voting, except Moulton who voted against Baker on one of three charges. He was acquitted also on a charge of declaring that a native assistant missionary would be withdrawn from any village that failed to raise fifty buckets of oil at the annual offering. Greenwood, in his Journal, believed that

> "to all appearances he is legally and morally free from guilt", (4)

but added that he was alarmed at the injury that the charges would cause to the Mission's work.

Baker appealed to the Australian Conference in the one case where he was found guilty. He also brought charges against Stephinson and Wylie for making libellous statements against him; these cases came before the Annual District Meeting on 6 December 1870. At this stage in the Minute Book in the Church Office, Nuku'alofa, nearly twenty pages have been torn out; when or by whom it is impossible to say.

The Australian Conference, at Hobart, on 28 January 1871, upon a special committee's report, decided that

> "Mr. Baker's conduct has in some respects been wanting in that gravity and caution which belong to the character of a Christian missionary and it recommends his attention to be called to the need of greater circumspection in his intercourse with the natives."

The decision regarding Stephinson was that

> "he acted injudiciously in his mode of procuring evidence against the Chairman but it cannot blame Mr. Stephinson for taking action on the reports which were in circulation detrimental to the Chairman's character." (5)

Mr. Wylie's conduct towards Mr. Baker, it was found, had been "highly unwise"; he was admonished from the chair of the Conference, removed from the district, but allowed to transfer to the Mission in Fiji.

In view of the squalid circumstances and the baleful effect of the proceedings upon the Tongans as well as the sharp dissension on the Mission Staff, it would have been far wiser for the Conference to have recalled Baker in 1871. Harmony could hardly have been expected after what had occurred. Baker's behaviour, on the evidence, had been coarse and unworthy, as a Tongan nickname for him

[1871-1875]

indicated. The authorities in Australia could not have foreseen the fatal 797 consequences of leaving him in Tonga, but they should have recalled him for the sake of the proprieties.

It should be said, however, that there is no reason for believing that Baker was "probably lecherous".(6) This was not alleged by his contemporaries and he would not have survived for long in Tonga if there had been any truth in this. Watkin, who afterwards differed from Baker because of his ambition and his financial methods, obviously believed that there was no actual immorality in Baker's conduct.

In January 1873, the Australian Conference decided that the superintendent of a circuit might convene a meeting of ministers to put the chairman of a district on trial; one of their number, and not the chairman himself, should preside in such a case. This reversed the situation in which Baker stayed in the chair while being tried in August 1870.(7)

Acting in defiance of the "Instructions to Missionaries", Baker continued to be actively engaged in both politics and trading. By the end of 1872 he was, 797 except in name, the king's secretary. He always maintained that he was merely 643 giving advice when requested. At the Tonga District Meeting on 30 December 1873, objections were taken to his participation in political affairs; he was then in the early stages of preparing for the king the Constitution of 1875. No formal 797 charges were laid against him, but Moulton expressed himself as troubled about the situation, as his letter to Chapman, Missionary Secretary, showed. He reported:

> "Our District Meeting was concluded yesterday, and though it has been in many respects a painful one, yet the result is on the whole satisfactory. The evil I spoke of has been stopped without our being reduced to the necessity of sending up a formal charge." (8)

So another charge to the Church authorities against Baker was avoided.

In 1873 Baker lent money to the Tonga Government to establish a sugar [652] plantation. How he was able to do this remains a mystery. In a letter to Chapman (30 December 1873) Baker admitted that he had lent the money but agreed to withdraw from any connection with the sugar plantation. He also offered to leave the Mission and to prepare accounts preparatory to leaving, because he believed he was being persecuted by his colleagues in spite of the Mission's financial success and his work in framing the Government's laws; "I believe Messrs. Moulton and Minns want me out of the district," he wrote.(9)

In 1875 he took part in establishing the Bank of Tonga; he lent a half of 797 the paid-up capital of £15,000, the Government being responsible for the other 652 half. The bank closed down after a year. This was one of Baker's strangest actions [426] while still a missionary. He said nothing about it to the Church leaders in Sydney but on 15 March 1876 Chapman wrote to him. He had learnt by accident about Baker's banking activities; among various bills presented to Chapman was one from the Bank of Tonga, signed by Baker as "Chairman of Directors". Before referring the case to the Missionary Committee, Chapman asked Baker for an explanation "in justice and kindness to you". Always a gentle soul, Chapman reminded Baker of his re-election to the chairmanship in 1873, with the Committee's endorsement, and he expressed surprise at Baker's actions in view of "the bitter experience you have had and the injury to our work in the past".(10) This was clearly a reference to previous charges against him. Baker averred that his banking activities had brought him no profit and that he was only trying to help the Tongans; although he was willing to withdraw from financial involvement

[1872-1876]

with the Government, he felt embarrassed by the whole affair (3 May, 23 June, 797
22 July, 14 September 1876).(11) [652]

* * * *

One issue after another widened the breach on the Mission staff. Criticism fell upon Baker not only because of his outside interests but through his aggressive attitude in matters of Church policy, sometimes without consulting his colleagues. Though he may have been sincere in seeking for the Tongans a larger part in the government of their Church, and the insinuation that he wanted to manipulate the Tongan membership in the Church councils may have been unfair, yet the reforms he was advocating and his own self-assertive manner brought about further division on the Staff. This gravely affected the emerging issue of self-government for the Tongan Church.

The king and people of Tonga, with their national pride, had reached the 795
point of desiring a self-governing Church and were anxious to achieve this before 797
Fiji or any other islands. Their country was independent; why should not their Church have more responsibility, they might well ask. They deserved to have these privileges, if only because Tonga was the first Wesleyan Mission in the South Pacific and the whole group had been evangelized years before this movement for self-government began. This aim could have been realized, and peaceably, if it had not been for the ambition of Baker and the quarrels on the staff.

Baker's biographer, Rutherford, points to the year 1872 as a time when Baker first considered relinquishing the work in Tonga because he was clashing with his colleagues and also because he did not always please the Church authorities in Australia. Instead of returning to Church work in Australia then, he determined to remain in Tonga and to work for an independent Church in which he would have considerable influence. Rutherford believes that he decided on this course because he was making more money in Tonga than he could do in Australia; also because, in an independent Church, he could outwit his rival, Moulton.(12) The evidence supports Rutherford's theory and throws some doubt on Baker's sincerity concerning church policy.

After forming this resolution to remain in Tonga, Baker attended the Conference in Sydney in January 1873, and submitted a request that the Church in Tonga be an independent district under the New South Wales and Queensland Conference. Unfortunately, the exact form of the request is not available. There is nothing on record in Tonga to indicate it because, in actual fact, Baker had not consulted his colleagues on the subject and it had not been brought before the Tonga District Meeting. It was entirely improper for Baker to neglect the channels of Church procedure, and he well knew this. His lame statement afterwards, that he had spoken in general terms about the idea before a public meeting and at a local preachers' gathering where, he said, his colleagues were present, was an evasion. This was characteristic of Baker's lack of straightforwardness that repeatedly annoyed his colleagues.

The only evidence comes from "The Christian Advocate and Wesleyan Record", the Church periodical in Sydney, in its issue of 6 February 1873. It stated that the request of Mr. Baker came first before the Missionary Committee in January 1873 and it resolved that his application,

> "on behalf of the Friendly Islands Mission, to be no longer regarded as a Mission, be commended to the favourable consideration of the Conference, in the hope that steps will be taken to carry out the wishes of the Mission." (13)

[1873-1887]

The Church paper reported that Mr. Baker also addressed the Conference (in 795
January 1873) "and conveyed the request of the agents of the District that it be 797
no longer regarded as a Mission, being able to support its own ministers and teachers". This report contains a comment arising from the enthusiastic accounts of progress at Tupou College which Baker described. This came from one of the most respected leaders in Australian Methodism, W. B. Boyce, President of the first Conference after separation from Britain in 1855, who was so influenced by Baker's report as to declare —

> "If graduates in the native institution can do Algebra and Mensuration, they ought to be able to manage circuit accounts; and if Tongans can raise £9,000 a year for ministerial maintenance, there is nothing against a Tongan Conference with its native President." (14)

Incidentally, neither Baker nor any other missionary ever suggested a "native President".

However indefinite the resolutions may have been they indicated no reluctance on the part of the Church in Australia to favour self-government in Tonga. The report also shows an attitude typical of Baker's lack of candour; he was acting as though his District Meeting, his fellow-missionaries, "the agents of the District", had authorized him to present a request when nothing of the kind had happened.

After Baker returned in April 1873, he found his colleagues disturbed by 795
his actions, particularly his failure to bring the request for changed status to the 797
District Meeting before referring it to Conference. Minns wrote to Chapman (4 794
May 1873):

> "This is a very critical period in Tonga, and I am particularly anxious that no change should be made in the mode of carrying out our Church work without much careful deliberation. . . . I am decidedly opposed to our becoming an independent Church, and am astonished that the Conference should entertain the question for a moment." (15)

Moulton also wrote to Chapman (2 June 1873):

> "I was very surprised to see in the *Advocate* that Mr. Baker presented the request . . . that Tonga should become an independent District . . . I am sure, sir, however anxious you may be for such a 'consummation', yet you will reprobate such an attempt as that on the part of a Chairman to steal a march on his brethren. Not one of us knew anything about it and no request was sent up. I have spoken to Mr. Baker on the subject, and he says he was wrongly reported, having said 'request of the king', not 'missionaries'. But it is very evident to me from the remarks made and the resolution moved that the Conference understood it to be *our* request." (16)

What Tonga received in January 1873 was permission to form a Home Mission Fund from which local expenses would be paid; and, on 2 December 1873, the District Meeting received the formation of this new fund, "sanctioned by the Committee, as the first true step towards self-government". Both Conference and District Meeting, therefore, were moving onward, if not quickly enough for Baker.

The events that followed in 1874 were of great importance for the future of the Church. Later, Sir Charles Mitchell, in his inquiry into the disturbances of 1887, dealt severely with the failure of the Church in Australia in 1874 to grant "the desire of the king, chiefs and people of Tonga to assume a more independent position in the Wesleyan body than that hitherto accorded to them".(17) The details in the Church records deserve closer examination than Sir Charles may have been able to give in 1887.

First, it should have been recognized that the Church was not unwilling to accede to requests from Tonga even if it acted with caution. Following the decision

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[1873 - 1874]

in January 1873 when the formation of the Home Mission Fund was sanctioned, 795
the Missionary Committee resolved, on 3 February 1874: 797

> "This Committee hails with satisfaction the attempt of the Tongan Church at self-support
> and recommends the Conference to appoint the General Secretary [= Chapman] to 794
> visit the Friendly Islands as a deputation and report to next Conference (1875)." (18)

Second, no Wesleyan Mission in any part of the world at that time had been given self-government, and the Church "fathers", though admittedly too paternalistic, felt doubtful about permitting a young Polynesian Church to manage all its own affairs so soon.

Third, there was an unavowed but unmistakably growing distrust of Shirley Baker himself — a useful fund-raiser while under some degree of surveillance from Sydney but a man against whom various charges had been made. How would an independent Tongan Church fare under his leadership?

Fourth, the king's request of 1874, on which Sir Charles laid much stress, was for an undefined scheme of local control.

The king's letter itself is recorded in the Tonga District Meeting Minutes, 643
1874. It was dated 24 March 1874, and was a general request in these terms: 795

> "He [the king] is fully aware that Tonga owes its present position to Christianity, and 797
> in making this communication he cannot forget or cease to love the first missionaries, 794
> Messrs. Thomas, Rabone, Watkin and others . . . But it appears to His Majesty that the step taken will be beneficial to the Church as well as to the Government in Tonga. . . . It is his desire that the affairs of the Church flow in the proper channel. It is not necessary for His Majesty to repeat what he has frequently stated, that it is his desire to live and die a Wesleyan." (19)

On the same date as this letter from the king (24 March 1874) a meeting of the king and chiefs was held. Unlike the vagueness of the king's letter, the resolutions of this meeting were explicit. Rutherford believes that they were drafted by Baker because of their expression and the peremptory tone which was out of keeping with customary Tongan deference:

> "(1) That the time has come when the Church and State should be separated . . . It is now 21 years (sic) since the liberation of the people was made, but in Church affairs the former system is still continuing, and is therefore opposed to the law of liberty, and this meeting says that the time has now come to fulfil the promise made by the missionaries in this matter, and that Trustees be appointed by the Church who shall have the control and superintendence of all matters connected with the Church, and all arrangements for the erection and support of churches &c. shall emanate from the Trustee Meetings, according to the usual Wesleyan law, and not as is the custom here at present.
>
> "(2) With regard to the money which is now collected regularly, this meeting says it is true the people complain of the large sums sent away from the country which are collected at the missionary meetings . . . This meeting says that the time has come when Tonga is able to support the entire expense of the Mission in Tonga, the support of the missionaries, the assistant missionaries, and the whole of the agents employed by the Church, and this meeting earnestly desires that the Committee and Conference will allow the Church in Tonga to become an independent Church, to be supported by the people of Tonga as their Church, as becomes a people who know and understand the Gospel. . . . As it is at present it appears that the possession of Tonga has become the property of another." (20)

The resolution of this meeting of the king and chiefs fixed 1875 as the year when it was desired that the changes should take place, and ended with His Majesty asking for the petition to be granted, "so that the Wesleyan religion may continue steadfast and immovable to the end". (Signed by the King's Secretary, J. P. Miller.)

Before these requests came, first, before the District Meeting on 30 November

[1874]

1874, the opinion of Henry Greenwood is significant. He was generally disposed 643
to support Baker, and he gave a balanced opinion in his letter to Chapman (14 795
July 1874): 797

> "You will have received a copy of the king's letter to our District Meeting and Conference 794
> [24 March 1874]. Perhaps it would have been wise on the part of Mr. Baker to have informed the brethren in his Circuit and District of the contents before he had sent it away to Sydney for publicity, but I hope that no publicity will be given to it before it has been laid properly before our District Meeting. . . .
>
> "I have maintained ever since I came into the District that we are too conservative, neither the native ministers nor preachers in the Quarterly Meeting have their proper place; yet I do not feel prepared to take a leap such as that desired by the king, and my reason is simply that the office-bearers (that is, native agents) have not been trained or prepared for anything of the sort . . . To be candid, I fear what is proposed, or rather if what is proposed is carried out, it will be putting the power not into the hands of the Tongan Church as a Church but the Tongan chiefs . . .
>
> "The Tongan Church is not prepared for independence, it has not asked for it (the king and a few chiefs are not the Church), and it would be most disastrous to give it independence." (21)

Not only did Greenwood feel that the Tongan Church was not ready but he was concerned at the prospect of the chiefs dominating it; again, the dangers of a "chiefly church" were apparent.

On 30 November 1874, the Tonga District Meeting, dealing with these 795
requests in the first instance, recommended to the Missionary Committee and 797
Conference that they be granted, except for the missionaries' salaries, which, it 794
was felt, should not be left for the Tongan Church to provide but should be the responsibility of the Church in Australia; that class-money, the so-called ticket money, should support all Tongan ministers and their assistants, with any surplus to go to the Home Mission Fund; and that this Fund be controlled by a committee on which all Tongan ministers and an equal number of laymen should sit. The addition of Tongan ministers to membership of the District Meeting, and laymen in the Circuit Quarterly Meetings, was recommended. This represented an advance towards self-government and Baker deserved full credit for promoting this step.

The District Meeting of 1874 also desired that the king be asked to grant a Model Deed with Trustees holding church property, on the same lines as in Wesleyan Churches in Australia, with the condition that land so secured should not be used for other than Church purposes. As far back as 1861 the District Meeting had resolved

> "that the time to secure . . . all our church properties . . . has now arrived; and, King George having promised to sign the necessary documents, . . . steps be immediately taken for the accomplishment of this purpose." (22)

Preparations were authorized by this District Meeting (1874) for the observance of the Jubilee of the Wesleyan Church in 1876, with a special fund to endow the Home Mission Fund, the surplus to be used to build five Jubilee Memorial Churches and a new Tupou College hall, this fund for local expenditure to be locally controlled.

All these reforms, recommended by the District Meeting, were approved by the Church in Australia.

When Chapman, Missionary Secretary, arrived in Tonga in November 1874 to investigate the whole situation, as arranged by the Conference in January 1874, Baker was able to show him that the Tongans were appreciating their measure of self-government, and he pointed to the success in raising money for local needs as proof of this. Moulton, though ever watchful of Baker, had been impressed

[1874-1875]

with the successful introduction of Tongans into membership of Circuit Quarterly 795
Meetings and had congratulated him upon the result.(23) The slight improvement 797
in Baker-Moulton relations was reflected in better support for Moulton's work at 794
Tupou College. Referring to these matters, Moulton had written to Chapman:

> "The missionaries are recognizing its value" (i.e., the College) "more and more . . . Mr. Baker and myself are working harmoniously in our respective spheres and helping one another where we can." (24)

The general satisfaction with the new arrangements was seen in the record of the District Meeting on 30 November 1874:

> "Praise must be accorded to the Rev. S. W. Baker, our Chairman, for his zeal in bringing about the present state of things. We are, however, greatly indebted to our General Secretary [Chapman] for the initiating of a scheme, which we think will for the present satisfy the wants of the Tongan Church, and must eventually lead to this becoming a native Church, supported by native means, and carried on almost exclusively by native agents." (25)

After this District Meeting, Chapman, Baker and Moulton waited on the king [643] with the completed scheme for the Home Mission Fund, and "he expressed himself as well pleased with the contemplated changes".(26)

The 1875 Conference in Sydney, on 20 January, received Chapman's report, and decided that the Missionary Committee should continue to be responsible for the salaries of the missionaries, but that class-money, ticket money, should support all Tongan agents' salaries, with any surplus to be paid into the Home Mission Fund which should also aid the church schools. On 3 February 1875, the Missionary Committee endorsed these arrangements, and added that the Mission schools should be maintained "until provision is made by the Government for primary education". It resolved also that the king be asked to give permission for the Model Deed for the leasing of all church lands needed for church purposes.

All these changes evidently gratified the king, who agreed to the appointment [643] of Church trustees in terms of the Model Deed, in conformity with usual Wesleyan practice. The Model Deed, 15 December 1875, made Baker, Moulton, and two Tongan laymen the trustees; the Model Deed was signed by the king, and the seal of the Tonga Government affixed. The leases were for 99 years.

It seems that Sir Charles Mitchell did not realize the nature and extent of these measures taken in 1874-5. Sir Charles, certainly, believed that the recognition of the Tongan Church with "District status" in 1881 was given seven years too late; but the evidence of the Tongans' reactions to the new measures in 1875 should have been considered. Baker's letter to Chapman on 6 January 1875 showed his own and the king's satisfaction:

> "You will be glad to hear that the king has signed the Deed and that the Government seal has been affixed. Now we may say, as far as Methodism is concerned, we have little to fear in Tonga." (27)

On 15 March 1875 Baker wrote to Chapman,

> "I am glad that the Committee have given sanction to the financial scheme. I told the old king so and his face brightened up at the news. It will be the best thing that was ever done for Tonga." (28)

Again, on 26 June 1875, Baker told Chapman:

> "I greatly rejoice that all the resolutions of our District Meeting have been unanimously passed in Conference. . . . I am truly thankful to the Lord for our success . . ." (29)

Not only was the king gratified but the next District Meeting, which now included all Tongan ministers, on 27 December 1875, sent a warm resolution of thanks to the Conference in Sydney for the new arrangements.

* * * *

[1874-1876]

If 1874-5 was an important year in the progress of the Church, 1875 was a 642
crucial year for the Tonga Government. No action of George Tupou I has been
more highly esteemed than his granting this Constitution on 4 November 1875.
That day is observed as an annual holiday. The present king has declared that 643
his ancestor was entirely responsible for the Constitution. He gave a notable 642
address on this subject on 4 June 1970, on the occasion of Tonga's re-entry into the comity of nations and its joining the Commonwealth of Nations through the enactment of a treaty which removed the limitations on Tonga's foreign relations in the Treaty of Friendship and Protection (1900-1). King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV said,

> "The Constitution was drawn up by the King of Tonga, all by himself, and it was granted to the Tongan people solely on his own authority, and backed up by his own prestige." (30)

He extolled the policy of George Tupou I, who had granted his people their liberty in 1862 and who in 1875 added "a Constitution from which that freedom could be exercised and developed". When contrasting Tonga with Western Samoa in its procedure in calling a Constitutional Convention to draw up its Constitution, the king declared,

> "We have a constitution that is 95 years old, drawn up by one man, who himself was the Constitutional Convention." (31)

This eulogy of George Tupou I as the sole author of the Constitution seems 643
to rule out any credit for Shirley Baker as a participant. The massive statue of 642
Baker erected by the generous devotion of his daughters over his grave in Lifuka, 797
Ha'apai, shows Baker holding a copy of the Constitution which his admirers considered his outstanding political benefaction to the Tongan people. Baker, in his newspaper, "Po'opo'oi", claimed that he had prepared the "basis" of the Constitution for the king and Parliament to consider.(32) His fellow-missionaries repeatedly charged him with taking a prominent part in Tongan politics and, in particular, his close connection with compiling the Constitution. (33)

The Constitution was promulgated in English, and a complete Tongan version was not available for some years. The king's knowledge of English, of course, was very limited. The Postscript to the Constitution reads as follows:—

> "This Constitution was originally compiled, at the request of His Majesty King George, by the Rev. Shirley W. Baker; afterwards amended and completed by His Majesty himself, together with certain alterations made by the Legislative Assembly, 1875. By His Majesty's request the Rev. S. W. Baker translated this Constitution from Tongan into English. Wellington T. Ngu, A.D.C." (34)

Evidence which Rutherford and Latukefu have brought forward indicates that Baker had been working on the Constitution since 1872; that he visited Sydney that year and discussed the matter with Sir Henry Parkes, Premier of New South Wales, who showed him the laws of his State; that he told the Missionary Committee that the king wanted a Constitution but kept his own part a secret from them; that he was in touch with Charles St. Julian's successor as Hawaiian Consul-General in Sydney and received advice from him about Hawaii's Constitution; and that he continued working on the draft until he sent it to a firm of Auckland lawyers in 1874.(35) All this does not detract from the Constitution being a reflection of the king's decisions.

Watkin, a supporter of Baker in previous years, wrote to Chapman on 12 January 1876:

> "You will have heard ere this of the Constitution. . . . The affair to my mind has been altogether too hurried . . . I think our Chairman has gone a little too far in the

[1876]

> affair . . . The complaint of the chiefs is that they were not allowed to say what they 642 wished." (36) 643

Baker himself wrote to Chapman, on 3 May 1876: 797

> "I must acknowledge that I have drawn out the Constitution and most of the new laws and especially the new civil code, and am putting them through the press, and hope to correct the last sheet this week. . . . I have never pressed anything upon the king." (37)

On 10 June 1876, Watkin again wrote about Baker to Chapman:

> "I am not envious in the least of his position in the Church or of his influence with the king — he is welcome to all . . . I am sorry that the Chairman did not consult his brethren when he was preparing the Constitution for the Tonguese. . . . As far as I can learn the feelings of chiefs and people are against the Constitution. . . . The [204] Chairman (also) started *The Tonga Times* [a newspaper] without consulting the brethren." (38)

The Constitution was more formal and detailed than previous codes. It had 642 an admirable declaration of rights and also wisely provided for the royal 643 succession. This avoided quarrels about the kingship such as those that were tearing Samoa asunder. Some had suggested Henry Ma'afu, son of Aleamotu'a, as successor, but he had been in Fiji since 1848 and was a British subject after 1874; he was considered only if the king's family became extinct. Even if 'Unga was regarded as illegitimate through being born before the Christian marriage of his parents, this would have been unworthy, and he was now recognized constitutionally as the heir-apparent, and his son, Ngu, was designated as 'Unga's successor. As it happened, both of them predeceased Tupou I, and Tupou II succeeded as the son of Ngu's sister, Fusipala.

Certain chiefs (twenty, later thirty-three) were recognized in the Constitution 642 as hereditary nobles. This action pleased these chiefs who had been irritated by 565 the loss of their power over the people in 1862. It created an aristocracy, an affluent element in a poor country, landholders from whom their tribesmen received allotments on payment of rent. It may also have occurred to Baker that [797] the elevation of some chiefs to the rank of nobles would enhance his own prestige with this powerful group; and yet it was from this section that there came much of the opposition that brought about his downfall and ended his political career in 1890.

The leasehold system of land tenure was at the heart of the Constitution. 642 It prevented the alienation of land and also any influx of European settlers who 423 could have caused troubles like those which played a part in the cession of Fiji 609 in 1874. The absence of European plantations removed any need for bringing indentured labourers from abroad, again a very grave problem in Fiji. Only the [645] Tongan Cabinet could approve any lease to a European. The Parliament was to [427] consist of 20 nobles and 20 commoners (later, reduced to seven in each case). [644] As in the earlier Codes, the Sabbath was made a sacred institution in perpetuity. [527] Adultery and fornication were still criminal offences. [684]

Baker may have thought he had weathered the storms within the Mission 797 staff as far as his part in preparing the Constitution was concerned, but his continued involvement in political affairs led to further controversy. He was assailed in the District Meeting on 11 December 1876 on new charges. A fiery and unstable young missionary, James Thomas, brought accusations which, at first, gave Baker an opportunity of turning the tables on his critics. James Thomas alleged that Baker had been "meddling with the politics of Tonga in becoming virtually king", "becoming the author of the new and existing laws of Tonga",

[1876-1877]

"excluding Ma'afu of Fiji from the natural succession and causing it to be given 797 to 'Unga", and "becoming interpreter between the German and Tongan Governments". The last charge will be considered in later pages.

Baker had little difficulty in meeting most of these charges. He also launched a strong counter-attack on James Thomas. He alleged that Thomas had admitted to him his hope "that Britain would before long take Tonga and that, if he remained in Tonga, he would work for it". As Fiji had just been ceded to Britain, [829] in 1874, the king and his people were very sensitive to the issue of independence. The king was so irate with Thomas that he declared he would be charged with [643] treason if he returned after furlough. Fortunately for him, he left in 1877 and did not return.

The findings of this District Meeting on 11 December 1876, with Tongan as well as English ministers voting, were highly significant. With regard to James Thomas, he was found "guilty of grave indiscretion in making such statements but (the Meeting) scarcely considers that it amounted to a violation of law against interfering in politics". As for Baker, the finding of the Meeting was extremely critical:

> "That this Meeting deprecates the conduct of Bro. Baker in taking so active a part in the preparation of the Constitution of Tonga (1875) and in virtually passing it through the Parliament, and also deprecates his intimate connection with Government business in general and detail, and believes that this is opposed to the Instructions to Missionaries, calculated to produce discord among the brethren and to injure the work of God. This Meeting would therefore respectfully request a deliverance from Conference on the subject by approving or otherwise the conduct of the Chairman." (39)

The January 1877 Conference in Sydney would have acted on this definite resolution if Baker had not failed to attend.

With respect to these adverse findings, Moulton's opinion would not be free from bias, but it was expressed in his letter to Chapman (17 January 1877):

> "The District Meeting (11 December 1876) was a most unharmonious one, and in many things a disgraceful one. As I told you in a previous letter, after I had brought Mr. Baker's doings under your notice without effect, I let the matter alone. Others, however, were not disposed to do so, and surely even your opinion will be somewhat affected by the fact that Mr. Watkin has at last joined in the protest and that of his own free will and without any incitement on my part. . . . Doubtless Mr. Baker will escape again. Well, we've done our part and again the responsibility rests with yourself." (40)

Rutherford (41) thinks that Moulton may have influenced Watkin but Moulton explicitly denies this. Evidently Rutherford was not aware of both Moulton's statement and Watkin's letters. Nearly a year before, on 2 February 1876, Watkin had written to Chapman:

> "The Chairman, as usual, is the object of a good deal of remarks at present . . . I do not think Mr. Baker is acting in the most judicious manner. . . . I have always stood by the Chairman in his previous difficulties but I must say that he seems to me to be laying himself open to remark. The majority of the chiefs do not like the idea of Mr. Baker being so intimately connected with the Government." (42)

Further letters from Watkin to the Missionary Secretary, after the District Meeting on 11 December 1876, make the position still clearer. He wrote to Chapman on 5 January 1877 regarding his part in the District Meeting:

> "I made an objection against the Chairman for his active part in Government affairs and moved the resolution concerning his active interference. I have no wish that he should be removed from the District or superseded in the chair; but, knowing as I do the very active part he has taken in *all* Government affairs, I must say that I am not at all pleased with the conduct of Mr. Baker. There is a lack of spirituality about him which is calculated to have a very harmful effect upon younger men." (43)

[1877- 1878]

Baker expressed his surprise that Watkin had moved the District Meeting resolution against him and had not informed him beforehand about it.(44)

Watkin, in his letter on 5 January 1877, expressed his desire to return to circuit work in Australia in 1878. Explaining this in another letter to Chapman on 12 June 1877, he said:

> "I have several reasons for wishing to return. One of them is the want of confidence in the Chairman. I feel that, after the way he betrayed the District in reference to him going up to the Colonies, as though I cannot trust him — in fact, I feel that I cannot respect him." (45)

Watkin's reference, to the District Meeting being "betrayed", was to Baker's refusal to attend the 1877 Conference to answer the charge brought by the Meeting on 11 December 1876. He made the flimsiest of excuses, a supposed illness of the king, also the health of Mrs. Baker, together with the excuse that the charges were

> "a lot of frivolous nonsense which any schoolboy ought to be ashamed to put on paper". (46)

It was then that Baker disclosed a determination to remain in Tonga in one capacity or another while alleging personal animosity on Moulton's part:

> "I have been the stumbling-block of his [Moulton's] being Chairman, and hence any and every means of getting me out of the District. But out of the District, or at any rate out of the Friendly Islands I go not." (47)

It happened that, in anticipation of Baker's attendance, the Missionary Committee had chosen him to be one of the speakers at the Annual Missionary Meeting in Sydney in January 1877.(48) This was a strange action when Baker was under a cloud; the Committee seems to have thought less of the proprieties than Baker's platform ability as an advocate for Missions.

Watkin had been Baker's chief supporter but now his disgust with Baker's dishonesty was evident in his letter to Chapman, on 11 September 1877:

> "I am sorry to say that my confidence in the Chairman has been completely shaken. I stood by him as long as I could, but there has been so much duplicity in his conduct of late that I cannot feel that confidence in him I should like. His conduct at our last District Meeting was calculated, and I think intended, to bring us into collision with the king. . . .
>
> "His failing to attend the Conference has competely destroyed my confidence in him. His want of straightforwardness in that matter was utterly unworthy of a man who makes any pretensions to candour, to say nothing of it being unworthy in his position as a minister. . . . From the outset his conduct showed that he had no intention of going, and yet up to the last day he acted as if he was going. Did he not to all intents and purposes act a most deceitful part? I do not think it would be expedient to leave me here with the feelings which I now entertain towards him." (49)

After Baker's defiance of the January 1877 Conference, he was peremptorily commanded to attend in January 1878. The absence of documentary evidence of what occurred then is unfortunate. Rutherford believes that Conference, behind closed doors, severely castigated Baker but did no more than this.(50) (51) Once again the weakness of the Conference seems evident. By failing to recall Baker, it ruined any prospects of harmony in the Tongan Church. Nevertheless, it appears that Baker's usual self-assurance had been gravely shaken and, after returning to Tonga, he stated, on 13 July 1878, his determination to retire altogether from Mission work.(52) If he had done this — or if Conference in January 1878 had been courageous enough to discipline him — the tragedies of later years would have been averted. It seems likely that Conference hesitated to imperil the Mission's relations with the king and possibly create an open breach with him.

• • • •

[1878-1879]

Baker's influence with the king had grown but his intimate concern with all 797
Government affairs had brought him unpopularity in many quarters. The sumptuary 671
and social laws for which Baker was partly responsible were vexatious to the
Tongans and a cause of criticism and even ridicule from European visitors and
British officials in Fiji. Some of the sumptuary laws undoubtedly proved profitable [651]
for the Government's coffers and also for the traders. There seemed to be no good 797
reason, for example, to prohibit the making of native cloth *(ngatu)* except on one 671
day weekly, unless it was to encourage the purchase of European clothing. Baker 291
gave a strange argument in his letter to Chapman (3 May 1876); he said that the
king wanted to do away with native clothing and he himself supported this policy
on the ground that

> "the natives will never use their land as long as they are allowed to use native clothing. I believe it breeds disease, engenders laziness, and costs more than good stout calico would cost." (53)

Rigid missionary feelings concerning decency may have influenced the laws
which inflicted a fine of $10 for a man not wearing a shirt in public and a fine
of $2 for a woman without a "pinafore" in her home or $3 for the same offence
outside her home. Smoking in the case of women was met with a fine of $2.50 797
with costs $1.50. Apart from the trivial nature of all these offences, the fines 671
inflicted were preposterous and oppressive in a poor community.(54) Fines for [276]
sexual offences were particularly heavy. Some Tongans went to eastern Fiji, to [684]
escape these harassing laws; this gave rise to the remark of Lorimer Fison, [167]
missionary in Fiji, "The baker there is making his laws too crusty".(55) The most
extraordinary example was Niua Fo'ou, with a population of under 2,000, and [681]
a record of $8,350 fines, including $4,613 for sexual offences, between March
1877 and July 1878.(56)

Sir Arthur Gordon, afterwards Lord Stanmore, first Governor of Fiji in 1874, frequently entered the scene in Tonga when he became High Commissioner for the Western Pacific. Gordon was soon critical of Baker because of his intrusion into politics and, especially, his pro-German policy. Gordon was an experienced colonial administrator, with a background of British culture and High Anglicanism, but he was always disposed to uphold the interests of indigenous Pacific peoples. He gave full recognition to the value of the Wesleyan Mission in Fiji although he evinced some disdain towards the missionaries themselves. This superior attitude was still more marked when he was dealing with an ill-educated and aggressive missionary-politician in Shirley Baker.

Gordon, after his visit to Tonga in 1878, stated — [681]

> "I am informed that nearly 90% of the population were last year fined or imprisoned for breaches of the sumptuary laws as to clothing, smoking, playing at games, &c." (57)

With regard to the prohibition upon making *ngatu*, Gordon said,

> "It is Mr. Baker who makes the laws, and this insisting on the adoption of European clothes is enforced by heavy penalties". [291]

Gordon also commented on Baker's extravagance in building a new girls' college [873]
for the Mission, "a huge, unfinished building, with three towers, built round a
quadrangle".(58)

In 1879 the highly unpopular sumptuary laws were either repealed or greatly 797
modified. The laws against *ngatu* making, except in large towns, were repealed. 671
The prohibition against women smoking was removed, except for persons under 646
sixteen years of age and child-bearing women. The wearing of shirts and

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[1875 - 1880]

"pinafores" was no longer required.(59) These actions were taken by the first Parliament in which representatives of the people sat. 797 671 646

Baker's prestige did not suffer so seriously from the criticism regarding these laws as in two other directions where his ambition caused grave embarrassment. 797 These were his pro-German policy and his dubious methods of raising Church revenue. When controversies regarding these matters were at their height, Baker's rival, Moulton, was absent from the scene of strife.

The District Meeting of December 1875 gave permission to Moulton to visit 797 England in 1877, with expenses paid by the Mission in Tonga. He had felt it 779 imperative to give the Tongan people a new translation of the New Testament. This he could do with his accurate knowledge of Greek, which the older missionaries lacked, and also a mastery of Tongan superior even to theirs. The District Meeting, with Baker in the chair, expressed its "full confidence in the ability of Bro. Moulton to revise the Tongan Scriptures".(60) Baker reported this to Chapman,

> "Both Europeans and natives were unanimous . . . as to Bro. Moulton's capabilities I need say nothing." (61)

Moulton left Tonga on 2 June 1877, and took with him David Finau, a minister who had been a leading College student. Finau was invaluable as a collaborator in translation; he also proved attractive as an advocate for Missions to English congregations. Moulton was in constant touch with his brother, William Fiddian Moulton, who was a member of the New Testament Revision Committee then meeting in the Jerusalem Chamber, Westminster Abbey. One reason for Moulton going to England at this time was to have the benefit of that Committee's work.

After three years' absence, Moulton returned in July 1880. His translation was hailed with satisfaction by the District Meeting, under Watkin's chairmanship (13 December 1880):

> "This District Meeting desires to express its thanks to the Rev. J. E. Moulton for the very important service he has rendered to the Church and people of Tonga by translating and carrying through the press our new edition of the New Testament. . . . When we consider the immense difficulties . . . we are astonished not only at the magnitude of the work itself but at the successful manner of its accomplishment. To this District Meeting it is a matter for special gratitude to God that Mr. Moulton during his work of translation was in a position to confer with members of the English Bible Revision Committee . . ." (62)

There was no hint here of the criticisms that Baker and Watkin laid against Moulton's translation a few years afterwards. It was because of the differences on the Mission staff, and not on textual grounds, that the Free Church in 1885 rejected Moulton's work and returned to the old version. Moulton's scholarly translation lacked the simplicity of the old, but it was more accurate and was couched in finer forms of speech. It incorporated many of the marginal readings of the English Revised Version (for which Moulton's brother was largely responsible) as well as following the main stream of the Revised Version.

On a technicality the British and Foreign Bible Society, which had generously printed the old version, did not publish Moulton's. Its rules at that time precluded it from printing any translation not based on the older text. It was an evidence of Moulton's scholarship that he was determined to follow Westcott and Hort's Greek text. Perhaps his obstinate nature broke through in this insistence. Private printing was expensive but it was undertaken. Moulton proudly imprinted on the

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[1877-1880]

front page and on the cover the emblem and motto of Tupou College, the crab 797
emerging from a shell, an indication of education serving new conditions, with
the words "The mountain of Tonga is the mind" (with a pun on the words for 779
mountain and crab). This detail called forth more criticism eventually. It would
have been better for Moulton to have dispensed with the emblem on the Bible.

Moulton's absence during the critical years in which Baker was removed 797
from the Mission and became Premier absolved him from any complicity in the
charges against Baker in 1878 and the disputes that followed. He may well have
been tempted to remain abroad, especially if he could have foreseen the changed
situation in Church and State in Tonga. During his three years' absence Baker 643
insinuated suspicions into the king's mind, especially suggesting that Moulton was 797
favouring annexation while he (Baker) was defending Tonga against it. When
Moulton left in 1877 the king had given him tangible tokens of friendship and
gratitude and he had impressed on Moulton his desire for his return. In 1880
Moulton found the king estranged from him.

Marvellous to relate, in site of the bickering among the missionaries in a 797
community where nothing could be hidden, the work of the Church was being
carried on, in preaching, teaching, and pastoral care. The Tongan ministers must
have been steadily losing respect for missionaries who were guilty of feuding and
personal animosity. It seems almost incredible that normal and genuine religious
ministries could have been maintained in a Mission that had truly become "a
house divided against itself".

Footnotes:

(1) Chapman to Moulton. Catalogue 99. M.O.M.C. 113
(2) Greenwood, H., *Journal*. A.1756. M.L.S.
(3) Rutherford, N., *Shirley Baker and the King of Tonga*, p.32.
(4) Greenwood, ibid, 9 August 1870.
(5) Mission Board Minutes, Sydney, 26 January 1871. M.O.M.C.
(6) Rutherford, ibid, p.91.
(7) Australian Conference Minutes 1873, p.72.
(8) Moulton to Chapman. Catalogue 99. M.O.M.C.
(9) Baker to Chapman. Catalogue 101. M.O.M.C.
(10) *Tongan Papers*, N.L.C.
(11) Baker to Chapman. Set 101 and Set 197, item 2. M.O.M.C.
(12) Rutherford, ibid, pp.38-9.
(13) *Christian Advocate and Wesleyan Record*, Sydney, 6 February 1873.
(14) ibid.
(15) Minns to Chapman. Item 170. M.O.M.C.
(16) Moulton to Chapman. Catalogue 99. M.O.M.C.
(17) *Report of Sir Charles Mitchell*, 1887, p.3.
(18) *Christian Advocate* &c., ibid, 2 March 1874.
(19) Tonga District Meeting *Minutes*, 30 November 1874. F.W.C.
(20) ibid.
(21) Greenwood to Chapman. Item 170. M.O.M.C.
(22) Tonga District Meeting *Minutes*. F.W.C.
(23) Baker to Chapman, 4 September 1873. Item 101. M.O.M.C.
(24) Moulton to Chapman, 31 August 1873. Catalogue 99. M.O.M.C.
(25) Tonga District Meeting *Minutes*. F.W.C.
(26) ibid; *Christian Advocate* &c., ibid, 3 February 1875.
(27) Baker to Chapman. Set 197, Item 2. M.O.M.C.
(28) ibid, Item 101. M.O.M.C.
(29) ibid, Item 101. M.O.M.C.
(30) *The Tonga Chronicle*, 12 June 1970.
(31) ibid.

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(32) *Po'opo'oi*, Vol. 2, No. 6, September 1875, from Cummins, H. G., *Sources of Tongan History*, p.170. 113

(33) Tonga District Meeting *Minutes*, 30 December 1873, 11 December 1876.

(34) Cummins, ibid, pp.212, 286.

(35) Rutherford, *Shirley Baker and the King of Tonga*, pp.55-6; Latukefu, *Church and State in Tonga*, pp.214-16.

(36) Watkin to Chapman. Catalogue 99. M.O.M.C.

(37) Baker to Chapman. Catalogue 101. M.O.M.C.

(38) Watkin to Chapman, ibid.

(39) Tonga District Meeting *Minutes*. F.W.C.

(40) Moulton to Chapman. Catalogue 99. M.O.M.C.

(41) Rutherford, ibid, p.74.

(42) Watkin to Chapman. Item 170. M.O.M.C.

(43) Watkin to Chapman. Catalogue 99. M.O.M.C.

(44) Baker to Chapman. Set 197, Item 2. M.O.M.C.

(45) Watkin to Chapman. Catalogue 99. M.O.M.C.

(46) Baker to Chapman. Set 197, Item 2. M.O.M.C.

(47) ibid.

(48) Missionary Committee Minutes. 8 January 1877. M.O.M.C.

(49) Watkin to Chapman. Item 170. pt. 2. M.O.M.C.

(50) Rutherford, ibid, p.75.

(51) Baker (to President of Conference. 7 January 1880. Catalogue 169. M.O.M.C.) said that the 1878 Conference merely urged him and others to abstain from unnecessary interference in politics, and asked them only to give advice to the Government when asked to do so. It is, however, difficult to believe that nothing more than this was decided. [797]

(52) Baker to Chapman. Set 197, Item 2. M.O.M.C.

(53) Baker to Chapman. Catalogue 101. M.O.M.C.

(54) Gordon-Cumming, Miss, *A Lady's Cruise in a French Man-of-War*, p.20.

(55) Fison to Chapman, 26 October 1876. M.L.S.

(56) Maudslay, F. O., 23 January 1879; Scarr, *Fragments of Empire*, p.93.

(57) Gordon, *Public and Private Life*. Vol. III, p.113.

(58) Gordon, ibid, Vol. III, p.115. 29 April 1878.

(59) Gordon-Cumming, ibid, pp.32-3.

(60) Tonga District Meeting *Minutes*. F.W.C.

(61) Baker to Chapman, 7 January 1876. Catalogue 197, set 2. M.O.M.C.

(62) Tonga District Meeting *Minutes*. F.W.C.

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[1869-1879]

Chapter XIII.

SHIRLEY BAKER'S "VAULTING AMBITION"

Baker had made no secret of his desire "to make a name for himself". 797
Tonga's politics as well as its Church gave him scope for his energies. No missionary, certainly none in all the Wesleyan Missions in the Pacific, encountered so many storms as he did in the pursuit of his "vaulting ambition", in the words of his former supporter, J. B. Watkin. At various times he clashed with the British authorities, his fellow-missionaries, and the Church leaders in Sydney, sometimes simultaneously.

The open conflict with the British authorities in Fiji was due to Baker's 797
pro-German policy. The most authoritative opinion in Tonga today asserts that he 648
was working in the interests of Germany. This was obviously the view of Britain's representatives at that time.

Any claim by Baker that he was defending Tonga against British designs upon its independence was untenable. The British High Commissioner, Sir Arthur Gordon, knew and respected the passionate determination of Tupou and his people that their country should remain independent. The Colonial and Foreign Offices repeatedly declared the British Government's policy, namely, that Britain would not annex Tonga but would endeavour to prevent Germany establishing a power base there, especially in view of the proximity of Tonga to Fiji.(1)

Baker sedulously worked on the king's fear that Tonga might follow Fiji 797
and become a British possession, although the circumstances of the two countries 648
in 1874 were quite different. Cakobau ceded his country then because he could 643
not control it, unlike Tupou in Tonga. He still had rebel chiefs to deal with, whereas Tupou had suppressed rebellious movements many years before. Fiji had a large number of white settlers interfering in Fiji's internal affairs and imperilling its stability, but Tonga had very few foreign residents. Notwithstanding these facts, the king was uneasy. Baker represented himself as the one person capable of warding off any British movement and yet, at the same time, he, a missionary and a British subject, became a tool of German interests.

Thomas Trood, an Englishman but a manager of Godeffroy's firm in 797
Nuku'alofa for ten years (1869-79), and one who was in no way hostile towards 648
Baker, wrote:

> "Had not Sir Arthur Gordon, Lord Stanmore, taken Mr. Baker in hand some years previously" (i.e., before 1889, the critical year in Samoa about which Trood was writing), "it is almost certain that the German flag would now be flying in Tonga."

With the frequent visits of German warships, Trood said,

> "It appeared to be a foregone conclusion not only that Samoa would fall under German sole control but that Tonga also would then most probably be annexed by Germany. . . . Unfortunately for him, Mr. Baker turned his attention again to matters strictly political, and brought in array against him nearly all the British residents on the ground that he was trying to influence King George against England and promote in the group the influence of another foreign power, Germany." (2)

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[1876 -1878]

Baker's representation of himself as the champion of Tonga's independence, 797 whether sincere or not, was the means by which he was acquiring more power. While many Europeans were expressing doubts about Tonga's ability to control its own affairs, he was making sure that he himself would exercise that control. He seems to have thought that his authority could be preserved even if Tonga came under German influence. On the one hand, he knew that he was certainly not *persona grata* with Sir Arthur Gordon; but, on the other, he was on habitually good terms with Weber, the German Consul-General in Samoa, and with visiting German naval officers. In all these activities he was also working to the detriment of the Mission in the eyes of the British authorities as well as driving another wedge into the unity of the Mission staff.

Baker's pro-German attitude appeared clearly in the Treaty with Germany 797 in which his biographer, Rutherford, says he was not just interpreter but "prime mover".(3) (4) 648 Baker had been negotiating with the German Consul-General for such a treaty which would give recognition to Tonga's status and Tupou's sovereignity. It was signed on the German warship *Hertha* at Nuku'alofa on 1 November 1876. The most significant clause gave Germany the right to establish a naval coaling-station in the conveniently situated harbour of Vava'u. When the chief Tungi, the Tongan plenipotentiary who signed together with Baker (as "interpreter"), noted this clause, he asked leave to consult the king, but he was told by the German officer that all had been arranged and he should sign without delay. Basil Thomson, who visited Tonga a few years later and who knew Tungi well, recorded Tungi's action in these terms.(5) More reliability can be attached to this account of what happened than to a written statement that Baker produced from Tungi at the inquiry in 1879, when Baker met various charges brought by Maudslay, the representative of Sir Arthur Gordon. It is hard to believe Baker's own affirmation at the 1879 inquiry that he knew nothing about the coaling-station clause until he went on board *Hertha*.(6) Baker received the decoration of Knight of the Red Eagle (3rd Class) from the German Government; even though he was obliged to return this later at the insistence of the British authorities because he had no right as a British subject to accept it, the award clearly indicated the estimate Germany placed upon his services. Baker's colleague, Minns, believed that Baker

> "has damaged British interests and sold our Tongan nation to Germany. I have spoken to him plainly on this subject and told him that public opinion will identify him with the affair. He was ashamed, and as usual promised not to do so again." (7)

A sequel to the German Treaty was seen in 1877 when Captain Hassenpflug confided to Sir Arthur Gordon in Suva

> "that he was about to proceed to Tonga, and that he had little doubt he should be able to find that in some way the Treaty made last year . . . had been broken; and in this case he would exact a further treaty giving increased privileges to Germans resident in Tonga and virtually bringing it under German control." (8)

The British High Commissioner realized that something must be done speedily to counter German activities. He visited Tonga officially in April 1878. Baker was absent in New Zealand, as he frequently was. Gordon described his 797 audience with the king in these words: 648

> "Without exactly giving Baker away, the king let me know every effort had been made 643 to prejudice him against me and against England. We had been represented to him as bent on swallowing up Tonga, and his only hope of escape was to lie in German aid and protection." (9)

[1878-1880]

Regarding Baker, Gordon wrote: 797 643

> "The king's relations with Baker . . . reminded me of those between Louis XIII and Richelieu. He writhes under his tyranny, but cannot and will not shake it off. That he has no love for him is plain enough; but he is bound to him partly by fear and partly by feelings of gratitude and honour. His fear is twofold. He dreads the debacle Baker's removal might cause . . . but his apprehensions are also personal; for Baker, who is his doctor as well as his chaplain, prime minister" (actually he was not yet prime minister in name) "and banker, has instilled into him the belief that he will certainly die if Baker is not at hand to prescribe for him. He feels also, and it is true, that Baker has served him zealously, if not well, and has strong claims on his forbearance and support." (10)

In June 1878 Gordon sent Alfred Maudslay to Tonga as Deputy Commissioner and Vice-Consul to watch British interests, to keep an eye on Baker, and to prepare a treaty between Britain and Tonga. A comparatively minor but significant incident concerned the appointment of the king's secretary. Trood, a British subject though a former manager for the German firm, was suggested for this position. Baker, with the connivance of Weber, German Consul-General in Samoa, supported the appointment of a German.(11) In the end, a German was not appointed, the German Government realizing the strength of Britain's objections. At the same time the German Consul-General in Sydney, Carl Ludwig Sahl, was made Tonga Government Consul in New South Wales; he was also manager of Godeffroy's firm in Sydney and dealt with the Tonga Government's business abroad, through Baker's arrangement. The British Foreign Office pointed out that Sahl should not be a political officer for the Tonga Government as the High Commissioner in Fiji was the only channel of communication with countries such as Tonga.(12) 797 648

British fears regarding Tonga were summed up in Gordon's confidential memorandum to the Foreign Office, 6 June 1879:

> "It cannot be a matter of indifference to the Power possessing Fiji that the Tongan Government should be practically in the hands of another European State, and although we may view without regret or jealousy the rapid increase of German authority in other parts of the Pacific, it is, I think, impossible for us to regard with satisfaction any attempt to bring the Kingdom of Tonga under the direct control of German officials." (13)

The Treaty which Britain concluded with Tonga on 27 November 1879 recognized Tonga's independence. It gave the British Consul the right to try British subjects in certain cases but it claimed no such privilege as Germany had received in a naval coaling-station. This treaty was not ratified for nearly two years, and the delay proved vexatious to Gordon. His feelings were expressed in a despatch to the Earl of Glanville, 31 July 1880. Though Baker was a missionary and a British subject,

> "he has earnestly devoted himself to the promotion of German interests, both political and commercial, for which he has been rewarded as Knight of the 3rd Class of the Black (sic) Eagle. . . . I am told that immediately on his appointment as Minister for Foreign Affairs [in 1880] he announced that the Treaty with England would not be ratified. . . . Such is the power, partly spiritual, partly medical, which Mr. Baker, when present in Tonga, exercises over the king (who, when he is absent, openly expressed his desire to be relieved from his yoke) that I have myself little doubt that the ratification will be refused." (14) [643]

Gordon went on to predict that German interests would be promoted by Baker as premier (as he had become in 1880) through the German firm, Godeffroy,

> "or to the virtual establishment of a German protectorate over, and direction of, the affairs of Tonga . . . an objective on which many German officials have earnestly set their hearts." (15)

[1875-1881]

Gordon asked the British Government for authority to inform the king that it 797
would be an insult to Queen Victoria if the treaty made in her name was not 648
ratified.

On 3 January 1881 the Missionary Committee's Minutes, in Sydney, recorded receipt of two letters. One was from the Missionary authorities in London, enclosing a copy of a letter from the Foreign Secretary, the Earl of Glanville, complaining of Baker not ratifying the Treaty with Britain, and adding that "there is good reason to believe that Mr. Baker is earnestly devoted to the promotion of German interests in the islands, to the detriment of those of British subjects". (Baker, however, was then no longer a missionary and therefore outside the jurisdiction of the Church.) The other was a letter from Sir Arthur Gordon stating that Baker had recently called on him in Suva and had asked for his "support in the coming difficulties"; it added that the High Commissioner "gathered from Mr. Baker that he had sought German nationality, but unsuccessfully".(16)

* * * *

For some years before Baker's pro-German policy produced such a serious 797
situation he had also been causing embarrassment through another expression of his ambition — his fund-raising methods. After he became Chairman of the District in 1869 he had sought to curry favour with the Missionary Committee by greatly increased collections. This he did by dubious methods. There is reason to believe that the Missionary Committee knew what he was doing. Even though it used the funds to good purpose in the new Missions, it could not be absolved from blame for allowing Baker to exploit the simple and over-generous Tongans. The scandal of fund-raising was summed up by Basil Thomson in words which must be regarded as substantially correct:—

> "The love of money that prompted the Wesleyan body to retain Mr. Baker in office and shut their eyes to the discreditable means employed by him to raise contributions was the immediate cause of the trouble that followed." (17)

During this period the Mission staff was joined by an earnest young missionary, Henry Oldmeadow. Born in London in 1849, he arrived in Tonga on 23 November 1876 and served for eight years. His detailed diaries and journal deal almost exclusively with the regular work of the Church and show the progress of the spiritual ministrations which he, Watkin, and Minns were continuing despite the turbulent events of those years. In Ha'apai and Vava'u he was removed from the centre of turmoil at Nuku'alofa but his references to the Annual District Meetings show the friction that often occurred then. Endeavouring to be neutral for the sake of harmony, he, nevertheless, became increasingly critical of Baker's policies and methods.

Two facts may be overlooked in the criticisms of the Missionary Society because of the amount of money sent from Tonga. One is that the Church in Britain and Australia had given large sums to establish and maintain the Mission, and it was reasonable to expect that, after about forty years, the local expenses should be met locally and also that an evangelized field might share in the expenses of new fields. The Church in Australia had undertaken responsibilities for New Britain where the redoubtable George Brown, formerly of Samoa, was the pioneer in 1875. Another fact was that the fund to mark the jubilee of 1826 largely accounted for the record giving in 1875-9. Tonga controlled this Jubilee Fund

[1855 - 1875]

which included the building of five memorial churches and a new College Hall. 797
Of £14,759, the total amount raised in 1875, £6,124 was for the Jubilee Fund
and £3,490 for the Home Mission Fund.(18) The Jubilee Fund was expected 797
also to build a new "Ladies' College" which, the king asked, should be called
"Queen Charlotte's College" (in honour of his wife); he headed the list for this 873
purpose with £1.000.(19) Baker said: [644]

> "The Ladies' College will be the finest and largest building in Tonga or, in fact, in the South Seas, when it is finished." (He hoped this would be in December 1878; actually, it was never finished.) (20)

The accusation that the Tongans were filling the coffers of the Australian 797
Church was palpably false. Nevertheless, the great increase in sums sent overseas cannot be excused nor, still less, the unworthy methods used by Baker to induce the people to give beyond their means.

King George had determined to raise contributions after he had travelled to Sydney in 1853. The Wesleyan Conference in 1855 (the first after separation from Britain that year), resolved —

> "Conference records its great satisfaction at the successful efforts made by the people in Tonga, through King George . . . to meet the entire expenditure of the Mission by large and regular supplies of oil and trusts that this noble example, the first, we believe, on record in missionary times, will be speedily followed by other Missions placed in similar circumstances." (21)

The financial statements for 1855 showed estimated revenue from Tonga £1,100, estimated expenditure £1,386, expenses for the brig *John Wesley* used for Tonga and Fiji £1.000.(22) In 1866 estimated receipts from Tonga were £1,350, estimated expenditure £2,711.(23)

As sums sent overseas increased some missionaries expressed concern. John Vercoe, in Ha'apai, may have exaggerated, but he wrote:

> "That this little group" (= Ha'apai). "with some 4,000 people, should send away £1,000 per annum, whilst her chapels are mere sheds, and her native ministers and local preachers are in rags, is, I confess, a matter of which in the future we shall be ashamed." (24)

When Baker became Chairman in 1869, he began a policy of stimulating more giving that brought him praise from the Missionary Committee, but criticisms from some of his colleagues; the amount raised in 1869 rose to £5,480, and this was very much exceeded in the next decade.

In 1871 the Earl of Pembroke and Dr. G. H. Kingsley visited the South Seas and made caustic criticisms of Wesleyan missionaries in general; their knowledge of Tonga came only from reading missionary reports as they did not include it in their itinerary. Their remarks reflected the contemporary scorn of Nonconformists shown by some lordly Englishmen, but there was justification for their strictures concerning the undesirable means Baker was using. Wesleyan missionary circles in Australia and Britain felt embarrassed by the publicity. The missionaries in Tonga, so said "The Earl and the Doctor", were "canting sharks"; the writers added,

> "To those who know the generous excitable nature of the South Sea Islanders, this must be looked upon as sheer pillage." (25)

The people's susceptibility to rivalry gave Baker ample opportunity for 797
exploitation. Nothing was dearer to Tongan hearts than praise, nothing more 181
precious than prestige. Few families were willing to be outdone by the gifts of 157
others. Villages were easily pitted against each other. The challenges were made in

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preparatory meetings with boasting of what would be given at the annual 797
missionary meetings. The gifts were always announced publicly. Baker added a [181]
method of piecemeal continued giving, an elimination process for the honour and [157]
glory of the last survivors. Basil Thomson's descriptions of missionary collections
in his day (1890), both Free Church and Wesleyan, were truthful, despite
humourous exaggerations.(26) It was an open competition in a circus-like
atmosphere, entirely out of keeping with a religious setting.

In spite of the adverse publicity from "The Earl and the Doctor", the Missionary Committee reacted in a manner favourable to Baker and confirmed him in the chairmanship when he feared that it might have been given to his rival, Moulton. Baker had visited Sydney at that time (1873), and the Missionary Committee resolved that,

> "Having heard the statements of the Rev. S. W. Baker relative to the unexampled financial and spiritual prosperity of the Mission in the Friendly Islands District, [it] records its thankfulness to God for His abundant blessing upon the missionaries and their work." (27)

Fortified with this eulogy, Baker repressed any desire to return to a ministry
in Australia in 1873 and set out to raise ever larger sums. He developed a special 797
technique for giving credit in advance. This became notorious, with the German 452
firm of Godeffroy having a monopoly of the copra from the collections. Sometimes
a representative of the firm stood at the church door to make these advance
payments against the copra to be sold later. Many of the debts would have been
unmanageable in any case, and when a hurricane or a drought occurred many
people failed to meet their obligations to Godeffroy. Distress warrants were taken
out in many cases. Moulton was most critical of these practices. So was George 797
Minns, who bemoaned also the contrast between spiritual deadness and booming
collections. To Chapman on 26 January 1874, Minns wrote:

> "Our success is represented by £ s d. The disparity between our finances and our spirituality is so great that I cannot find sufficient courage to address a letter to the 'Missionary Notices'. . . . The Missionary affair [= collections] is in a large measure the effect of excitement and will collapse . . . Let us wait a few years longer for there are great difficulties ahead." (28)

Sir Charles Mitchell, High Commissioner, in his report to the British 797
Parliament in 1887, criticized the Mission and stressed the king's resentment at 652
the large sums going out of the country. Actually, some of the money was being [643]
banked in Sydney for the Tonga Jubilee Fund. Also, it was Baker himself who
was responsible for this financial policy.

Mr. E. L. Layard, appointed as British Consul for Fiji and Tonga, visited 797
Nuku'alofa in February 1876, and he at once received an avalanche of complaints 563
from European residents, many of them disreputable beachcombers, and some of
them rivals of the German firm. Baker declared that some of those who signed
a petition to Layard had been cured of venereal disease by him.(29) On the basis
of these complaints, Layard made many charges to Sir Arthur Gordon, alleging
that Baker was "a trader in disguise", "the virtual ruler of Tonga", using his
power

> "not for the good of the natives but actually for his own aggrandizement and enrichment, and to the detriment and possible banishment of every white man except his own special party from the Islands". (30)

Layard alleged that Baker was being well paid for his medical work. He added 797
an absurd story about the people in the southernmost remote island of 'Ata 177
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(Pylstaart) being brought to 'Eua for the convenience of the missionaries whereas 797
in fact the king had brought them to Tongatapu and 'Eua because of "the vile 177
traffic of the whalers with the women of the island",(31) and the depradations of 166
blackbirders who took the inhabitants to guano digging and sugar planting in Peru and Chile where some, unfortunately, died. Baker had no difficulty in showing the falsity of statements of this nature.

Sir Arthur Gordon did not attach much weight to many of Layard's charges. 797
In regard to one, that Ma'afu of Fiji should be the heir-apparent instead of 'Unga, Gordon was satisfied that 'Unga was properly the heir. Summing up, Gordon considered the only justifiable grounds for complaint against Baker were two, his political activities and his excessive fund-raising efforts.(32) Baker was to hear more about these — but not from the discredited Consul Layard. On Gordon's recommendation, the Earl of Carnarvon, Colonial Secretary, and Lord Derby, Foreign Secretary, refused to take any action against Baker on Layard's
charges.(33) Not only did Baker succeed in refuting these but he regarded 1876, [794]
the Jubilee year, as the high-water mark in the history of the Mission, and proudly [795]
recorded that, as well as the large financial contributions,

> "we have had a glorious revival, upwards of 600 have joined the Church, upwards of 60 Papists have turned over; never has Tonga had such a glorious revival." (34)

It was significant that, up to this stage, Baker was supported by Frederick Langham, veteran missionary and influential Chairman of the Fiji District. He protested against Layard not informing Baker that he was laying charges.(35) Langham believed that Gordon was moved by a desire to have Baker out of the way lest his pro-German policy injure British interests in Fiji and the whole area. Langham, in writing to Chapman, 28 June 1878, added:

> "I reminded him (Gordon) that he had told me that, if Mr. Baker were not removed from Tongatapu, he would have to take some action." (36)

Greater pressure was exerted against Baker when Maudslay arrived in June 1878 as Deputy Commissioner and Vice-Consul. From the outset, Maudslay was prejudiced. He soon began investigating the missionary's conduct in both political and financial affairs. Naturally, Baker resented Maudslay's inquiries; he even preached against him from the pulpit, warning the people to ignore him, from the text, "O foolish Galatians, who hath bewitched you . . . ?" (Galatians iii. 1).

Maudslay had the assistance of another officer of the Fiji Government, David Wilkinson, who was a practising member of the Wesleyan Church and respected by the Chairman of the Fiji District, Langham. Wilkinson became very critical of
Baker. He told Langham that some Tongans, unable to pay their debts to [452]
Godeffroy after the collections, had lost their goods, sold at ridiculous prices; [685]
and this had occurred after drought and hurricane had reduced them to abject poverty.(37) Maudslay and Wilkinson, in their visits to villages, met with difficulty in securing witnesses because Baker was dismissing from office in the Church those who gave them information. Wilkinson wrote to Langham:

> "He is pursuing so tyrannical a course towards natives and all he regards as his enemies and threatens the utmost pains and punishment to those who gave us information." (38)

Wilkinson, "as a Wesleyan", asked Maudslay to suspend action against Baker pending an approach to the Missionary Committee to remove him. Langham wrote to Wilkinson objecting to Baker not being given an opportunity to defend himself against the allegations; nevertheless, Langham added:

> "But, after taking all these things into consideration and giving them due weight, there still remains a feeling of uneasiness and an apprehension that there may be something underlying it all." (39)

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Gordon's attitude had changed since discounting Layard's charges in 1876. 797 On the strength of what had happened since then and from his own observation when visiting Tonga in 1878, he was more ready to listen to Maudslay's allegations. About the general state of Tonga (including resentment against the sumptuary and other laws which were modified afterwards, in 1879), Gordon wrote:

> "I neither asked questions nor sought complaints, but I left Tonga with the conviction . . . that I have seldom seen a population so deeply and profoundly disturbed or where there was cause to fear a sudden and lamentable uprising against a system the pressure of which was too heavy to be borne." (40) [181]

The inflated collections and the use of money advanced by the German firm formed Maudslay's main charge against Baker. Inordinately large sums had been taken from all parts of Tonga, even the remote island of Niua Fo'ou which could hardly expect to receive much in return. In Tongatapu distress warrants had been 452 taken out by Godeffroy against the heaviest debtors, and this in spite of hurricanes 685 in 1876 and 1877 sorely afflicting the people. These warrants greatly embarrassed Baker who had been absent in Auckland while houses and goods were being sold on court orders. He was so concerned about the people's plight that he took money [797] from the 1876 Jubilee Fund lying in the bank in Sydney to pay some of these debts.(41)

Maudslay thought he had collected enough evidence to enable the High 797 Commissioner to exercise against Baker the power given by an ordinance to remove a British subject who was disturbing the peace of a community such as Tonga. Gordon, however, was not only uncertain of the wisdom of doing this but he did not want to incur the odium likely to follow. He preferred that the Church itself should remove Baker although he indicated that, if the Church did not, he would be obliged to remove him.(42)

Baker felt the growing seriousness of his position and suggested to Chapman that it might be better for him to go to England or America where he "could do good service as a deputation for Missions" (13 July 1878).(43) Even if that was not his fixed intention, he certainly felt that he must leave Tonga. On 30 October 1878 he wrote to Chapman:

> "May I ask you, after my Consul's case is over, to ask permission for me to return next Conference. 1880 . . . I hope you will excuse my putting it so strongly, but I must return in April 1880." (44)

Baker's colleagues in Tonga at that time, Watkin and Minns, believed that Maudslay was pushing his case against Baker too far. They also thought that the Church courts were the proper place for investigating the complaints. Although Minns had been very critical of Baker's conduct, he wrote to Chapman on 1 September 1878 about Maudslay's charges:

> "This thing must be settled once and for all. . . . The reputation of the Church and prosperity of the Mission must stand before any consideration for Mr. Baker's comfort. . . . Mr. Baker never needed a friend more than now and, so far as I can, I will help him out of these difficulties. I am truly sorry for him." (45)

Even Moulton wrote to Baker (22 November 1878):

> "I cannot describe how anxious I am that you should be fully acquitted of blame by your brethren after full and honest investigation. These persistent charges must be silenced." (46)

This statement may have come from a generous impulse but it is at variance with Moulton's messages at other times. Gordon was on leave in England at that time; Moulton was there on his translation work. Moulton wrote to Chapman, on 30 January 1879:

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> "I may say that Sir Arthur Gordon is waiting with considerable anxiety the result of your examination of Mr. Baker's case. He sent me a note, asking me to call upon him. As far as I can gather, his object was to be satisfied that the Conference would not treat his complaints lightly . . . He said that, though he felt compelled to take action in Mr. Baker's case, yet he would rather the Mission would itself set its house in order. I mention this as in duty bound, otherwise I should remain silent. . . . Sir Arthur seems very determined, and, if Mr. Baker escapes, as he has done before, through some technicality, he is resolved to take the matter up himself and make it public." (47)

The first examination of Maudslay's charges about the collections, for which Gordon desired information, was made in the Tonga District Meeting in December 1878. Watkin was in the chair; he and Minns, the only other European member, agreed that the charges were not proven. The Tongan ministers did not vote. Watkin and Minns reached this decisoin although they had expressed disapproval of Baker's methods of collecting money. The Meeting also expressed sympathy with Baker in

> "the exaggerated, and, in some cases, false reports which have been circulated against him". (48)

In reporting to Chapman the District Meeting's decisions, Watkin said:

> "The letter of the British Consul was before our Meeting . . . You may not be altogether satisfied with what we have done. What evidence could we obtain? We might have called a few Europeans who supplied the Consul with the information and from whom he has obtained affidavits, but I would not be a party to calling any men whose moral characters are, I believe, without exception of the most questionable character . . ." (49)

Watkin was given permission by this District Meeting (December 1878) to ask to be allowed to return to a circuit in Australia. He had been Baker's friend, indeed his only real friend on the staff, for years past. Yet he had become very disturbed by Baker's actions; and it was because of his loss of respect for Baker, he stated, that he had decided to apply to leave the scene of strife. His letters to the Missionary Secretary over the previous two or three years disclosed his assessment of the situation rather than his vote, "Not proven", at the District Meeting of December 1878. Further letters to Chapman in 1878-9 showed his deep concern:—

(1) 10 January 1878:

> "Mr. Baker's affairs are of such a character as to demand his return. When I suggested to our District Meeting (December 1877) that he remove from Tongatapu, say to Ha'apai, he replied: 'I shall not leave Nuku'alofa; *come back to Tongatapu I shall, either in or out of the ministry*'. Now this unwillingness on the part of Mr. B. to leave Nuku'alofa is to my mind very suspicious and, as I have said in a previous note, goes to confirm the reports so universally circulated and believed that he is engaged in more than the legitimate duty of a Wesleyan missionary." (50)

(Watkin also said he was giving this opinion direct to Baker.)

(2) 8 November 1878:

> "I hope Mr. Baker will give a satisfactory explanation" (i.e., to Mr. Maudslay's charges) "though I must confess that I fear there has been a culpable amount of indiscretion on the part of the Chairman. The fact is that Mr. Baker's vaulting ambition has been his great failing, I am going to say, his ruin. I am sorry to say he has done some things which are not calculated to raise our Mission in the eyes of the world. His very active interference in the whole of the Government affairs of Tonga . . . his very intimate *friendship* with Mr. Weber" (German Consul-General and manager of Godeffroy's firm in Samoa) "is another matter which appears somewhat incongruous. My private opinion is that, for the sake of the Mission and for Mr. B's own sake, it will be expedient for him to leave as soon as he possibly can. I have told Mr. B. so and I think I understand from him that he has already written to the Committee stating that it is his intention to leave." (51)

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(3) 26 December 1878 (after reporting the decision of the District Meeting as previously stated):

> "That Mr. B. has acted most imprudently cannot be denied; his vaulting ambition has led him to many an error by which his own good name and that of the Mission has been compromised. I have told him so." (32)

These statements from Watkin are the clearest exposure of Baker's unfitness to continue as a missionary in Tonga. Other letters from Watkin to Chapman, on 19 June and 12 September 1878, mentioned his desire to return to Australia and his "relief to get out of this District".(33)

The only other European missionary in Tonga at the time, Minns, referred to Baker's repeated desire to leave Tonga:

> "The Chairman himself has suggested the only way out of the disaster, and this is his removal to the Colonies. Mr. Baker has given us a distinct promise that he will leave in the *Wesley* in 1880." (34)

In a private letter, on 4 January 1879, Minns told Chapman:

> "I speak plainly. Mr. B. must leave this District. The action of the Consul is against the Chairman, and not against the Mission. If Mr. B. were free from blame, I would not yield to any man and would oppose his removal; but he is not free from it. The Chairman has again promised us that he will go."

Again, on 2 April 1879, Minns wrote to Chapman:

> "He leaves a legacy behind large enough and sad enough to break a thousand stout hearts. . . . I tell you plainly that Tonga politically and spiritually won't recover the sad effects of Mr. Chairman's imprudence for many years to come." (35)

There can be no doubt that, had Baker left Tonga at this time, the situation would have been changed for all concerned, and especially for the future of the Church.

Although Baker had told Chapman, more than once, that he wished to leave Tonga not later than April 1880 because of the charges, he also wrote to him that he resented accusations by "beachcombers, adulterers, fornicators", and added:

> "That I have sold to Messrs. Godeffroy & Co. or their agents any debts for money advanced by me to natives is an infamous lie." (36)

Undoubtedly, Sir Arthur Gordon was exerting pressure on the Wesleyan Church authorities in both London and Sydney, his real reason being Baker's political activities and his pro-German policy. It is equally clear that the Church leaders did not wish Baker's affairs, and particularly his money-raising methods, to be published to the world, if only because some of the facts had been known, and not condemned, by the Missionary Committee in Sydney. Also, there was always the fear that the king might take grave offence, and the Mission suffer, if the Church took action against Baker.

The British Wesleyan Missionary Committee, though no longer responsible for the work in the South Pacific, was being kept informed of Baker's case by the Colonial Office, on information given by Gordon, and it expressed alarm at the complaints. On 27 May 1879, Chapman received a communication from the Committee in London, recounting the British authorities' charges against Baker and concluding with the Committee's opinion that his recall from Tonga was most advisable. It added the opinion that the inquiry by the Tonga District Meeting in December 1878, with only two European missionaries present, was inadequate.(37)

It was after receiving this advice from London that the Missionary Committee decided on 18 July 1879 to recall Baker and to send a commission to investigate

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the charges on the spot. Chapman wrote to Gordon on 23 July:

> "Mr. Baker's removal from Tonga is absolute and not at all dependent on the result of the inquiry,"(58)

Rutherford had some ground for criticizing this action when he said, "He (Baker) was, in fact, to be punished first and tried last".(59) Chapman, as it happened, was a man of gentle disposition and anything but impetuous or vindictive. It is clear that he and the Committee had at last exhausted the patience that they had shown Baker for years past, with many charges against his conduct at various times.

Chapman, in writing to Dr. M. C. Osborne, Missionary Secretary in London (13 September 1879), admitted that he and others felt that Sir Arthur Gordon wanted Baker out of Tonga because he would not "advance British political interests". That this was not the deciding factor was evident from Chapman's significant statement in this letter:

> "Had it not been for a feeling of uncertainty lest some of the charges against Baker should be provable, and if it had not been that he has caused us some uneasiness in the past, we should not have consented to recall him until our inquiry had shown it to be necessary."(60)

This underlying reason for Baker's removal was made clear to Baker himself in Chapman's letter (6 October 1879):

> "So many unpleasant things have occurred for several years past as to greatly lessen your influence, and therefore your removal was necessary in the interests of the District, independent altogether of the charges we are sent to investigate."(61)

Baker had been censured severely several times by his Church but not withdrawn from Tonga because he was so useful as a fund-raiser for Missions and because there was a fear of offending the king. Neither reason was worthy. At last the Committee decided on his recall, not only because of his political activities in breach of missionaries' instructions, but fundamentally because they knew that there would never be either peace or honour in the Mission while Baker remained in Tonga. On that point they were unquestionably right. Unfortunately for the Church, the Committee acted too late. Baker was establishing himself as a champion of Tonga's freedom, and he could appeal to local support [609]
against what could be regarded as outside interference. On 17 October the king, [643]
and on 28 October 2,970 signatories to a petition, protested against his removal. [829]

The commission consisted of Chapman and William Clarke, who was President of the New South Wales and Queensland Conference that year. They heard Maudslay's charges against Baker in Nuku'alofa from 8 to 29 October 1879. Maudslay had been absent for twelve months on consular duties in Samoa and Fiji and had only just returned before Chapman and Clarke arrived. He declared that he was unprepared for the inquiry; actually, he found difficulty in producing witnesses.(62) The charges were, first, Baker's political activities, his part in the Treaty with Germany and in trying to secure a German secretary for the king; second, financial, his connection with the Bank of Tonga and with the general commercial dealings of the Tonga Government, together with Maudslay's belief that Baker was benefiting from a connection with the German firm; third, collecting from the people on borrowed money through the German firm.

Baker conducted his defence with great ability and adroitness. He had little difficulty in exposing mere rumours and pointing out the insufficient evidence on some charges. He brushed aside political charges, stating that he only gave advice. The third series, with supporting affidavits from traders, were those from

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which he did not emerge unscathed; and even on these he was fortunate that many of the Tongan witnesses called by Maudslay failed to appear. This was hardly surprising when the reluctance of Tongans to give evidence at a public inquiry against a person in Baker's position is recognized. During the three weeks of the inquiry Baker was speaking at church meetings, enlarging upon what he called Tonga's danger of annexation and also making difficulties for any witnesses who might appear on Maudslay's behalf. There was nothing to substantiate the allegation that Baker was connected with the German firm or had received any emoluments from it. Trood, Godeffroy's manager, emphatically denied this.

Baker placed much emphasis in his final address upon his repudiation of the charges of using political influence. His boastful statements, actually, gave enough evidence of political activities to justify condemnation by his Church which strictly forbade missionaries to engage in these. He was in fact a self-confessed offender against the laws of his Church. These were his concluding statements:

> "That I have great influence with the Tongan Government I don't deny; that I designed 643
> their flag, I admit; that at the king's request I compiled the original draft of the 186
> Constitution, I admit; that at his request I assisted him in reference to the laws, I admit; 642
> that I corrected the proof copies of the laws, I admit; that at his request I planned 692
> the present system of police courts and debtors' court and a system of registration, I 204
> admit; that so long back as 1862 I drew out the charter of their liberty, I admit; that I
> was editor of the *Po'opo'oi* and *the Tonga Times*, I admit; that I have used influence
> to compel, or to enforce, or to interfere, I deny; I have given my opinion, but I have
> never pressed my views either on the king or on the chiefs, which His Majesty's letter
> to the committee proves." (63)

Baker printed a lengthy report ("Resume") of the commission's inquiry and circulated this widely among the members of the New South Wales and Queensland Conference which met in January 1880 to consider the commission's findings. The event showed that Baker's published "Resume" did not affect the decision of the Conference. Baker's recall stood.

Why was Baker recalled? Was there any truth in his statement,

> "It is because of my expressed opposition to the annexation of Tonga to Fiji that I am thus wanted out of the way." (64)

Britain had never proposed annexation. Irresponsible statements on the subject had appeared in Fiji newspapers but Britain's policy, though opposed to German ambitions in Tonga, was always clear at this point.

The policy of the Wesleyan Mission was just as free from any approval of annexation; as Chapman wrote to Osborne in London, "If the king thought that the missionaries whom he has loved and trusted so long could be brought to sympathize with that object, he would spurn them as traitors".(65)

Minns knew that Baker was taking refuge in the excuse that he was defending Tonga against British annexation:

> "This representation of the designs of the English Government is without doubt simply a dodge to remain in Tonga and laugh at the Committee and the Conference." (66)

Baker was not being made a martyr in the cause of Tonga's independence. He was recalled by his Church as the climax to the dissatisfaction that repeated events of the previous ten years had provoked and as the consequence of his continuous breach of Church rules against missionaries engaging in political activities. He had offered to withdraw from Tonga in December 1878, as he had several times before, and he had afterwards done nothing. On 6 January 1880 he again wrote to the President of the Conference stating his decision to leave Tonga.(67)

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Baker's defiance of his Church was deliberate. He was determined to disobey the order for his return, and he relied upon many of the Tongans, and especially the king, to support him. He believed that, with this support, he would be able to defeat and humiliate the Wesleyan Church, and this he proceeded to do.

Footnotes:

(1) Gordon, Sir Arthur. *Public and Private Life in Fiji*, Vol. II, p.407; Gordon to Colonial Office, 31 July 1880: Scarr, D., *Fragments of Empire*, pp.82, 84; Ross, A., *New Zealand Aspirations in the Pacific*, pp.137, 204.
(2) Trood, T., *Island Reminiscences*, p.71.
(3) Rutherford, N., *Shirley Baker and the King of Tonga*, p.64.
(4) Yet Baker told Chapman, "I was compelled to act as interpreter", 6 November 1876. Catalogue 197, set 2. M.O.M.C.
(5) Thomson, B., *Diversions of a Prime Minister*, p.368.
(6) *Resume of Inquiry . . .* published by S. W. Baker, p.44.
(7) Minns to Chapman, 9 January 1879. Item 179, pt. 1. M.O.M.C.
(8) Gordon to Carnarvon, 17 July 1877: Morrell, W. P., *Britain in the Pacific Islands*, p.320.
(9) Gordon, ibid, Vol. III, p.101.
(10) Gordon, ibid, Vol. III, p.100.
(11) Maudslay to Earl of Salisbury, *F.O.*, 28 April 1870; *F.O. Memo.*, 9 May 1879, No. 52, Tongan Correspondence. (Sir Arthur Gordon's copy, in author's possession.)
(12) *F.O.*, No. 21, Tongan Correspondence, 4 February 1878; Gordon, ibid, Vol. III, p.330; Gordon to Salisbury, 3 June 1879, No. 66, Tongan Correspondence.
(13) *F.O.*, No. 68, Tongan Correspondence.
(14) Gordon, ibid, Vol. IV, p.395.
(15) Gordon, ibid, Vol. IV, p.395.
(16) *Minutes*, Missionary Committee, Sydney, 3 January 1881. M.O.M.C.
(17) Thomson, B., *Memorandum on Tongan Affairs*. No. 276, par. 3, July 1891. W.P.H.C.
(18) Tonga District Meeting *Minutes*, 1875. F.W.C.
(19) Baker to Chapman, 19 September 1876. Item 197, set 2. M.O.M.C.
(20) Baker to Chapman, 3 August 1877, ibid.
(21) Conference Minutes, 1855, p.28
(22) ibid, p.97.
(23) ibid, 1866, p.78.
(24) Vercoe to Chapman, 22 July 1858. Item 170, pt. 2. M.O.M.C.
(25) *South Sea Bubbles*, p.251; Rutherford, ibid, p.31.
(26) Thomson, B., *Diversions of a Prime Minister*, pp.185-91.
(27) Conference Minutes, 1873, No. 25, p.135.
(28) Minns to Chapman. Item 170, pt. 1. M.O.M.C.
(29) Baker to Chapman, 14 September 1876. Set 197, item 2. M.O.M.C.
(30) Layard to Earl of Derby, 8 March 1876.
(31) Amos to Eggleston, 27 November 1857. Item 170. M.O.M.C.
(32) Gordon to Earl of Carnarvon, 16 October 1876.
(33) Rutherford, ibid, p.73.
(34) Baker to Chapman, 14 September 1876. Catalogue 197, Set 2. M.O.M.C.
(35) Langham to Gordon, 26 June 1876. Catalogue 103. M.O.M.C.
(36) Langham to Chapman, 28 June 1878. Catalogue 103. M.O.M.C.
(37) Langham to Chapman, 9 November 1878. Catalogue 322. M.O.M.C.
(38) Wilkinson to Langham, 1 August 1878. Catalogue 103. M.O.M.C.
(39) Langham to Wilkinson, 9 November 1878. Catalogue 103. M.O.M.C.
(40) Gordon to Chapman, *Public and Private Life*, Vol. III, p.287, 22 April 1879.
(41) Oldmeadow, H. C., *Journal*. A.N.U.
(42) *Tongan Papers*, N.L.C.
(43) Baker to Chapman, 13 July 1878. Catalogue 197, Set 2. M.O.M.C.
(44) ibid, 30 October 1878. Catalogue 197, Set 2. M.O.M.C.
(45) Minns to Chapman, 1 September 1878. Item 170. M.O.M.C.
(46) *Tongan Papers*, N.L.C.
(47) Moulton to Chapman. Catalogue 99. M.O.M.C.
(48) Tonga District Meeting *Minutes*; Chapman to Gordon, 11 April 1879; Gordon, ibid, Vol. III, p.324.
(49) Watkin to Chapman, 26 December 1878. Catalogue 99. M.O.M.C.
(50) ibid, 10 January 1878. M.O.M.C.
(51) ibid, 8 November 1878, Catalogue 99. M.O.M.C.
(52) ibid, 26 December 1878, ibid.

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Chapter XIV.

THE SECESSION OF THE FREE CHURCH (1885)

Although Baker had evidently determined to flout the will of the Conference 797
he attended its sessions in Sydney in January 1880. The report of Chapman and Clarke was received. His protestations had no effect. The Conference unanimously endorsed the Missionary Committee's action in recalling Baker from Tonga. The Conference resolution showed the central fault in Baker's conduct as far as Church law was concerned:

> "With reference to his interference in the politics of Tonga Mr. Baker has gone beyond the bounds permitted to our missionaries."

Baker requested, and was granted, permission to "rest", that is, to be left without a Church appointment, for one year and to reside in New Zealand for that period. He had, at first, asked for permissoin to vacate his ministerial tasks for five years and to assist the king and the Government for that time, with the option of resuming his ministerial position after five years; this was contrary to the rules of the Church and Baker was informed that this request could not be entertained. He gave the Conference his pledge not to return to Tonga during the one year of his residence in New Zealand. He was not specifically forbidden to return to Tonga lest such a requirement give umbrage to the king whom the Church was always anxious to conciliate but, instead, Baker's promise not to visit Tonga was accepted. This pledge he flagrantly disregarded.

The king reacted angrily to the Conference's decision not to reappoint Baker 797
to Tonga. He threatened to revoke the Church leases. He also sent Conference 643
a request that Tonga be made an independent district with direct representation 795
to the Conference, "in all respects like colonial districts", with his promise that 794
the missionaries' salaries would be met by the Tongan Church. Being an independent District or having "District status" instead of being a "Mission District" would mean that Tonga would no longer be subject to the Missionary Committee. It was this Committee with which Baker had repeatedly clashed. It was a matter of pride with the king that Tonga should have a higher status and should not be supervised by the Missionary Committee as Fiji, Samoa and New Britain were.

This Conference of January 1880 agreed to place the king's request before the General Conference which alone could decide the issue; General Conference was to meet in May 1881. Conference also pointed out that the application should pass through the District Meeting in Tonga in the first instance. Actually, the matter had been discussed in the District Meeting in December 1879, with Watkin in the chair; Baker was then in Auckland. The Meeting asked Conference and General Conference "to give the king's request earnest consideration and to accede as far as it is possible to the request".(1)

Baker had gone to New Zealand late in 1879 before attending the Conference 797
in Sydney. He had accompanied David 'Unga, Crown Prince and Premier, who 644

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[1879 - 1880]

needed medical attention. 'Unga died at Auckland on 18 December 1879. Baker 797
sent the sad news to Tonga, with a message that the body would be taken back [644]
to Tonga. After the Conference ended Baker returned to Auckland and then sent a message to Sydney that he would visit Tonga to take 'Unga's body for burial. Other reasons he gave for going to Tonga were his desire to gather material for a book, either a history of Tonga or a biography of the king (he never attempted either), and to arrange for the departure of those members of his family who were not already living in Auckland. Furthermore, he undertook that, in visiting Tonga for a short time, he would not take a position in the Tonga Government — another promise which he deliberately dishonoured.

Meanwhile, many reports about Baker's intentions were being spread in Tonga. There was a widespread feeling that he would found a new and independent Church; he admitted to Sir Charles Mitchell at the inquiry in 1887 that it was at this stage that he formed a determination to do this. It was also expected that he would retire from the Wesleyan ministry and become at least the secretary, as well as medical adviser officially, to the king. The High Commissioner was greatly disturbed by the expected change in Baker's position. Baker had left for Auckland and the Sydney Conference before Gordon visited Nuku'alofa in December 1879. When he heard of the possibility of Baker returning he wrote to Chapman on 6 January 1880:

> "If he is to leave Tonga permanently, I think his temporary return would be productive of nothing but harm. It would do mischief politically and would most seriously embarrass Mr. Watkin and Mr. Moulton also if the latter has then returned. If he were independent of your Church and were to return simply as a lay British subject, I should most certainly prohibit his doing so under Order in Council".(2)

Again he wrote to Chapman, 28 February 1880, expressing concern about the Conference allowing Baker to return to Tonga on his pledge not to interfere in Government affairs:

> "I am reluctant to exercise my powers of prohibition. Had the Conference forbidden Mr. Baker's return to Tonga I would not have hesitated, so backed, to enforce the decision. . . . So long as Mr. Baker is in Tonga, so long will it, I fear, be impossible to extricate the Tonga Government from its present position of debt and danger." (3)

Later, Gordon was confirmed in his suspicions when Baker called on him in Suva and actually asked for his "support in his coming difficulties".(4)

Baker kept 'Unga's body in Auckland for nearly five months. Although 797
several steamers left for Tonga in that period, he did this, waiting for a German 644
warship which took the body on 30 May. When this warship, *Nautilus*, passed 764
through Suva on 15 April the captain made it known that he was proceeding to Auckland for this purpose.(5) The funeral took place at 'Uiha, Ha'apai, on 10 June 1880. Forty marines from *Nautilus* provided the guard of honour and firing party.

When Parliament met in Nuku'alofa on 24 July 1880, the king's speech 646
contained profuse thanks to Germany for bringing back 'Unga's body and for 643
giving added impressiveness to the funeral. At the opening of Parliament, Blyth, 648
the British Consul, felt slighted in being given an inferior place to the German naval officers; he also noted that the reference to Queen Victoria was purely formal while the name of the German Emperor was given prominence. Blyth 646
informed the High Commissioner that: 643

> "The address from the throne consisted for the most part of a panegyric on the Rev. 645
> Mr. Baker. . . . with the intimation that it was His Majesty's pleasure that one who 797

[1880]

> had made Tonga all it is, had given it a Constitution, a flag, and good laws, should 646
> represent him in the present Parliament as Prime Minister. . . . 643
>
> The feeling of the people may be expressed in one sentence, 'It is the king's wish'. . . 645
> Mr. Baker, by misrepresenting your Excellency's intentions, and insinuating that annexa- 797
> tion must sooner or later follow, has succeeded in persuading His Majesty that he
> himself is the only disinterested person available in his extremity." (6)

The Consul also stated that Baker was boasting that he had beaten the deputation 797
(Chapman and Clarke), then the Conference, and "beaten the English generally".(7)

Soon after Baker returned on the German warship he became Minister for 645
Foreign Affairs and Comptroller of Revenue. In the king's speech on 24 July
he was referred to as Premier. All this had been in open defiance of his pledges
to his Church in Australia. Blyth had spoken to the king in an audience on 3 643
July about the rumour that Baker would shortly be announced as Premier; he 648
told the king that "Baker's appointment would not be in accordance with his 645
promise to the High Commissioner". The king replied that he would govern his
own country as he pleased.

Gordon wrote to Chapman on 10 July 1880 about Baker's appointment as 645
Premier: 797

> "My forbearance towards him is, I confess, nearing its utmost verge and would fail altogether were it not for my extreme aversion to any scandal which must lead to unjust reflections and erroneous impressions as to your Mission in general. While Mr. Baker lives in the Mission House and preaches in Zion he will continue in power; but, if he were censured by the home Church, he would lose his influence in Tonga." (8)

Gordon resented the ambivalent situation in which Baker used his ecclesiastical 797
prestige to support his new governmental authority. The home Church, however,
was still fearful of further offending the king who was now upholding Baker in
everything he did.

The mounting crisis in Church affairs could be seen in another part of the 643
king's speech opening Parliament, in which he announced that neither he nor his 797
family would subscribe to Church funds until his request for a new status was
granted. He had said this before but there was a new and menacing note now.
This threat marked a turning-point in the relations between the king and the
Wesleyan Church. Great restraint and wisdom by the authorities in Australia were
needed after this ultimatum. How to deal with a crafty opponent like Baker
without exacerbating their relations with the king was the dilemma in which they
found themselves repeatedly. Baker obviously was privy to the king's threat. He
moved the Address in Reply in Parliament which accepted the king's proposals
regarding the Church *in toto*. And yet he had said, in one of his promises to the
Conference, that, if he returned temporarily, he would promote peace and
harmony in the Church!

The seriousness of this situation was evident in the 1880 Tongatapu Circuit 797
report (written by Watkin):

> "The present time is the most critical in the history of the Mission . . . We do most earnestly request that the change in the Mission as asked for by the king be granted. . . . If not, the effect we fear must be most disastrous to our Church."

The 1880 Vava'u Circuit report (Oldmeadow) was as pessimistic. It emphasized the new refusal on the part of church officers to co-operate in raising local funds;

> "the reason they assign is their anxiety to give weight to Tupou's letter when it comes before Conference". (9)

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[1880]

Moulton did not return from England until July 1880, after three years' absence. He arrived in the midst of the turmoil caused by Baker's rise to political eminence. Soon afterwards he called on Baker and said, 797

> "Well, Mr. Baker, you and I fought in the old times because I thought you were breaking our laws and it was my duty to prevent it. That reason no longer exists and I hope your regime will be prosperous."

To this Baker replied,

> "It doesn't matter much. I shall rule the Church as well as the State." (10) [645]

As far as Moulton personally was concerned, he returned to find that the king's favour had passed entirely to Baker and that the king was most suspicious of him.

On 2 August 1880 Dr. Kelynack, Presdent of the Conference of which Baker was still technically a minister, sent him details of charges which the Mission Board had formulated. Baker, in Auckland again, wrote on 6 September, giving reasons why he should be excused from facing the Mission Board. Kelynack replied on 10 September:

> "You have taken a wrong course in taking office in the Government. Such a position is inconsistent with the pledge you gave to the Conference. It is inconsistent with your position as a minister and is calculated to damage our Mission work. The consequences which may come out of it in relation to international politics render it highly undesirable and improper." (11)

The members of the Mission Board agreed to the facts, but the decision to proceed with the charges against Baker was carried only by seven votes to six, an indication that some feared that a trial of Baker would be unwise and would worsen the already delicate position with the king. The charges were:—

> (1) that, in accepting a Government appointment, Mr. Baker has acted "contrary to the laws of the Church";
>
> (2) "that this is an aggravated form of the offence which occasioned the protracted inquiry into Mr. Baker's conduct at the last Conference" (January 1880).
>
> (Conference had then decided "that Mr. Baker's taking a more prominent part in directing the affairs of the Government of Tonga and his having so much to do with its official arrangements were a direct contravention of the Instructions given to missionaries";).
>
> (3) "that Mr. Baker's conduct is a violation of the pledge given by him to the Conference that he would do all he could to promote the peace of the Church in Tonga and the interests of the Missionary Society." (12)

The charges added that Baker's pledge not to return to Tonga had been accepted instead of Conference prohibiting his return; also that he had moved the Tongan Parliament's address in reply accepting the king's withdrawal of financial support from the Church. Baker was given one week to come to Sydney to answer the charges, if he was in Auckland, or two months if he was in Tonga. He did not appear.

Baker's reply to Dr. Kelynack on 16 December 1880 was a cool denial of the jurisdiction of the Mission Board's Committee of Discipline over him. He asked that his request "to retire from the ministry for several years in order to assist King George" be presented to the 1881 Conference.

In December 1880 a further ominous action by the king was notified in a Proclamation: 643 795 797

> "I, George Tupou . . . having made up my mind that my people and country shall be entirely free and independent, and having thoroughly resolved that Tonga should have

[1880-1883]

> an independent Church, take this opportunity of publishing my intention so that the leaders of the Church in Sydney, the missionaries, and the whole world shall see that I am determined to have the separation. You, chiefs and people, who hold any position, even to the lowest in the Government, or you who are in any way related to me, are to abstain from subscribing at mission collections, paying ticket-money, building or repairing churches or teachers' houses, or cooking food to feed the preachers. Other people are to please themselves. If this Proclamation does not have the desired effect, I shall take other measures." (13) 643 795 797

(The cooking of food for preachers was the customary Sunday meal in honour of a preacher.)

From this Proclamation the Church in Australia, and Moulton in Tonga, should have taken warning. The sands were running out fast. 797

It is true that this royal interdict on contributions to church funds was not always observed in the troubled years that followed. Oldmeadow noted that the missionary contributions in Vava'u in 1882 were generally well maintained but the separate collection for overseas missions was minimal.(14) This missionary regularly conversed with the king, who often stayed in Vava'u, and the king was invariably pleasant towards him. Tupou supervised the building of the new chapel at Neiafu and presided at the missionary meeting, with its collection, at the opening of the chapel on 12 November 1883.(15) 643 797

In the excitement caused by the Royal Proclamation in December 1880 the District Meeting was held in Ha'apai (13 December). Watkin was chairman. Moulton, Minns, Oldmeadow and the Tongan ministers were present. Reports from the circuits gave alarm because many people were ceasing to subscribe; many, interpreting the king's action as signifying opposition to the general operations of the Church, were showing indifference to its worship. The District Meeting resolved:— 797

> "Re Tonga ceasing to be a Mission District.
>
> That, as H.M. King George of Tonga has given unequivocal proof of his intention to press his request that Tonga cease to be a Mission District, by holding aloof from our missionary meetings, and by prohibiting any connected with the Government from assisting in Church matters, and has also threatened to take steps of a still more seroius character, this Meeting, as a choice of two evils, unanimously requests the Conference to take steps for carrying out the wish of the king, viz., by obtaining permission from the General Conference to legislate on the matter by appointing a deputation to arrange details with the next District Meeting." (16)

Whether or not the District Meeting was motivated by fear of still further offending the king, the resolution was definite. In the unanimous decision both Watkin and Moulton supported the change from Mission District status "as a choice of two evils". The Meeting also wrote officially to the king signifying its support to his request. Eventually, the General Conference in May 1881 decided that Tonga should be an independent district with control over its own finances. The king then expressed his gratification; he said indeed that he had been given more than he had asked for. Why, then, did he afterwards press for a complete break with the Church in Australia — or did he in fact do this? On the surface it would seem that the unwise decisions of the January 1881 New South Wales and Queensland Conference, making Moulton Chairman and appointing Watkin to a circuit in Australia, were the reason. The real causes lay deeper. They were — the widening rift between Baker and Moulton; the king's growing antipathy towards Moulton who acted injudiciously at several points; and the determination of Baker to promote secession from the Church which had disciplined him for his breach of church laws and his broken pledges. 797 643

[1879 - 1881]

There can be little doubt that no concession from Australia would change Baker's design for secession; he admitted to Sir Charles Mitchell in 1887 that he had determined upon this. Even allowing for the king's imperious will, there is every reason for regarding Baker as mainly responsible for the deteriorating situation. Oldmeadow was convinced that Baker had resolved to form an independent Church which he could control. He wrote,

> "As soon as ever Mr. Baker was recalled, we at once began to hear of the agitation to make Tonga an independent district. I haven't the shadow of a doubt that Mr. Baker was at the bottom of it, seeing, as I feel sure he did, that it would help his future purposes vastly better to have to do with the Tongans, not only not under the jurisdiction of the Missionary Committee but who had a perfect equality of vote with the white missionary. This latter became subsequently a most powerful weapon in Mr. Baker's hands." (17)

In January 1881 Baker attended the Conference in Sydney, although in the previous September he had declined to appear before the Mission Board's Committee of Discipline which, actually, consisted of the leading members of the Conference. Conference adjudged him guilty of the charges which the President, Dr. Kelynack, had conveyed to him. It then asked him to resign. This was a conciliatory action as he could have been expelled for his defiance of Church law and his broken pledges to Conference. In anticipation of his resignation which Baker sent on 24 January, Conference formally recorded its decision:

> "Shirley Baker, having accepted office under the Tonga Government, voluntarily retires from our work."

In his resignation Baker had added, "on the understanding that it is thus recorded in our Minutes".(18) At least he could not complain on the score of being unfairly treated by the Conference.

Most unfortunately, this January 1881 Conference made two grave and very unwise decisions. It appointed Moulton as Chairman of the Tonga District in place of Watkin, who was regarded as too pliant and unlikely to stand against the attacks that Baker was expected to make upon the Church; and it appointed Watkin to a circuit in New South Wales. Watkin had been Chairman for the twelve months since the 1880 Conference when Baker, being officially allowed to "rest", had, thereby, vacated the Chairmanship.

The displacement of Watkin was unwise for various reasons. All his colleagues, including Moulton, had regarded him as spiritually-minded and most devoted to his tasks. When Moulton, in England, had heard that Watkin intended to leave Tonga, he wrote to Chapman, on 2 January 1879:

> "Bro. Watkin's loss will be for a long time irreparable. Although we differed on many important points, yet a better missionary the Friendly Islands has scarcely seen." (19)

On 2 April 1879 Minns had pleaded with Chapman to have Watkin appointed Chairman, or, failing him,

> "good George Lee, or Dyson, but . . . don't send Stephinson. He would rake up the past". (20)

Moulton's was a most controversial appointment. He had been Baker's rival for years past. He would strengthen his followers against Baker's machinations, but he would be the last person to bring harmony. Baker could use against Moulton all the resources of the Government, legislative and administrative, and the strongest weapon of all, the King's support. Taking away Watkin and appointing him to a country circuit in New South Wales, as well as making Moulton Chairman, was adding fuel to the flames.

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[1879-1885]

The king's growing antipathy to Moulton boded ill for the future of the Church but Conference evidently felt that Moulton had done nothing to warrant being passed over. It could hardly appoint a junior missionary like Oldmeadow who, in any case, was about to return. It transpired that the king was as much annoyed by Watkin's removal as he had been by Baker's recall in 1879, and the gulf between him and the mother Church widened still more. Watkin, too, was affected. He had been most critical of Baker and had advocated his leaving Tonga because of the discredit he had brought on the Church; and he had decided, at that time, that he himself must return because of the scandals of Baker's regime and his own loss of respect for him. Now, although he never really respected Baker again, he was estranged from the Church in Australia. He admitted to Sir Charles Mitchell at the inquiry in 1887 that "he had made up his mind in 1881 to join the Free Church".(21) Continuing to serve as a Wesleyan minister until the Free Church was formed in 1885, when he became its President, must leave Watkin open to the criticism of disloyalty and dissembling. 797 [643] [795]

The January 1881 Conference had been unwise, but the General Conference did everything possible to meet the main request of the king. The General Conference, which sat every three or four years, assembled in Adelaide in May 1881, and it dealt with the king's request, received by the January 1880 New South Wales and Queensland Conference. Its decision was that, from 31 December 1881, Tonga would cease to be subject to the jurisdiction of the Mission Board and would be a District attached to the New South Wales and Queensland Conference in the same way that other districts in those colonies were. The decision of General Conference in detail was: 797 795

> "That the Friendly Islands District cease to be under the management of the Board of Missions and be connected directly with the New South Wales and Queensland Conference, and be entirely self-supporting from 31 December 1881.
>
> "That the Friendly Islands District shall have its own separate District funds. The Committee of such funds shall be appointed annually by the Conference on the nomination of the District Meeting.
>
> "That the Friendly Islands District which has been since 1875 responsible for the support of the native department of the work shall hereafter, from 1 January 1882, undertake the pecuniary responsibility of the entire work in the District as requested by Tonga . . .
>
> "In the event of the occurrence of any great calamity by which the Friendly Islands District may be rendered unable to fulfil its obligations the deficiencies in the allowances of the ministers may be paid by the Mission Board." (22)

There had been no request for the last undertaking; it was promised, at the insistence of Chapman, as an evidence of goodwill. These resolutions, moved by Chapman, were carried in a full Conference by 69 votes to one.(23) A special address to the king in affectionate terms was attached to the resolutions. All this softened the heart of the king who said that he had been given more than he had asked for. He had indeed received all — District status, freedom from the Mission Board, full financial control. Mitchell, at the 1887 inquiry, stated that the 1881 General Conference met all the king's desires although he felt that it should have happened earlier. Why, then, was peace not restored in May 1881? The reason lay in Baker himself. If he had not been implacably opposed to the Church in Australia, harmony could have been re-established in Tonga. 797 795 643 797

The incident which followed immediately upon these decisions of General Conference was one of the clearest evidences of Baker's responsibility for the disruption in the Tongan Church when this seemed to have been prevented by the action of General Conference. On the last day, 29 May 1881, and after General

[1881-1884]

Conference had closed, a telegram from Baker was handed to the President, Dr. J. S. Waugh, as he was boarding the train for Melbourne at the Adelaide Railway Station. The telegram was dated 28 May and was sent from Auckland where Baker frequently resided. Baker knew the dates of General Conference. It had lasted fifteen days and Baker was in Auckland throughout that period. He was acting deliberately in sending a telegram when he knew that General Conference was ending, or had ended. He was responsible for the telegram's contents and its peremptory tone. He knew, also, that the New South Wales and Queensland Conference alone was responsible for Watkin's recall and that General Conference could not interfere with that action. Baker had waited four months (since the January 1881 Conference in Sydney) and now he took this drastic step just as a full and amicable settlement had been reached. The telegram read: 777

> "King and chiefs enraged at Watkin's recall. Decided to establish National Church and get Watkin as President. King delayed at my request. President's letter unsatisfactory. No new plan acceptable. This the king's ultimatum. Tonga to be independent District like Auckland. Watkin to be reinstated. Tonga to be attached to New Zealand. Grant this, peace. Reject, one secession. Don't be deceived. The secession will be universal and popular. Reply paid. Shirley W. Baker, Premier." (24)

Baker sent this demand on his own initiative. His action seems comprehensible only if he was determined not to accept any solution. Nothing had been intimated previously about any attachment to the New Zealand Conference; it had not been considered by the Tonga District Meeting; New Zealand had not been consulted about the proposal; nor had the New South Wales and Queensland Conference been informed. Tonga had always been attached to that Conference, through the Mission Board, and General Conference had just decided that this subordination to the Mission Board was to end. Also, the leases of Tongan Church lands were held under the condition that the missionaries carrying out the terms of the leases were appointed by the New South Wales and Queensland Conference. All these things were perfectly well known to Baker.

Furthermore, Baker must have fabricated the story about the king and chiefs having decided at this stage to establish a "National Church" and make Watkin its President; events were moving in that direction but actually nothing had happened to warrant Baker's statement.

A minor incident gives a little relief to these sombre facts. The *Christian Advocate and Wesleyan Record*, 26 May 1888, relates the strange sequel to the story of the telegram itself. Dr. Waugh gave it to Chapman, who put it in a drawer in his office in Sydney and forgot about it; he died a few weeks later, and the telegram was not found until a short time before the 1888 General Conference. The loss of the telegram had made no difference, however, for in the meantime the 1884 General Conference had dealt with Tonga's request and sent a deputation (Lankham, Rabone and Watsford) to inquire into the situation.

One concession to the king's wishes was secured by Moulton himself in 1881. 643
He persuaded the President of the New South Wales and Queensland Conference 777
to exercise his interim powers and change Watkin's appointment; instead of returning to a colonial circuit he was appointed to Ha'apai.

Unfortunately, the king's annoyance was not removed by this alteration in Watkin's station. He wrote to Moulton strongly objecting to Watkin being moved from Nuku'alofa to Ha'apai. Although Moulton in his reply protested that the king had previously expressed satisfaction with the appointment to Ha'apai, the

[1881]

king was adamant and vaguely threatened more trouble for the Church. The tone 643 of this correspondence (in Tongan) showed how feeling had hardened on both 797 sides, even though probably Moulton felt that Baker, and not the king, was responsible for the king's letter.(25) Eventually, Watkin stayed in Nuku'alofa, but the relationship between the king and Moulton became still more strained. With Moulton as Chairman of the District, there was now little prospect of reconciliation. Also, Watkin had made up his own mind about his future actions.

The downward turn of events for the Wesleyan Church increased rapidly. 797 The Mission Board (still responsible for Tonga until 31 December 1881), at its meeting on 31 August 1881, expressed its astonishment at the latest news. All 872 Church primary schools had been taken over by the Government without notice 643 and without consultation or compensation; Baker was responsible for this. The 645 holding of the missionary meetings for the year had been prohibited. According to Baker's own newspaper, *Po'opo'oi*, the Church was to be subject to Government interference and control. With regard to the last possibility, the Board instructed its agents to give "loyal obedience to the laws of the country", with the hope also that they would be free to carry out their duties to the Church.

Benjamin Chapman, Missionary Secretary for the previous eight years, died a fortnight after the Mission Board's meeting of 31 August. He had borne the anxieties of the troubles in Tonga and had done his utmost to conciliate the king. It was on his motion in the Mission Board and the General Conference (May 1881) that financial assistance to the new independent Tonga District had been promised in the event of any natural calamity such as a hurricane.

On 19 October 1881, Baker wrote to George Woolnough, President of the 645 New South Wales and Queensland Conference, stating that the king had cancelled 797 the missionary meetings before hearing that General Conference had made Tonga an independent district; that the king was "overjoyed" with that decision and only hoped that Mr. Watkin would not be removed to Ha'apai. He significantly added the desire that Watkin should take Moulton's place as Chairman. Clearly, the displacing of Moulton had become the crux of the situation.

Baker wrote from Auckland, on 30 December 1881, to Dr. Waugh, President of General Conference, stating again that the king was gratified with the decisions of the General Conference in May. Baker was anxious to impress ministers from Victoria like Dr. Waugh. In his veiled reference to Moulton he deplored the prevailing "unhappy circumstances" in the Tongan Church and he told Dr. Waugh that

> "those in charge of the Islands at the present time seem unwilling to make the arrangements a success". (26)

The arrangements to which Baker referred were the new status of the Tongan Church. Baker's obvious aim was to get Moulton out of the way. It was unfortunate that Moulton was not helping to ease the desperately difficult situation. Baker was unscrupulous, Moulton unwise and even provocative, and the contest was bitter but unequal. Moulton should have realized the impossibility of thwarting Baker who was not only Premier but used the royal name to cover his actions.

The first attack was upon Moulton's educational system, the apple of his 797 eye. The Wesleyan village schools were taken over by the Government. Then 658 Baker set up Tonga College, or the Government College, as it was generally 645 called, to compete with Moulton's Tupou College. With Government support, the 872 new institution soon outstripped its rival in enrolments. 873

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[1874- 1885]

The possibility of the Mission relinquishing the primary schools had been 797
ventilated previously. The letter of 24 March 1874, from the king and chiefs, had 872
asked for the Church primary schools to be handed over to the Government. The 658
Tonga District Meeting, with Baker in the chair, dealt with this request on 30 November 1874, and decided

> "that the day schools connected with the Mission be maintained efficiently until adequate provision is made by the Government for primary education . . . The best plan for many years yet will be a denominational system." (27)

Immediately following upon this, the Mission Board, on 3 January 1875, had resolved to maintain efficiently all its day schools in Tonga "until adequate provision is made by the Government for primary education". Now that Baker had taken action to acquire the Church schools, without notice, the Mission Board, on 31 August 1881, reiterated its belief that

> "the time has not arrived when the Church schools can, with advantage to the people of Tonga, be relinquished." (28)

Compensation was promised, but never paid, for the land and school buildings.

In Sydney, in 1878, when Oldmeadow was on furlough, he had heard Baker speak eulogistically about the Church day schools and Tupou College. After Baker took over the schools in 1881, he met Oldmeadow in Vava'u. Oldmeadow expressed disagreement with his action. Baker contended that he was following the example of the Australian colonies which had set up a secular educational system. Oldmeadow argued, as other missionaries had done, that the circumstances in a recently-evangelized country such as Tonga were quite different from those in Australia. Following this conversation, Oldmeadow wrote in his journal:

> "I have taken a great deal of pains to discover his [Baker's] object, and I am bound to confess that the conclusion I have been obliged to come to is that it must be simply spite and greed of power — spite against the Conference by which he was forced to retire from the ministry as they would not allow him to be both virtual Premier and missionary in one, and spite against an individual in particular who in connection with Tupou College had had so much to do with the success which had been achieved in the matter of education. . . .
>
> "For a long time I fought against the conviction, but after long and careful watching I am obliged to adopt it that it was an act of vindictiveness, knowing that the irritation caused would be severe against the individual in question [i.e., Moulton], and a desire to lessen the influence of the Church on the one hand and increase his own on the other. And how has it succeeded!" (29)

The Government college began in 1882, with Mr. J. W. Roberts as Principal. 873
Baker had known Roberts in his youthful days at Castlemaine, Victoria. He was 658
a skilful teacher and a Methodist local preacher. Among other things Roberts [212]
introduced a system of Pitman shorthand in Tongan. It was decreed that
Government positions in future would be given only to those trained in the [874]
Government College, a thrust against Tupou College which had prepared men for
both Government and Church offices since 1866. At first the Government College [794]
students attended the Wesleyan services in Zion Church but, because of the
presence of Tupou College students and the growing ill-feeling between the two
parties, Roberts kept his lads at the Government College and conducted services
for them there. After the secession in 1885 the Government College trained men
who became pastors in the Free Church. This was one of many evidences of [659]
Government support for the Free Church.

Against mounting odds Moulton continued his teaching, hymn-writing, and 797
church administration. He had practical problems also. During a storm one 873

[1876-1882]

evening he felt one of the twelve pillars in the College Hall move as he was 797
leaning against it; each of these had been cut from a single ironwood tree for 873
the hall, which measured 120 by 30 feet. Moulton realized that all posts needed
replacing urgently. He asked the king for permission to get trees from the royal
estate and his request was graciously granted, although the king had been estranged
from him.

* * * *

Baker had never been popular with European residents in Tonga. Their 797
resentment against his authority began when he was still a missionary, as seen 563
in the complaints made to Consul Layard against him in 1876 and in their
support for the Maudslay case in the critical year, 1879. That Baker was hated by
European traders, many of them men with tarnished reputations, was not always
to his discredit. As Premier, he could not be expected to favour the traders, but [645]
he had aroused their anger by heavy customs duties and by currency laws which
operated severely against them and concerning which they protested loudly.

Opposition to Baker's authoritarian rule also was aroused among some of 645
the Tongan chiefs, particularly those in Hahake, the eastern district, where old 622
chiefly rivalries with the king still existed. Disaffection centred in Tungi, the chief 668
of the ancient capital, Mu'a, who was the descendant of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and
a claimant to the royal succession since the death of 'Unga. The king's support for
his zealous Premier displeased many in Hahake. For Baker himself this party
had undisguised hatred. The combined forces of hostile chiefs and European
traders began an agitation for Baker's removal. The Mu'a opposition became
what Baker sarcastically called it — "the Mu'a Parliament". When the king learnt [643]
of the movement he sent for some of the Hahake leaders and told them he would
not give up Baker as Premier. In his newspaper, *Po'opo'oi*, Baker denounced the
agitators who afterwards met to formulate a reply. For doing this they were [687]
charged with high treason but were acquitted in October 1881.

A petition to Queen Victoria asking for Baker's removal, signed by two 645
thousand Tongans, was placed before the British Consul, H. F. Symonds, who 668
was Moulton's son-in-law. He asked Moulton to translate it and, most imprudently, 648
Moulton did so. On 6 January 1882 Symonds forwarded the petition through the [797]
High Commissioner. After the petition was sent the king ordered the arrest and
trial of a number of the Mu'a party prominent in organizing the petition. He also 687
brought warriors from Ha'apai and Vava'u, his older territories on which he 668
always relied for support, to back up his stern measures against those whom he 643
regarded as rebels. He even threatened to hang them without trial. Moulton went
to the king to protest against bringing men from the north as this action was
likely to intensify the troubles in Tongatapu. It was on this occasion that Tupou 643
found that Moulton had translated the petition for Baker's removal. His wrath 668
knew no bounds. He withdrew to Ha'apai, vowing not to return to Tongatapu 797
while Moulton was still there. 645

Moulton was entirely in the wrong in becoming involved in these anti-Baker
political movements. Whatever his own opinions of Baker's high-handed actions
in Government affairs, he should have kept scrupulously free from political
matters. The position was aggravated when he supported, without signing, another
petition from European residents for Baker's removal in May 1882. When this 645
petition reached Sir Arthur Gordon he recommended the British Government not 668
to remove Baker although, he said, he was "a narrow-minded, selfish and ignorant

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[1883-1884]

man, unfettered by any check whatever". Gordon felt there was a danger that 645
the Tonga Government, if Baker was removed, 668

> "must fall into the hands of some lower or more unscrupulous foreign adventurer, or that anarchy must at once ensue". (30)

Baker's conduct was inexcusable in manipulating the trials of the Mu'a men, who had been kept in prison for many months before trial and their sentence to terms of imprisonment. Also indefensible was Moulton's action in supporting [797]
European residents in a third petition to the new High Commissioner, Sir William [563]
De Voeux, calling for Baker's removal, in October 1883.

In other ways Moulton was most unwise and even provocative. He used 797
the Church printing press to copy the decision Gordon had given when refusing to 645
grant Baker's request to deport one of his European antagonists, a disreputable 668
person named Hanslip. He included anti-Baker articles in his College magazine. All this was unworthy of a man of Moulton's qualities and with his Mission responsibilities.

It was not surprising, therefore, that Baker reacted by bringing a series of charges against Moulton before the Tonga District Meeting. His objective in doing this, undoubtedly, was to remove Moulton altogether from Tonga. Baker used the Government printing press against his rival whom he attacked in Government "Blue Books". He may have felt that he was only retaliating against Moulton's use of the College magazine. The situation had become grotesque. When the religious life of the little country was at stake, it was pitiful.

Before the charges were launched at the District Meeting there were discussions in many quarters. On 20 April 1883 Oldmeadow spoke to the king in Vava'u on the subject. He recorded the conversation:

> "I had an interview with the king and asked him if the prosecution of Mr. Moulton was from the Government or from Mr. Baker. He said it was from Mr. Baker and added, 'How could it be from the Government when I do not know anything about it?'" (31) [643]

Twenty-two charges against Moulton were heard at the District Meeting at Lifuka on 24 October 1883. The Tonga Government "Blue Book," 7 November 1883, published a full report in detail, "on behalf of the Tonga Government", although the offences alleged were not civil or criminal and did not concern the Government. Baker, not being a minister or a member of the District Meeting, was not present at the hearings. However, he was supplied with the evidence and the findings, no doubt by Watkin; and in the "Blue Book" he added his own lengthy comments in each case as his "replications" to Moulton's evidence.

Watkin took the chair in the sessions and also voted on each charge, always 797
against Moulton. In January 1884 the New South Wales and Queensland Conference reviewed the District Meeting's proceedings. It considered that Watkin had not shown impartiality in the chair and also that he had acted improperly in insisting that no variation in a charge could be allowed and no division of a charge could be made, even when Oldmeadow pointed out that a vote for "Guilty" could be given on one part, with "Not guilty" on another. Watkin's censure by the Conference for his conduct at the District Meeting seems to have hardened his heart against the Church which he had already determined to desert.

On seventeen of the charges before the District Meeting Moulton was found "Guilty". Watkin and Oldmeadow were the only European members, apart from Moulton, and there were twelve Tongan ministers present and voting. Once again,

[1883-1884]

the very fact of such an open quarrel in the Church was in itself scandalous and 797
certain to stir up more strife among Tongan ministers and church-members.

One of the most serious charges against Moulton alleged that he had used 797
an imprecation against the king. In regard to this matter the king sent a letter 643
to the President of the Conference, in October 1883, after the Meeting closed. In this letter he said that Moulton had visited him when his grandson was close to death; that he called the king "Uzziah" because "I have touched the lotu" (= Church) "and therefore my son, David 'Unga, and my grandson, Albert, both have died". The king

> "earnestly begged for the recall of Mr. Moulton; for I do not still wish to see him, or wish to hear him preach; he is no longer of any service in Tonga."

Even if this letter was framed by Baker, there is no doubt that the king had been mortally offended. Moulton complained to the District Meeting that he was being charged with an incident that had occurred three years before. He stated that he did visit the king when his grandson was critically ill; he said,

> "I thought that perhaps the reason was that God was angry at the king's threatening the Church. For I am one that believes that God's dealings with His people are still somewhat after the fashion of the Jewish dispensation. . . . I also think it is a very serious thing to threaten the Church. So I went to see the king, but . . . on no account to threaten. I was afraid lest his family should perish — David was dead, Albert was dying. . . . It was a warning, not an imprecation. . . . I spoke with tears out of my love for the young man, and the king did not resent my speaking but thanked me." (82)

Even though Moulton belonged to a conservative mid-Victorian school of Old Testament exegetes, what he admitted saying was entirely improper and unwarranted, and not only according to our present-day feelings about such a matter. Furthermore, it revealed Moulton's inability to see how he was bringing the gravest consequences upon the Church through his harshness and rigidity.

Oldmeadow's daily comments during the District Meeting, from 24 October 797
to 1 November 1883, show his own acute distress of mind. He was earnestly trying to be fair to all concerned, and he was alarmed at the harm that seemed certain to fall upon the Church from these bitter and unseemly wrangles.

On 29 October:

> "A very trying day . . . It was only by dint of great effort that I kept from running away."

On 30 October:

> "I couldn't stop from crying. It seems to me that my way must be to ask to return (to Australia). The mental strain seems too much for the body."

On 31 October:

> "The climax came today in the shape of a letter from the king to be sent to Conference 797
> requesting that Mr. Moulton should be removed. I wept, not for Mr. Moulton, but to 643
> think of such ingratitude after the way he has worked and what he has accomplished. . . . The letter has upset me badly."

On 1 November:

> "We have finished. Such a session I've never been in before. It is certain that the people" (= Tongan ministers at the District Meeting) "do not understand conscientious voting if the king is in any way concerned." (83)

The last sentence is revealing. The king's name swayed the feelings and judgement of the Tongans in general. And well did Baker know this.

Both Baker and Moulton went to Sydney to be present at the 1884 New 797
South Wales and Queensland Conference for the hearing of the inquiry into the

[875-1884]

District Meeting's charges, although Baker was not a member of Conference. Watkin was asked to attend but he did not do so. The special committee appointed by Conference began on 26 January 1884, and held twenty-one sittings over eleven days. It consisted of twenty senior members of the Conference. Moulton was acquitted on all counts, but the following were significant findings:—

Regarding the charge of an imprecation against the king:

> "If this Committee could believe that Mr. Moulton had used these words in the sense of an imprecation, it would regard his conduct as highly reprehensible, but it cannot believe that Mr. Moulton would so use the words; and from the evidence it appears that Mr. Moulton did not use the words in the sense of an imprecation."

Regarding the translating of the petition of the Mu'a party asking Queen Victoria to remove Baker:

> "It would have been better if Brother Moulton had declined to translate the document, but in our judgement the fact of his translating it did not identify him with the petitioners."

Regarding the charge of Moulton libelling Baker in a sermon on 19 November 1882, after a minister and College tutor, David Finau, had been horsewhipped by Baker for using insulting words to him:

> "However greatly provoked he [Moulton] may have been, yet the Committee cannot but think that Mr. Moulton was injudicious in introducing this matter into the pulpit."

Baker's charges of "blasphemy, atheism, slang" in Moulton's translation of the New Testament were dismissed after three former missionaries in Tonga examined the translation and found nothing to justify the criticisms. The Committee also referred to the decisions of the Tonga District Meetings in 1875 and 1880 expressing full confidence in Moulton and congratulating him upon his translation.

Regarding Baker's charge that Moulton should not continue to serve in Tongatapu because he had exceeded the term of three years set out in the Model Deed under which church leases had been granted, the Committee pointed out that the deed of lease in 1875 provided for European missionaries to be appointed for longer than three years. Baker, chairman at that time and a trustee, had expressed himself as satisfied with the arrangements for the leases (as his letters, 5 January, 24 March 1876, and 8 October 1878, testified). On the other hand, Baker had now secured the cancellation of these very leases by an Act passed in 1882, as part of his anti-Church policy.

In its summing up the Committee resolved:

> "That, though Mr. Moulton has been somewhat indiscreet in some matters, yet in our judgement no sufficient reason has been shown to lead us to doubt Mr. Moulton's love for King George and for our Church and the people of Tonga, or to require his recall from the land in which he has laboured so long and so well. On the contrary, our opinion of Mr. Moulton's character and conduct during all these years is quite unchanged. The Committee would express its most earnest and deliberate conviction that, at this juncture, the well-being of our Church in Tonga requires the presence there of the Rev. J. E. Moulton."

Before reaching these findings the Committee made

> "an earnest appeal to Mr. Baker and Mr. Moulton to consider whether some amicable adjustment of the long-standing differences between them could not be made, so that the disasters which threaten our Church might be averted." (84)

Neither Baker nor Moulton made any response to the Committee's appeal. Conference endorsed the findings. Clearly, the home Church was deeply apprehensive about the future and it had every reason to be. It had no jurisdiction

[1884]

over Baker any longer and there were no apparent curbs on any repressive action he might take against the Tongan Church. The home Church could have avoided sending Moulton back to almost certain destruction, and yet it saw no alternative. It did not trust Watkin. Oldmeadow was junior and had determined to leave. The word "disasters" in the Committee's findings was not an exaggeration. Like a canoe approaching the falls of Niagara, the Conference saw the imminent peril ahead but felt that nothing could be done — except to suggest the impossible reconciliation of Moulton and Baker. 797

When the 1884 Conference accepted the decision of its committee of inquiry, it sent a letter to the king, on 18 February 1884, stating that Moulton would remain in Tonga. Though couched in most affectionate and tactful terms, it was still a blunt refusal of the king's reiterated request to recall Moulton.(85) 797 643

When Moulton called at Vava'u on his return from Sydney, he desired to see the king and communicate to him personally the decisions of Conference. In courtesy he felt he could do no other, but he could hardly expect anything but a rebuff. Oldmeadow, then in Vava'u, recorded —

> "I took the letter from the Conference to the king and begged of him to meet Mr. Moulton." (86)

The king refused to see Moulton. Nothing more ominous for the future could be imagined.

Baker was now openly talking of secession, certainly unless the 1884 General Conference interfered with the decisions of the January 1884 New South Wales and Queensland Conference. In actual fact, it had no power either to recall or re-appoint Moulton. Oldmeadow had removed to Ha'apai where Baker met him on 29 May 1884. Oldmeadow noted his words to the Premier and underlined the whole sentence in his diary, the only underlining in all his eight years' diaries: 797

> "I told him that, in view of his declaration that, if General Conference did not reverse the decision of the Sydney Conference, they would secede, I did not feel justified in supporting such a course." (87)

At the end of that year Oldmeadow returned to Australia and was replaced by Ernest E. Crosby, B.A. (London), who remained in Tonga until 1892. During the persecutions of the next few years Crosby, in his desire to detect illegal and oppressive acts against the Wesleyan remnant, sometimes let his zeal outrun his discretion but he was always faithful to Moulton.

On 31 May 1884 Baker wrote to George Brown, who was soon to be appointed Missionary Secretary, pointing out that the king's refusal to see Moulton on his return from Conference was in keeping with his determination that Moulton must go. Baker urged again that Tonga be attached to New Zealand. He continued,

> "However, I think that nothing but secession will bring the Sydney Conference to its senses, and, should the General Conference not yield to the wishes of the Melbourne brethren, I will go in for it [= secession] with all my mind and that means something." (88)

Baker knew that there was some disagreement between Sydney members of General Conference and those from Melbourne (these including Watkin's brother, the Rev. Dr. E. I. Watkin), and he was trying to drive a wedge between them.

The Tonga Government Gazette of 5 June 1884 stated that Moulton must leave Tonga and that the king would have nothing to do with the Church unless Moulton was removed. [643]

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[1884]

On 1 August 1884 a letter was sent from Tupoumalohi, the king's A.D.C., to the Rev. Dr. J. S. Waugh, President of the General Conference. Obviously it was written by Baker. It stated that the king was "extremely grieved and annoyed" by the decision of the 1884 New South Wales and Queensland Conference not to remove Moulton; he believed that the Conference was "not in a position to act impartially towards His Majesty and his people in the matter". The request to General Conference for Tonga to be attached to New Zealand was renewed; this would 797 643

> "go a great way towards healing the breach which has, unfortunately, taken place between His Majesty and the Wesleyan Church in these islands, in consequence of the political action of Mr. Moulton and his conduct towards His Majesty."

It was, the letter said, politically undesirable for Moulton to remain and the king would neither see him nor deal with him in any way. Otherwise, the letter went on, the Wesleyan Church should retire entirely from Tonga

> "and so prevent that secession which must take place should the General Conference not interfere in this matter." (39)

Baker was also in touch with Dr. Morley, President of the New Zealand Conference, urging that the king's request be supported by him at the ensuing General Conference. In this letter he stated that the Quarterly Meetings in Ha'apai and Vava'u had voted in favour of the New Zealand attachment and that the District Meeting had failed only on the casting vote of Moulton as chairman.(40) (There is no evidence in the Minutes of the District Meeting in the Church Office, Nuku'alofa, to support this statement by Baker.)

To Watkin, Baker on 12 November 1884, wrote:

> "If General Conference should not grant the king's request I shall go hand in glove with him in carrying out his wishes." (41)

In view of all that he had been doing this seemed an unnecessary assurance.

The General Conference, which usually was held in May, did not meet until November 1884. It assembled in Christchurch. Moulton attended. All members realized the seriousness of "the Tongan question", of which many of them were heartily tired. George Brown and others believed that secession was inevitable if Moulton remained in Tonga. He moved, but unsuccessfully, that Moulton should return to Australia. In its dilemma General Conference compromised by deciding to send an influential deputation to inquire into the whole situation. The members were Frederick Langham, Chairman of Fiji District, W. T. Rabone, a former missionary in Tonga and son of the late Stephen Rabone, and John Watsford, ex-President of General Conference and former missionary to Fiji. The deputation was to ascertain the views of Quarterly Meetings and the District Meeting regarding the king's request for Tonga to be attached to New Zealand. It was to report its findings to the New South Wales and Queensland Conference, of which Tonga was still a District, in January 1886; it was manifestly impossible to prepare a report for the January 1885 Conference. The New South Wales and Queensland Conference was specially empowered to give effect to the deputation's recommendations without waiting for the next General Conference (which, actually, did not meet until 1888), and to make the transfer to New Zealand immediately if this was recommended. All this seemed to General Conference a reasonable compromise; and the authority to give effect to a new arrangement without delay was proof of goodwill. Unfortunately, it was too late. The threats of secession had become firmer. Baker was not disposed to accept any decision that fell short of 797

the immediate acceptance of Tupou's demands. He was unwilling to wait for the 797
visit of the deputation.

To make matters worse, the departure of the deputation was held up by
shipping difficulties. It did not reach Tonga until 1 May 1885. The Church had [795]
been hopelessly split four months before then by the establishment of the Free Church. Baker had struck his blow at last and he felt confident of complete success.

* * * *

The Free Church began on Sunday, 4 January 1885, when services were 795
held at Lifuka in the open air. Baker had called there and found dissension in the Wesleyan congregation because of disciplinary action taken by the District Meeting against its young minister, Paul Vi, son of the veteran Peter Vi. The Meeting, at which Watkin was present, on 13 October 1884, had suspended Paul Vi until the ensuing Conference in Sydney in January 1885 for saying that, if a new Church was set up, he would join it.(42) Oldmeadow, on the eve of leaving Tonga, in one of his diary's last entries, referred to this decision:

> "Held our closing session to-day. Paul Vi made a treasonable (sic) speech for which the Meeting voted he be suspended until Conference deals with his case." (43)

Baker saw this division in the Lifuka congregation as the opportunity he wanted. On the morning of 4 January he arranged for an outdoor service which about 500 attended. It was followed by another in the afternoon with a congregation of about 1,000. Baker asked for a show of hands from those who "loved the king" and who would join his Church. And so the Free Church was born. It was both completely self-governing and a "chiefly church".

Baker went to Vava'u forthwith to report his action to the king. A Roman [643]
Catholic source indicates that the king was displeased with Baker for taking the matter into his own hands. Baker had been in Vava'u in the week before Sunday, 4 January, and he had not, it would seem, said anything to the king about beginning the secession. After he had mollified Tupou, it was publicly proclaimed that all Wesleyans were expected to join the new Church. Everyone in Vava'u expressed compliance, and almost the same unanimity appeared in Ha'apai. All public servants and all village mayors were required to join or forfeit their
positions. No one gave any heed to the guarantee of freedom of worship in the [642]
1875 Constitution. This was evident when the king opened the 1885 Parliament, 643
later in the year, and said: 646

> "You are all aware that since we last assembled the Free Church of Tonga has been established. You are all acquainted with the reasons of my doing so. I need not repeat them now. I will simply say, as I have said in fonos [= public assemblies] that I have held — 795
>
> > 'He that hath any love to me and Tonga will follow me and be of one mind with me in this matter'."

The Parliament, in its Address in Reply, significantly said:

> "With reference to the Free Church, your Majesty well knows our minds in reference to the same, and we need not repeat what we have said in other places to you. It is only for you to command and we will obey." (44)

Everywhere it was represented as the king's will that all should join his Church 795
and those who hesitated or refused were stigmatized as disloyal to him. 643

Moulton went to Lifuka two days after the establishment of the Free Church 797
to ascertain the truth of what had been reported to him. He then returned to 795

[1885]

Tongatapu to rally support. Though some in Tongatapu were influenced by anti-Baker feeling, especially in the Mu'a district, the support was generally based on religious grounds as well as personal loyalty to Moulton. A long series of complaints from Moulton about persecution and deprivation of officials' positions began. All these complaints met with evasion from Baker. The bitter tone of Moulton's protests did nothing to allay the ill-feeling long existing between the two men. The implied reliance on British support, to which Moulton sometimes referred, played into Baker's hands. Moulton was unwise in stressing his privileges as a British subject and, as time went by, calling for protection from the British Consul. This enabled Baker to pillory him as an enemy of Tonga's national aspirations. Wesleyans were being asked whether they loved the king or Moulton, with the inference of supporting either Tongan independence or British interference. Thus the real issues were submerged in misrepresentation and emotionalism. 797 795

On 15 January Watkin became President of the new Church. He was to receive the same salary and superannuation as his entitlement in the Wesleyan ministry, and he was also made Royal Chaplain at a salary. On the same day he sent his resignation to J. H. Fletcher, President of the New South Wales and Queensland Conference (who was also, it happened, President of the General Conference): 795

> "Finding that King George had fully determined to secede from the Wesleyan Church, though I asked His Majesty not to take action until the arrival of the deputation appointed by General Conference, but he most emphatically stated that his mind was fully made up and he would wait no longer; and, in addition to His Majesty's determination to secede, several thousands of natives in Ha'apai and Vava'u already joined with the king in the secession movement. When, therefore, His Majesty requested me to take charge of the new movement, I felt it my duty to accept the position and assist in conducting it to a successful issue. I have been all the more willing to accede to the request of His Majesty and also the wishes of a large number of natives, seeing that the Independent (sic) Church of Tonga is thoroughly Wesleyan in all matters of discipline and doctrine. An additional reason for my joining the movement is that, owing to the fixed determination of the king and his people to secede, there was the danger, if left to themselves, of many of them drifting into Popery, but this will probably be arrested by my taking part in the movement." (46) 795 643

It was a poor piece of sophistry from a missionary who was deserting his Church after more than twenty years' service. In justice to Watkin it should be said that he endeavoured always to keep the new Church true to Wesleyan principles in its teachings and practices. Also, he echoed the people's thoughts in his deference and loyalty to the king. At no time, however, did he evince any love or respect for Baker.

W. C. Collet, Secretary to the High Commissioner in Suva, in his memorandum of 9 March 1885, referred to reports from Tonga and noted that the secession had been "long contemplated by Baker" and had occurred in the absence on leave of Symonds, the Consul. 795

> "Evidently Baker does not think that King George will last long and considers that with the king's death his own reign will be over unless he can get the better of the Church" (= the Church in Australia) "and the Consul." (46)

What was regarded by some as a Constitution of the Free Church was drawn up at once, with the date 4 January, the Sunday of the first service, and with the king's signature only. That signature, of course, was appended some days after 4 January. It was a brief document, not used afterwards by the Free Church; it came into the possession of Mr. Baker's family and was kept by them until it

[1885]

> Wesleyan Free Church is not in connection with your Conference and manages its own 795
> financial affairs."

The letter proceeded to mention, without comment, the expected visit of the "deputation from General Conference".(49)

The king's grandson, the Crown Prince, Wellington Ngu, died of a heart 644
attack on 11 March 1885. Thus two generations of designated successors, in 764
'Unga and Ngu, had been removed by death in five years. The funeral took place [276]
at 'Uiha. No Wesleyans were allowed to participate in the funeral ceremonies or
sit in the kava-ring. No greater affront than this could have been offered to any [577]
Tongan chief. One of those so debarred was a grandson of the king. At a public 643
gathering at 'Uiha, later in the month, the king gave all who refused to join the 795
Free Church until the end of May to conform "or seek another country — Fiji 798
is the nearest", he said. The Wesleyans now knew what to expect.

During the protracted funeral ceremonies, on 25 March, Baker wrote to the 795
President of the Conference (1885), J. A. Nolan, from 'Uiha: 797

> "I am commanded by His Majesty King George, assembled with all the chiefs of Tonga 643
> for the purpose of doing honour to the remains of the Crown Prince. . . . to state that the line of conduct which Mr. Moulton is at present pursuing must ultimately lead to a breach of the peace between the chiefs and their people, and, that, if Mr. Moulton remains in Tonga, it is not possible to foresee what consequences it may lead to. His Majesty has therefore commanded me most respectfully to request you as President of the New South Wales and Queensland Conference immediately to exercise your authority and remove Mr. Moulton, and that, if you do not do so, His Majesty must hold you responsible for the consequences whatever they may be."(50)

Moulton's offence, at that time, was his publishing circular letters to the Wesleyans 795
not only urging them not to leave their Church but criticizing the formation of the 797
new Church.

Just before the deputation from General Conference arrived Baker received a letter from the Rev. Dr. E. I. Watkin, of Victoria, brother of J. B. Watkin, and a critic of Moulton. Naturally, he was receiving information from his brother. In this letter of 3 April 1885, Dr. Watkin expressed to Baker the hope that the Free Church would return to the Wesleyan Church, but, to make this possible, Moulton and his young colleague, Crosby, should be removed, and the Church in Tonga should be attached to the Victoria and Tasmania Conference. Dr. Watkin expressed strong criticism of the New South Wales and Queensland Conference in January 1884 for its failure to condemn Moulton for uttering words "capable of being construed as an imprecation against the king".

When the deputation (Langham, Rabone, and Watsford) arrived on 1 May, it found (as it reported), that

> "All Vava'u had turned to the new Church, nearly all Ha'apai, and more than half of Tongatapu. We found Mr. Baker supreme, in all but name the king of Tonga. We told him so, over and over again, and he could not deny it. . . . He is everything in the new Church . . . No one can fail to see this. Persecution, fierce and cruel persecution, has been carried on against our people. . . . The king's command is made known by the ruling chief at village meetings, and sometimes by Mr. Baker himself, that they should all turn to the Free Church."(51)

Both the king and Baker, in interviews with the deputation, admitted the use [687]
of force and punishment against many individuals, but averred that these were [688]
"not because they are Wesleyans but because they are with Mr. Moulton, who is
opposed to the Government". The deputation reported that Baker declared that
Moulton was working to secure the annexation of Tonga by Britain, but, they

[1885]

added, "Mr. Moulton says there is not the slightest foundation for saying this, that 795
he was not in favour of annexation, and had made no move in the world to 797
ensure it".(32) The deputation reported many instances of persecution and
banishment (e.g., to the uninhabited island of Kao); these were admitted by [688]
Baker.(33) The deputation's recommendations were: [687]

(1) That the Tonga District be attached to the Victoria and Tasmania Conference.

(2) That Mr. Moulton be allowed to retire to a New South Wales Circuit.

(3) That Mr. Watkin also return to an appointment in Australia, as he had requested earlier, with "no disabilities because of anything that has taken place".

(4) That other ministers be sent from Australia.

Baker demurred to the third, and said that

> "if Mr. Moulton and Mr. Crosby were removed, and Mr. Watkin allowed to remain at the head of the new Church, he and Mr. Watkin could, in two or three years, say by the next General Conference, so prepare the new Church that it might be connected with one of the Annual Conferences." (34)

Irrespective of whatever reliance might be placed on Baker's unexpected aspirations for reunion, the deputation felt that it would be wrong to reinstate Watkin in an appointment in Tonga after he had deserted his Church.

Finally, the deputation recommended that the Wesleyan Church should not retire from Tonga, as had been suggested, because this would mean the abandonment of many loyal ministers and people who had stood firm against extreme pressure. Having so decided, the deputation reaffirmed the recommendation that Moulton should withdraw.

> "In view of the complications which have arisen, the impossibility of any friendly communication between the parties, together with the fact that Mr. Moulton has expressed himself strongly about the impossibility of any reconciliation being effected, we are convinced that a change is desirable." (35)

Baker wrote to George Brown on 4 May, while the deputation was in Nuku'alofa, opposing the return of Watkin, which, he said,

> "the king and chiefs would look upon as a kind of punishment for Mr. Watkin and censure upon the king. If the Free Church is to be taken back to Methodism, Mr. Watkin must take it back." (36)

There was some truth in those last words, but only if Baker and Watkin were sincere in desiring "the Free Church to be taken back to Methodism". There was no reason for believing that either was sincere in this.

Before leaving Tonga, the deputation met the king in Vava'u and informed [643]
him of their recommendations, but the king gave them no satisfaction and only
reiterated his requirement that Moulton must go.

The deputation drew up its report on 16 May, in Fiji on the way home. On 31 December 1885, Langham sent a letter to the President of the Conference, indicating that he had changed his mind about Moulton's removal. Subsequently, Rabone did the same. Langham said he had come to the conclusion that removing Moulton would not heal the breach:

> "On the contrary, it would, I fear, further the purpose which Messrs. Baker and Watkin evidently are determined by any means to accomplish, viz., the extermination of Wesleyan Methodism from the Tonga District." (37)

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It will be recalled that Langham had given Baker some comfort in 1879 when Gordon and Maudslay were opposing him; he could not, therefore, be regarded as personally biased against Baker. Since Baker had violated his promises to stop the persecution, Langham could not believe him sincere when he said he and Watkin would work for the union of the Tongan Churches in two or three years. Langham referred to another issue in the deplorable dispute, namely, Moulton's unwise circulars, when he continued: 797

> "In view of the fact that Mr. Moulton has abandoned, as I judge, the publication of circulars which were irritating to his opponents and unfortunate for his friends, and which pained the deputation, I do not feel I can now support the recommendation to withdraw Mr. Moulton from Tonga." (38)

This left only the veteran Watsford in the deputation still advocating Moulton's removal. In his brief reference to this matter in his autobiography, Watsford agreed with his colleagues' opinions about the persecutions, also Baker's arbitrary conduct and Moulton's indiscretions, but he also said,

> "yet, considering the trying and perplexing circumstances in which he [Moulton] was placed, and the man he had to deal with, we thought that few men would have done better than he had done".

He referred also to the deputation's conversation with Baker when

> "we told him the terrible consequences which one day would come upon himself. He laughed at our warning, and we left him." (39)

The Tonga Wesleyan District Meeting, on 16 November 1885, unanimously decided in favour of keeping Moulton. Ministers and laymen were most emphatic in their speeches. Their request was conveyed to the Conference in Sydney in a powerfully expressed letter by David Tonga, Moulton's right-hand man. Moulton was regarded as the distressed Wesleyans' shield, even if his imprudence and pugnacity added to their sufferings at the hands of a ruthless enemy. The District Meeting also condemned Watkin's desertion of his Church in no uncertain terms.

The New South Wales and Queensland Conference, in January 1886, received the deputation's recommendations and rejected them. It was influenced in doing this by the fact that two of the three had changed their minds and now favoured keeping Moulton in Tonga. The aged John Faupula had been sent by the District Meeting to represent its desires, and he pleaded emotionally with the Conference to leave their leader. Moulton himself was present. He based his 797
address to Conference largely on the intensified persecutions of the Wesleyans 798
which followed the departure of the deputation on 8 May 1885. He also expressed his belief that many would return to the Wesleyan Church if freedom of worship was allowed. On these grounds Conference resolved, both not to withdraw the Wesleyan Church from Tonga and not to remove Moulton. Events showed that Moulton's retention meant the ultimate survival of the Wesleyan Church, very small though it would be. On the other hand, Moulton's continued presence brought rising friction and keen persecution for his faithful followers.

• • • •

For more than two years after the formation of the Free Church and with only a few intermissions, many Wesleyans suffered floggings, deprivation of office, damage to property, heavy fines, long terms of imprisonment, and banishment. It was incredible that such widespread and harsh persecution occurred within what was really the same religious denomination; all this was both disgraceful in itself and unique in a Mission district in modern times. [188]

[1885]

Wesleyan ministers were offered much higher salaries to induce them to join 795
the Free Church, and some accepted the offers. The adhesion of one particularly 797
was desired by the king. He was David Tonga, who had been Moulton's chief assistant at Tupou College. It was generally recognized that he had no superior in intellectual qualities and in leadership ability; and his integrity was impeccable. When he was asked by the king to defect to the new Church and be rewarded for so doing, he replied simply, "I would lose the very qualities Your Majesty admires in me if I were to turn to the Free Church for gain".

As to the nature and extent of the persecutions the evidence before the High Commissioner and Mr. Justice Clarke, Judicial Commissioner, in March 1887, was convincing, as also were their findings regarding Baker's involvement. There are hundreds of statements in the Church Office in Nuku'alofa with details of maltreatment and injustice suffered by Wesleyans during this period.

The chiefs held a compulsory assembly *(fono)* in one village after another 797
and told the people that they must obey the king or take the consequences. There 795
is no doubt that the majority of those who joined the Free Church did so, not 798
because of the issues involved, but in obedience and loyalty to Tupou. Their
obedience, in many cases, was due to the chiefs' intimidation. It was indeed a
new thing in Tonga for anyone to resist the expressed will of the king. When the
chiefs used their traditional authority to enforce his will, it became still more
difficult for the Wesleyans to disobey. The alacrity with which the chiefs began [688]
flogging the people and interfering with their property showed what scant regard
they gave to the 1875 Constitution's curb upon their arbitrary power as well as
the Constitution's guarantee of freedom of worship for all. The brutal streak [181]
lurking in the pre-Christian Tongan temperament quickly reappeared. There were 797
many cases of horsewhipping, even of women, at the chiefs' orders. Recalcitrant 795
Wesleyans in Ha'apai were deported to uninhabited islands, Tofua, Kao, Tonumea. 798
The worst instance was the dispatch of eighty to the high island of Kao where 688
there was no food except sea-birds and shell-fish. These banishments were so
outrageous that, later, the orders of deportation were revoked.

After the funeral of Ngu in 'Uiha in March 1885, the king had stated publicly 643
his intention of going to Nuku'alofa and had given the end of May as the time 797
limit for all Tongatapu to join the Free Church. After then, he said, he would 795
bring warriors from Vava'u and Ha'apai, and those who held out against his 798
wishes would be hanged or banished. Similar threats were made by chiefs. Much 688
of this talk could be discounted as typical Tongan bluster and empty threatening,
but it boded ill for the Wesleyans.

The long-expected arrival of the king at Nuku'alofa occurred on 4 July; 643
he came with a fleet of over sixty canoes and a body of 1,800 men, armed with 797
rifles and axes. Soon afterwards a compulsory assembly was called for all 795
Wesleyans in Tongatapu to be held in the royal compound. Even the sick had to 798
be brought in carts, the order ran. A pre-dawn prayer meeting was held in Zion [644]
Church that morning. The prayers were highly emotional; and, when a new
hymn of Moulton's, based on the 23rd Psalm, was sung, "the rush of feeling was
overwhelming". The meeting was interrupted by the drum beating for the assembly.
The people almost rushed down the hill from Zion and filled the king's compound.
To his astonishment there were at least 2,500 Wesleyans, including his daughter,
Salote, and other members of the king's family. The Wesleyans had been told
to expect death and their emotions were geared to accept it. The king, evidently

[1885]

taken aback, only expostulated with the Wesleyans and then ended the assembly 797
without any punishment. This was an anti-climax. It also marked the peak of 795
Wesleyan resistance. 798
643

The failure of the king's assembly to quell the Wesleyans only spurred the
chiefs to more repression. While the Wesleyans were in Nuku'alofa, the men from 798
Vava'u and Ha'apai roamed the island destroying the Wesleyans' gardens. This 688
had a subduing effect on many who were wavering. The loss of food for a family 795
was worse even than a flogging. After this, some either genuinely or temporarily 797
joined the Free Church to escape punishment; others became Roman Catholics
for the same reason. The number of Moulton's supporters sharply declined.

On 20 July Tupou College grounds were invaded by warriors from the north 797
who prepared to carry away the students by force. Moulton came at once and 798
began to take the intruders' names as a precautionary measure; he was soon 873
supported by the British Consul and other Europeans. The king and Baker lost
little time in repudiating this action. However, Baker forbade any students to
leave Government schools and enrol at Tupou College without permission from
the Government, and this anti-Wesleyan measure caused a considerable falling off
in the College enrolment.

After the men from the north were sent home there was a lull in violence. 797
Baker was sensitive to the adverse publicity he was receiving overseas; then, and 798
afterwards, he put the blame on the shoulders of the chiefs. Thurston, Assistant [644]
High Commissioner, came in September 1885 and did so in a steamer, not the
warship which Moulton had led his people to expect to come to their relief. The
king had ordered their detention in Nuku'alofa for three months past. After Thurston
had been assured by Baker that there would be freedom of worship for all, the
people were sent back to their villages. Thurston's departure was followed by a
widespread rumour that he had told the king that he was free to do as he liked
with his own subjects. In Ha'apai, a letter, purporting to have the king's authority,
was circulated and was used to bring about the arrest of all the Wesleyans still
left in that group. The letter, which was proved to be a forgery, stated that
Thurston had blamed the Wesleyans for the troubles and had said that Moulton
would be withdrawn from Tonga. On the strength of these false statements, as Sir [688]
Charles Mitchell found in 1887, the Ha'apai Wesleyans were confined in the
Church compound in Lifuka for two months, "suffering considerable hardships —
this done, no doubt, by the direct order of the king . . . who was still in
Ha'apai".(60)

Although Baker had promised Thurston to restore Church lands and give 798
freedom of worship to all, he proceeded to enact measures in contravention of 688
this undertaking, laws more unjust and repressive than any others. In November
1885, a pliant Parliament passed the notorious Law of the Six and the Law of [646]
the Thirty. One forbade the holding of a Church service in any village which had fewer than six Wesleyan "genuine inhabitants"; this would result in the closing of many churches. The other forbade the appointment of any pastor in a village with fewer than thirty "genuine inhabitants" who were Wesleyans. It was alleged that these laws were passed in order to prevent Moulton sending preachers to villages to win back people who had gone over to the Free Church; and Moulton evidently was doing this in some cases. The obvious purpose, however, was to stamp out the Wesleyan cause altogether, as these laws would do, except in a few large villages. Mitchell blamed Baker for what he condemned as laws deliberately

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designed to crush the Wesleyans. Perhaps the worst feature was the interpretation 798
of "genuine inhabitants"; Wesleyans had to prove that their fathers and paternal 688
grandfathers had lived in a village to establish their own *bona fides* as inhabitants
there.

Meanwhile Moulton had abated the spate of circulars calling upon Wesleyans 797
to stand firm in terms which the General Conference deputation considered 798
embarrassing. He was, however, still indefatigable in visiting his beleaguered people in the villages. His presence and his pulpit powers had a heartening effect, but he was becoming more and more a handicap to his own cause. He maintained a stream of letters to the Premier calling his attention to frequent breaches of the laws by the courts, and other manifestly oppressive acts against the Wesleyans.
His vigilance and his bitter protests met with no response from Baker, except an [692]
occasional reply that the law courts could be applied to; these courts were, very clearly, doing the reverse of serving the ends of impartiality and justice. Moulton's persistence proved an irritant and brought no relief. It would have been much better for his followers, and himself, if he had left the scene of wretched strife. His indiscreet young colleague, E. E. Crosby, also had damaged the Wesleyan cause in a preface he wrote to a published account of the persecutions:

> "King George is now considerably over 80 years of age, and his intellectual powers have [643]
> been decaying for some time and he is completely under the sway of his Premier." (61)

It was only to be expected that Wesleyan Church properties no longer in [421]
use would revert to the Government. Where they were still maintained by a 797
handful of worshippers these people were required by the usual laws to cut the 798
grass and keep the property tidy. In Vava'u, where there were only six Wesleyans 686
left in the whole island, it was a sheer impossibility to comply with the law; and prosecutions, with fines and imprisonment, followed. There seemed no escape for the luckless Wesleyans under these conditions.

In 1886 thirty-seven students from Tupou College were called to serve in the 797
militia; none was called from the Government College. Each student called up 877
was required to swear an oath of obedience, but neither the conditions of the 701
oath nor the length of service were stated. Upon Tupou College recruits objecting 186
to swear such an undefined oath they were court-martialled. In one case two lads 687
were acquitted, whereupon the Premier sent a note ordering the magistrate to try the students again and to sentence them to two years' imprisonment. Evidence to this effect was given to Sir Charles Mitchell.

Baker's mind during the years 1885-6 was occupied not only with his 645
campaign against the Wesleyans. He had political opposition, emanating chiefly 578
from Tungi's party in the Mu'a district. Basil Thomson, then a young civil 622
servant in Fiji, visited Mu'a in 1886 and noted that Baker was unpopular because he

> "treated the chiefs as negligible, like commoners. . . . I heard enough in Mu'a to convince me that the people, not the old Wesleyans only, were reaching the end of their tether and that an explosion of some kind, not against the king but against Baker, was imminent." (62)

Baker was concerned also about the state of the king's health and he was
apprehensive about what might follow his death. The question of succession to [643]
the throne, now that 'Unga and Ngu had died, could divide the nation. Baker's
own position could be imperilled. He felt that he must seek support for the [648]
coming crisis. He sought it from Germany.

[1886 - 1887]

One of the most significant documents during Baker's regime was his letter to the German Consul-General in Apia, on 26 November 1886, asking for the presence of a German warship: 645

> "My dear Mr. Weber,
>
> I am sorry to say that King George is very unwell and I am almost afraid for him. I have thought it well to ask you if you have a German man-o-war in harbour at Apia, could you not send her on here for a few weeks in case anything might happen. Please excuse a short note under these circumstances. Let this note be considered strictly confidential.
>
> Yours very truly,
> Shirley W. Baker." (63)

No German warship came to Baker's aid then. Nor did the king's health deteriorate. What followed was an attempt to assassinate Baker.

* * * *

This dastardly attack upon the Premier took place on 12 January 1887. It 645
was the result of a conspiracy of Mu'a rebels and escaped prisoners. It was not a 668
Wesleyan plot; this was not only the conclusion of Sir Charles Mitchell but it 682
was admitted by Baker himself. It was not directed against the king but against [797
Baker and his government. Nevertheless, it was used as the excuse for a wholesale 798]
onslaught on the Tongatapu Wesleyans and it resulted in the virtual extermination of their Church.

Four of the five assailants were prisoners who had escaped from custody and been screened from re-capture for four months by the people in the Hahake district. Protection against re-capture in such a small area was in itself an evidence of the strength of anti-Government feeling. There had been a larger plot against Baker's government in which, it appears, some of the chiefs were involved; this aimed at capturing Baker and transporting him to Fiji. When this plot was abandoned, an alternative conspiracy was formed against Baker's life.

The Premier was driving with his son and a daughter along the Nuku'alofa beach-front where the five men with their muskets were waiting for him. It was dusk. When the miscreants were seen, Beatrice Baker put her arms around her father to shield him. There was never any doubt about the strong affection which Baker received from his children. The son had jumped out of the buggy to meet the men and he was wounded by the first shot. Beatrice then jumped out to go to her brother's relief, and she was thrown on to her back as the frightened horse swerved. Another shot wounded her. The injury to her spine as she fell from the vehicle left her a lifelong cripple. Baker himself was unhurt.

The king regarded this attack as a rebellion against himself. Two days 643
afterwards, on 14 January, he sent for the Ha'apai and Vava'u men as he had 669
done in 1885. He also called for armed support from the Tongatapu chiefs. 682
Actually, all the outlaws had been captured by 15 January. Their attack upon Baker had been the only outbreak of violence. The island was quiet, without any sign of rebellion whatever, and there was no need for any armed forces to rally to the king's call.

The trial of the five attackers and their accomplices began on 26 January. 645
Baker himself was the prosecutor. Giles, the British Consul who was present, 682
commented:

> "It was absolutely patent that Mr. Baker was the moving spirit in the whole affair from the commencement to the end." (64)

[1887]

The charges were attempted assassination and armed opposition to the king's 645
government. Ten men were convicted and sentenced to death. As well as those 682
directly concerned in the attack, others were charged as accomplices. One was 695
David Finau, a minister and staff member at Tupou College, sentenced to 22
years' imprisonment as an accomplice, because some of the conspirators had
visited the College on the previous night and had spoken to him about their
intentions.

Though the Premier had succeeded in having the death sentence passed 645
against ten men, he evidently did not wish it to be carried out; he went to the 682
king and asked him to commute the sentences to life imprisonment. The king, 696
however, was adamant and, after Baker left the palace, he gave orders at 2 a.m.
for six of the condemned men to be taken to Malinoa, an island off Nuku'alofa,
and shot at once. Incidentally, three of the six were Wesleyans, two were Roman
Catholics, and the sixth was not identified denominationally. These six men were
shot in irons and buried where they died. The Tongan people have regarded
Malinoa as an accursed spot ever since these executions. When further executions
were intended, the European residents of Nuku'alofa considered taking action to
prevent these, and Baker himself countermanded the king's orders.

Moulton called at the palace on the evening of the attack on the Premier 645
to express sympathy, and he was driven away with execrations by palace officials. 797
Baker published articles for the overseas press blaming Moulton's followers for
the whole plot, an allegation he withdrew before Sir Charles Mitchell. It was at [644]
Baker's suggestion that the king ordered the warriors to come from the north,
although all the conspirators had been arrested days before they came, and Baker [643]
later admitted that his advice at this point had been unjustified.

The men from Ha'apai and Vava'u, with their faces blackened according to 798
the old customs of pre-Christian Tongan warfare, went on rampage through 578
Tongatapu as in 1885, indulging in even greater savagery and destruction. They 644
flogged the Wesleyans, destroyed gardens, shot pigs, and stole goods everywhere.

Because some of the plotters had visited Tupou College the night before the
attack, it was singled out for punishment. The College was invaded and would
have been looted but for Giles, the Consul, who intervened. Soon afterwards, on [368]
5 February, the king ordered Tupou College to be closed; this, as Mitchell said,
was "an arbitrary act".

The hundreds of floggings of Wesleyans in January and February 1887 were 798
more brutal than before. No restraint was exercised by the king or the Premier. 688
The king's pre-Christian savagery seemed to have returned but his age, 90 years, 687
can be urged in extenuation. The helpless state of his few adherents moved
Moulton to petition for their removal from Tonga. There were only thirty-six 797
left in Tongatapu, and, with others from the north, the total, including children, 166
was ninety. They sailed on 14 February, not knowing their destination. Pylstaart 687
('Ata), the desolate remote island to the south, had been mentioned. After they 688
had left, they were told they were heading for Fiji. They were taken to the island
of Koro where they remained until 1890. Salote, the king's daughter, was one of
these voluntary exiles. Another was Mateialona, a grandson of the king and future
Premier. David Tonga, then stationed in Ha'apai, and his wife Rachel were in
this party. Before their deportation, the Ha'apai Wesleyans had been confined in
a room, 12 feet by 16 feet, with two windows and one door, all kept closed,
and where it was impossible for the twenty-nine inmates to lie down at one time;

[1887]

they had been kept there for seven days and nights, and without food, except for what merciful European residents brought them.(68) 797 166

687 688 Allowing for exaggerations in reports sent overseas to Wesleyan sympathizers (and Sir Charles Mitchell referred to these), a careful examination leaves enough evidence of widespread brutality of a reprehensible nature inflicted on defenceless people, who were innocent of any offence save loyalty to the Wesleyan Church.

When R. B. Leefe succeeded Giles as Consul, in February 1887, it was rumoured that he had told the king that Queen Victoria allowed him to do as he pleased with his people. This false story brought renewed violence against the Wesleyans. The only modicum of truth in the rumour was that Leefe had been advised by Thurston that Moulton had been too disposed to look to the Consul for protection and that he (Leefe) should keep a neutral position. Without being unsympathetic, Leefe found the almost daily protests irritating and he gave Moulton plain advice. On 30 June 1887 (after the Mitchell inquiry) he said that the High Commissioner did not consider it wise to let the Wesleyan exiles return from Fiji then, 648 798

> "not until political and religious excitement has subsided which I need hardly remind you is as yet by no means the case."

He warned Moulton not to ask the Conference in Australia to interfere:

> "the High Commissioner had hoped that you would have learned from the recent disclosures that any such interference by that body would be the surest means of re-kindling the fires of religious animosity."

Leefe cautioned Moulton against accepting every complaint he received at its face value; in one case, he said,

> "you appear to have acted with extraordinary indiscretion. If you continue to fan the flames of fire which I am certain is by no means extinguished, the hope of ultimate peace will be indefinitely postponed." (69)

Moulton evidently needed this rebuke, but the continued sufferings of his people had reduced him to despair. Both before and after the Mitchell inquiry there seemed to be little, if any, abatement of violence; and no relief appeared in sight from any quarter.

Twelve students from Tupou College, sentenced to two years for not taking the militia oath, were removed in irons to Vava'u. There, on 2 March 1887, they were mercilessly flogged. It was one of the worst cases of savagery breaking out again in those days of unbridled licence. One lad received seventy-five lashes; he uttered only the words, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit", before swooning. When asked, on regaining consciousness, whether he would become Free Church, he said, "No, never". He was John Havea, whose forgiving spirit at the reunion in 1924 made an indelible impression on the present author. John Havea was to him a father-in-God and a true saint; and this book is dedicated to his memory. 798 688 687

Such disgraceful incidents were halted by the arrival of the newly-appointed High Commissioner for the Western Pacific, Sir Charles Mitchell. He had just reached Fiji when he was directed by the British Government to proceed to Tonga to inquire into "recent disturbances in, and the affairs of, Tonga". He was a new and unprejudiced investigator. 648 798 688 687

Sir Charles arrived on H.M.S. *Diamond* on 29 March 1887, accompanied by the Chief Judicial Commissioner, Mr. Justice Clarke, and the Secretary to the High Commission, Mr. W. Collet. He interviewed the king at once and, two days later, submitted him to a searching interrogation. He formed the opinion that the 648 643 [645]

[1874-1887]

king was "a man of strong will and independent character", and not under Mr. 648
Baker's control. Tupou admitted that he regarded the Free Church as a "State 643
Church", and he said it was the duty of loyal subjects to attend it.(87) Following [645]
this, the general inquiry was left to Mr. Justice Clarke, with the High Commissioner also questioning at times. The interrogation of witnesses lasted from 30 March to 23 April. The report and a record of the evidence was presented to the British Parliament in August 1887.

The High Commissioner attached great importance to the movement for 648
Church independence and he regarded the response of the New South Wales and 797
Queensland Conference in 1874 to the king's request for more local control as 795
inadequate and as the origin of the troubles in the Church. A review of the facts 643
in this present history, including documents not known to the High Commissioner, shows that the king was gratified by the 1874 Conference decision to set up the Home Mission Fund for control of local finances and by the appointment of local trustees of the leases of Church land. The High Commissioner, however, believed that there had been "an inadequate treatment of a well-founded complaint". He stated that, if Tonga had been constituted a separate district in 1874 as it was in 1881, the situation would have been different. There is justification for Mitchell thinking that 1881 was late, but it need not have been too late. What was not disclosed at the inquiry, but was indeed of vital importance, was the lack of confidence in Baker on the part of the Church in Australia during these years and their fear that, if the Tongan Church became independent under his control, his influence would be harmful. His conduct both before and after secession in 1885 amply justified these fears. Virtual independence was given in 1881 and this would have satisfied the king who said he had received more than he had asked. All would have been well but for Baker's vindictiveness towards the Australian Church and his bitter rivalry with Moulton upon whom must rest some of the blame for the disputes.

With regard to the events from 1885 onwards and the allegations of 797
persecution and discrimination against the Wesleyans, the High Commissioner 798
reached significant conclusions in his report (88), some of the most prominent being the following:

(1) "During these years" (1885-6) "the remaining adherents of the Wesleyan Church were unfairly, and in many instances cruelly, treated. During all this time I am bound to say that neither the king nor his premier showed any disposition to interfere. On the contrary, they appear to have sought by the passing of certain laws during the latter part of 1885 to intensify the difficulties under which the Wesleyans were labouring." (par. 27.)

(2) "I have no doubt that these laws" (Law of Six and Law of Thirty) "were meant to 797
force the Wesleyans into obedience to the king's will . . . The oppressive action of 798
this construction of the law [= 'genuine inhabitants'] cannot be over-estimated." 643
(par. 28.)

(3) "Whether the king believed in the existence of a widespread conspiracy against him or
not, I cannot say. I am inclined to think he did not. He, at any rate, acted as though 797
he did, and by the advice of Mr. Baker, and contrary, as it appeared, to his own 798
judgement at the time, he sent for the men from Ha'apai and Vava'u to come armed
to him with all speed" (in January 1887) . . . "Mr. Baker admits that, viewed in the 643
light of subsequent events, the advice to send for them was unwise." (par. 41.) 644

(4) "They" (the men from Ha'apai and Vava'u) "plundered the Wesleyans right and left, [645]
and distributed themselves in bands over the whole island for the double purpose of obtaining plunder and converting the Wesleyans . . . When, as in some cases it did, brutal ill-treatment accompanied robbery, the patience with which the Wesleyans

[1887]

endured their troubles astonishes me, and I can only attribute it to the good influence and pacific counsels of Mr. Moulton." (par. 48.) 797

(5) "During all this time the requirements of the Constitution . . . appear to have been forgotten. The Courts had been ordered not to sit, and 'club law' appears to have been the only law of the land." (par. 54.) 798 643 [644]

(6) "Mr. Baker ended by declaring that he did not now believe that either the Wesleyans as a body, or the Tupou Collegians as a body, had plotted against him or the king." (par. 62.) [642] [692] [668]

(7) "The Constitution . . . has been utterly set aside, and the king's will substituted therefor. The theory of freedom of worship, so clearly laid down therein, has been practically a dead letter from the moment the king determined to support the Free Church." (par. 63.) [645] [642] [795]

Mr. Justice Clarke's summary (69) of the evidence given before him included the following conclusions:

(i) "It is, I think, quite clear that there was systematic intimidation by the chiefs by means of *fonos* [= public assemblies]. . . . The instructions of Mr. Baker to Tungi and Ata, and the sense in which these instructions were acted upon . . . point, I think, to the conclusion that Mr. Baker knew what was going on, and did not disapprove." (p. 14). [622] [645]

(ii) "The sentence against Joel Nau, minister in Niua Fo'ou, five years' imprisonment and $150 fine for libelling the king was monstrous. . . . He was given an additional five years for saying that what the king wished was wrong." (p. 17.) [687]

(iii) "The Laws of Six and Thirty were undoubtedly most oppressively administered." (p. 17.) [688]

(iv) "The trial of two men by court-martial by Mr. Baker's orders was a distinct act of oppression, for which Mr. Baker is directly responsible." (p. 19.) [687] [645]

(v) "I do not think that either Mr. Baker or the king really tried their best to stop the plundering." (p. 20.)

(vi) "Mr. Baker knew that Ikahihifo was doing the flogging but neither he nor the king seems to have even admonished him." (p. 22.)

Sir Charles Mitchell summed up his findings thus:

> "The conclusion to which I have arrived is not favourable to Mr. Baker; although great allowance must be made for the difficulties of his position in the earlier, and for the perturbation of mind (caused by the attempt to assassinate him) during the later, period. I should, undoubtedly, have exercised the power vested in me, under the Western Pacific Order in Council, of prohibiting Mr. Baker from remaining in Tonga for a period, had it not been that I felt his presence with the king, after the warning which my visit to Tonga has given, to be the best means of preserving peace. . . . I decided to show the king that the retention of Mr. Baker in Tonga would greatly depend on what the terms of the answer to my letter should be." (pars. 68, 69.) (70) 645 643 648

In this letter to the king (25 April 1887) the High Commissioner urged him —

(1) to grant an amnesty with the release of all political prisoners;

(2) to issue a proclamation "restoring, in the fullest degree, liberty to worship in accordance with conscience";

(3) to repeal the Laws of Six and Thirty or, at least, to alter the requirement concerning "bona fide residents";

(4) that "negotiations be entered into, with a view to again connecting the Wesleyan Church in Tonga, of whatever denomination, with the Wesleyan body elsewhere".

He offered his own "aid and influence" towards the attainment of union.(71)

Sir Charles Mitchell's good faith and his desire for reconciliation appear in the "Private and Confidential" letter he wrote to the President of the New South Wales and Queensland Conference, on 7 May 1887: 797 795 648

[1874-1887]

> "The king, chiefs and people in 1874 felt, though probably in a less degree than in 1881, that they were fit for a greater degree of self-government than was accorded to them, and that the alienation from Tonga of so large a sum of money, without contributors having a voice in the matter, was unfair. Had the appeal of 1874 been dealt with in the spirit that the General Conference of 1881 brought to bear on a later petition, I have little doubt that all the recent troubles would have been avoided." 797 795 648

He went on to express his hope that a settlement would be speedily reached for reunion. He said:

> "If something be not done in that direction I see danger of Tonga drifting into the arms of some other denomination. I have already heard rumours of overtures being made to them. Mr. Moulton, I know, holds that the breach will close of itself if time is given it to do so but I am of a different opinion . . ." (72)

In the king's reply to Mitchell, on 26 April, he promised an amnesty, a proclamation restoring freedom of worship, the amendment of the Laws of Six and Thirty making residence of one year sufficient qualification; and he welcomed negotiations for reunion on the plan proposed by the New Zealand Conference (1887, p. 69, Minutes) if the High Commissioner would initiate these negotiations. He concluded: 643 798

> "I am prepared to promise that there shall be no more persecutions of Wesleyans because of their religion, and should any chief do so he shall be judged." (73)

The next three years would show whether these promises were honoured and whether there was a real hope of reunion or even freedom of worship.

Footnotes: 113

(1) Tonga District Meeting *Minutes*. F.W.C.
(2) Gordon, Sir Arthur, *Public and Private Life*, Vol. IV, p.158.
(3) Gordon, ibid, Vol. IV, p.205.
(4) Gordon to Chapman, Mission Board Minutes, 3 January 1881.
(5) Gordon, ibid, Vol. IV, p.314.
(6) Cummins, H. G., *Sources of Tongan History*, p.281.
(7) Gordon, ibid, Vol. IV, pp.381-4.
(8) Gordon, ibid, Vol. IV, p.370.
(9) Circuit Reports. F.W.C.
(10) Eggleston, J. W., *Papers*.
(11) Mission Board Minutes, 10 September 1880. M.O.M.C.
(12) ibid.
(13) Mitchell, Sir Charles, *Report of Inquiry 1887*, p.96.
(14) Oldmeadow, H. C., *Diaries*, 9 October 1882.
(15) ibid, 21 December 1882; 12 December 1883.
(16) Tonga District Meeting *Minutes*. F.W.C.
(17) Oldmeadow, H. C., *Journal*. A.N.U.
(18) Baker to President. Item 169. M.O.M.C.
(19) Moulton to Chapman, 2 January 1879. Catalogue 99. M.O.M.C.
(20) Minns to Chapman, 2 April 1879. Item 170. M.O.M.C.
(21) Mitchell, *Appendix to Report in connection with the recent difficulties in, and the affairs of, Tonga, 1887*, p.79.
(22) General Conference Minutes, 1881.
(23) *Christian Advocate and Wesleyan Record*, 28 May 1881.
(24) Waterhouse, J. B., *The Secession and Persecution in Tonga*, p.6; Rutherford, N., *Shirley Baker and the King of Tonga*, p.102.
(25) Correspondence, King and Moulton, 18 September 1881. F.W.C.
(26) *Tongan Papers*. N.L.C.
(27) Tonga District Meeting *Minutes*. F.W.C.
(28) Mission Board Minutes. M.O.M.C.
(29) Oldmeadow, H. C., *Journal*. A.N.U.
(30) Gordon to F.O., 15 July 1882, F.O., 58/'77; Rutherford, ibid, p.120.
(31) Oldmeadow, *Diaries*.
(32) Minutes, ibid.

[1887-1888]

Chapter XV.

THE IRREPARABLE BREACH

Hopes had been raised in Australia by Sir Charles Mitchell's generous offer 797
to be a reconciler. His official letter to the New South Wales and Queensland 795
Conference expressed his hope "that the Committee will take such steps as may appear to tend in the direction of reuniting the Tongan Wesleyans to the mother society". He added,

> "The present opportunity, if promptly seized, will in all probability afford the best chances of reunion that may occur for years."

Unhappily, events showed that the High Commissioner was over-sanguine.

The Conference, through its Committee of Privileges, immediately decided to send a deputation to Tonga to see whether it was possible to repair the breach. The deputation consisted of W. G. R. Stephinson, then President of the Conference, George Brown, the new Missionary Secretary, and a layman, P. P. Fletcher. The Conference choice of Stephinson was appalling, even though he was President that year; and he must have been crazy to think of himself as a reconciler. Stephinson had not only been most antagonistic to Baker when he was 797
a missionary twenty years before, but he had recently written in the preface to 795
a publication, *The Persecutions in Tonga* (1886), issued by Moulton's colleague, 643
Crosby: [13]

> "With regard to the statement about the king's dotage" (made by Crosby), "I may state that before leaving Tonga . . . high chiefs including governors and the king's late son, David 'Unga, expressed with bated breath the same to myself on many occasions . . . The decay of his intellectual powers was such that he was now too easily open to ill-advisers." (1)

When the deputation stepped ashore on 27 July 1887 and asked for an interview with the king, Tupou at once said that he would not see Stephinson because of the published remarks about himself which he, naturally, strongly resented. Stephinson returned to Sydney on the ship that had brought him. It was almost too much to expect that Brown and Fletcher would make any headway in the climate of feeling prevailing at the time. They had many conversations with Baker, Watkin, and Moulton, before a final interview with the king on the eve of their departure on 12 August. Brown had visited Tonga as secretary to the 795
Chapman-Clarke Commission in 1879. He had advocated the removal of Moulton 797
at the 1884 General Conference and was generally regarded as leaning towards Baker.

Upon his return, Brown wrote to Baker in a conciliatory spirit, asking him to be careful about his actions before the 1888 General Conference, and especially about resuming Wesleyan Church land. Brown said, "There is a growing impression gaining here that you are determined to starve out the Church".(2)

The New South Wales and Queensland Conference received the deputation's report when it assembled in January 1888. The very fair and constructive recommendations moved by Brown were:

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[1887-1888]

(1) That Tonga should be an Annual Conference, on certain conditions. 795

(2) That Moulton, who had requested some years before to be permitted to leave, should be now withdrawn from Tonga because 797

> "the king is so strongly opposed to Mr. Moulton's continued residence in Tonga and there is but little hope of his opposition being withdrawn or of this grievous wound being healed so long as Mr. Moulton remains in Tonga."

The first recommendation was adopted unanimously. The second was lost by 74 votes to 31. Moulton had many friends in the Conference and, also, it was known that the little Wesleyan remnant in Tonga, at the Tongatapu Quarterly Meeting, had unanimously asked for Moulton to remain.

In their recommendation that Moulton should be removed, Brown and Fletcher had reported that,

> "However unjust it may be, Mr. Moulton is still accused of having exercised upon the minds of the students and some of the people an influence against the present Government."

They added that there were only twenty students at Tupou College and they [373] considered that Moulton's talents were wasted.

Brown and Fletcher also favoured Conference status for a reunited Church. In this regard they pointed out that the Free Church was already a Conference, and that

> "the Free Church attached great importance to their having control of all funds collected by them."

On the other hand, it was reported, that the Wesleyan remnant objected to being handed over to the Free Church

> "in the present embittered state, arising from persecutions and wrongs which they have undoubtedly suffered." (3)

When Baker read this, he wrote to Brown (1 August 1887):

> "If, as you infer, there is a doubt as to whether the few followers of Mr. Moulton will agree to such a union, it is only but another proof that the position they hold is not one of religion but of political antagonism to His Majesty and his Government." (4)

Baker was occasionally in touch with Wesleyan ministers in Conferences other than New South Wales. Some of them had been critical of Moulton's obstinacy and were anxious to find a compromise that would facilitate reunion. Lorimer Fison, formerly of Fiji, wrote from Melbourne on 5 March 1888, suggesting to Baker that a plan be prepared for the 1888 General Conference. He naively thought that the first President of the reunited Tonga Conference might be appointed from Australia, with Watkin as his Vice-President, and after a time Tonga would elect its own President. Fison supported the removal of Moulton and Crosby and expressed his belief that Baker desired reunion. J. G. Symons, also of Victoria, the incoming President of General Conference, wrote to Baker on 11 April 1888, in a letter marked "Private and Confidential", stating that he had conferred with Fison and agreed with his proposal.(5)

When the 1888 General Conference met in Melbourne in May, there was great public interest in "the Tongan question", with crowded galleries. It was the first General Conference since the secession in 1885. The Church press reported verbatim many of the lengthy addresses. Responsible leaders in General Conference feared that the issues were seriously dividing the home Church as well as destroying the future of the Tongan Church. Baker had sent a letter, 23 April 1888, making the king's request (in Baker's words):

[1888]

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797

(1) That the Free Church

> "be acknowledged as an independent Annual Conference in connection with the General Conference of the Wesleyan Church on the same lines as New Zealand and other Conferences bear to the General Conference", and

(2) That Mr. Moulton be removed,

> "as his presence in Tonga is dangerous to the peace and good order of His Majesty's Kingdom", with Mr. Crosby's removal also.

Above all things Baker wanted Moulton removed and he made the first request in reasonable terms as an inducement to secure the second. The degree of reliance to be placed on his good faith in the first request could be judged from what happened in Tonga when George Brown was Special Commissioner after Moulton had left.

Many representatives from the Victoria and Tasmania Conference spoke in the 1888 General Conference debate in favour of the king's request. Most of the New South Wales and Queensland Conference representatives were pro-Moulton. Moulton himself took a prominent part in the debate. He refused to answer old charges against himself, those connected with the 1883-4 trials, but he felt obliged to meet the strong accusation brought forward again by Dr. E. I. Watkin, of Victoria, namely, that Moulton had used an imprecation against the king. After a stinging speech from Dr. Watkin, Moulton again denied the charge, declaring that he had given only a warning to the king who was acting like Uzziah against the Church. One of the wisest statements in the whole debate came from Dr. Watkin — that missionaries should not engage in politics and that, if the Church had stopped Baker doing this twenty years before, all the troubles in Tonga would have been avoided.

In the course of the debate which lasted two days, it became evident that Moulton must retire, and he at last agreed. The final resolution, moved in tactful and felicitous terms by Dr. W. H. Fitchett, of Victoria, was as follows:

> "Conference recognizes the loyalty and courageous fidelity with which the Rev. J. E. Moulton has laboured for the interests of the Methodist Church in Tonga and deeply sympathizes with him on account of the trials and unjust accusations to which he has been exposed. . . . It consents to the request which he makes to the New South Wales and Queensland Conference through its President to be allowed to reside in Sydney and carry on his work of translating the Scriptures and other religious literature."

It was resolved also that Brown be sent as Special Commissoner of the General Conference, with instructions to report upon

> "the best means of securing an honourable and lasting union of the two Churches, and generally to draw up a scheme for the permanent settlement of our affairs in Tonga." (6)

Brown's report, after submission to a special committee, was to be transmitted to the Annual Conferences for approval and action without waiting for the next General Conference. So great had been the tension during the protracted debate that, when the resolution was accepted, many were in tears and the whole assemblage sang the Doxology.(7)

George Brown had already become conversant with the issues in Tonga. He was a missionary of wide experience, with strong convictions and sound judgment. He had done yeoman service in Samoa for fourteen years before pioneering the Mission to New Britain in 1875. In the Rabaul area, with no colleague except faithful Fijian and Samoan teachers, he established what became a large and successful Mission. In 1887 he became Missionary Secretary and, until he

[1888]

relinquished that position in 1907, he exercised a dominating influence upon 795
missionary policy, including the establishment of new Missions in Papua (Islands 797
Region) and the Solomon Islands. In his autobiography he stated his belief that his efforts towards reconciliation in Tonga were the most difficult but the most satisfying, for him personally, of all his missionary tasks. Unfortunately, his efforts were fruitless.

When he accepted the assignment to Tonga, Brown told General Conference that he would do his utmost but he did not hold out much hope of success. Although he had been regarded as a supporter of Baker, he was apprehensive about what was likely to happen in Tonga.

Brown could not reside continuously in Tonga because of his duties as Missionary Secretary in Sydney. Throughout the first period (7 August to 7 December 1888), he did everything possible to conciliate the Free Church party and in doing this he ran the risk of the Wesleyans fearing that he was being unfaithful to them. He attempted to cultivate friendly relations with Baker and Watkin. Moulton left on 11 August, with demonstrations of gratitude from all the Wesleyans.

After Moulton's departure Brown hoped for an easing of tension. However, 795
he was disturbed by the failure of the king or Baker to honour the promises made 797
to Sir Charles Mitchell. No proclamation of freedom of worship had been issued. 798
The general amnesty had not been given. Eight Wesleyans sent to the uninhabited 687
island of Tofua early in 1887 were still there. The exiles in Fiji had not been 688
recalled. Brown asked Baker several times about their return, without any response. Wesleyans sentenced to two years for refusing the militia oath were still imprisoned in Vava'u, although (when Brown reported this in his second visit in 1889) their sentences of two years had expired; these were the men whose conviction the Chief Judicial Commissioner in 1887 had said to be "a distinct act of oppression, for which Mr. Baker is directly answerable".(8) In addition, Brown found that Wesleyans were still subjected to "mean and cowardly persecutions", interference with their hours of worship, the placing of new Free Church buildings close to existing Wesleyan buildings (in some cases within 50 feet), and Wesleyans not being allowed to hold Government positions.

In the king's speech to Parliament on 21 November 1888, he expressed his 795
will for 797

> "the Free Church never to be governed from abroad. Should there be a time when it can be joined to the Wesleyan Church, in accordance with my request made to the General Conference at Melbourne" (in May 1888) "I shall be glad; but if not let it be so."

It was the last word of the old king regarding the possibility of reunion. Baker was responsible for both the king's speech and his communications with General Conference. What Baker actually was doing was the test of his genuineness rather than the words he put into the king's mouth so as to make a good impression. Everything Baker did was blocking reunion, as George Brown found. The 1888 message to General Conference and the 1888 king's speech, however, remained on record and found fulfilment in 1924 when the king's words were accepted by the Chief Justice of the day as validating the reunion that had come at last. It was ironical then that Baker's words had sealed the reunion of 1924.

[1888-1890]

In Brown's report after his first visit, he declared that, if union could be effected, 795 797

(1) Mr. Watkin and his ministers should be "recognized as fully accredited ministers in our Church." (p. 1.) (9)

(2) Moulton's removal had been justified and, if it had taken place years before, the Wesleyans would have been in a different position. Though they admired Moulton greatly for his work,

> "they all know that he was personally obnoxious to the Government and that their own sufferings and disabilities were increased by that fact." (p.11.)

(3) "There is no real desire for union on the part of Mr. Baker and Mr. Watkin. . . . They simply wish to absorb our people and have no wish for anything else." (p. 12.)

(4) The Free Church ministers were opposed to union because they feared loss of their positions and higher salaries. [793]

(5) The Wesleyans felt that they had suffered so cruelly that they could not, for some time at least, agree to unite. [798]

In Brown's subsequent visits (14 May to 15 October 1889, 21 March to 26 April 1890, 12 September to 12 November 1890), his hopes of a response from the Premier were completely dissipated. (He had been deported on 17 July 1890, before Brown's fourth visit.) During the second and third visits, the correspondence between the two men, concerning the continued disabilities of the Wesleyans, became almost as acrimonious as letters between Moulton and Baker had been. When Brown pointed out the difficulties arising from the proximity of new Free Church buildings to the Wesleyan, Baker, on 2 July 1889, wrote:

> "I had not thought they would create any difficulty in the future as I was in hope that at the next General Conference the two Churches would be united, a hope which your late visit to the colonies has destroyed." (10)

This remark showed Baker's resentment of the publicity given to Wesleyans' sufferings in Brown's addresses to congregations in Australia, after his first residence in Tonga. His assumed hope of reunion at the next General Conference was totally inconsistent with his actions.

So grave was the non-fulfilment of the promises made to Sir Charles Mitchell in 1887 that the next General Conference, in May 1890, in Sydney, resolved 795 797

> "earnestly to solicit through Sir John Thurston, High Commissioner, the good offices of Her Majesty's Government to secure the fulfilment of the promises made by His Majesty the King of Tonga to the late High Commissioner, Sir Charles Mitchell, more especially the proclamation of freedom of worship, the removal of existing disabilities, and the return of the Tongan exiles in Fiji and Tofua to their own land." (11) 648

This resolution was carried by 94 votes to five.(12)

Brown had gone to Tonga as a reconciler. He had accepted conditions patiently until it was clear that, as he said, 795 797

> "Mr. Baker had shown most plainly that he and those associated with him would be satisfied with nothing less than the abandonment of our people and the withdrawal of our Church from Tonga, and that for the accomplishment of this purpose a system of intimidation and coercion was being carried on." (13)

The opinion of the veteran, John Watsford, formerly of Fiji, who had visited Tonga in the General Conference deputation of 1885 and had recommended

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[1887-1889]

Moulton's withdrawal then, was impartial and clear. In his autobiography, he wrote, 795 797

> "Mr. Brown, who had always been regarded as Mr. Baker's friend, and to some extent his advocate, went on his mission, and did his very best to conciliate and to promote peace. His report still more seriously inculpated Mr. Baker than any that had gone before." (14)

* * * *

Baker had more than the interminable Church disputes to trouble him. In his political ambitions the Premier had hoped for German support; he had earnestly asked Weber to send a German warship on 26 November 1886. The *Adler* arrived at Nuku'alofa in September 1887, but the British warship *Opal*, sent by the High Commissioner, had anchored a few days before the German vessel which withdrew from the scene at once. The *Opal* stayed at Nuku'alofa until January 1888, the unusually long period indicating the delicate international situation and British concern about Baker's activities. The presence of a British warship for four months considerably worried the Premier. 645 648

After the *Opal* left Baker thought himself secure again. Soon, however, he was to fall, because in his arrogance he ventured to defame senior British officials. In maintaining his power year after year he had met many difficulties, but he had always cleverly outwitted his opponents. This could hardly last for ever. Perhaps the long and perilous confrontations made him reckless or seriously affected his powers of judgment.

Sir John Thurston had become High Commissioner in February 1888. He had been critical of Moulton and had given Baker some comfort in his visit to Tonga in September 1885. He had believed that the Wesleyan Church authorities in Australia had shown "violent and often unwarranted hostility" towards Baker.(15) Thurston had advised Sir Charles Mitchell not to deport Baker in the 1887 inquiry when Mitchell had wished to do this.(16) Baker's pro-German leanings, however, were still causing suspicions, although evidently the British authorities did not know at that time that Baker had requested a German warship to be sent from Samoa to support him in November 1886. Thurston was beginning to agree with Gordon in regard to Baker's unreliability.

The failure to honour the promises made to Mitchell, regarding freedom of worship &c., was a strong reason for Thurston's growing dissatisfaction. In August 1888, he declared [798]

> "he did not think there could be peace in Tonga while Shirley Baker was there." (17)

In this report, Thurston added,

> "The engagements of the king of Tonga set forth in his letter to Sir Charles Mitchell have not been kept nor do I think they will be so long as Mr. Baker remains in Tonga to direct the course of affairs." (18)

By April 1889, Thurston recorded that he had long lost all confidence in Baker.(19)

The Consul in Nuku'alofa, R. B. Leefe, who had endeavoured to be neutral and who had tried to restrain Moulton's persistent protests, had become convinced of Baker's lack of integrity and also the political dangers attending his continued tenure of office. He wrote to Thurston, on 23 April 1889:

> "I cannot see that any good can come in allowing Mr. Baker to remain longer in Tonga. If two years ago his influence with the king was of avail in moderating persecution — and I believe it was at the time for he was thoroughly frightened — I think his influence

[1890]

of women, led by the chieftainess who would have been Tu'i Tonga Fefine, 645
placed around Thurston's neck the garland offered to the Tu'i Tonga as a sacred 648
duty in ancient times.(23) 565

Baker's career of thirty years as missionary and Premier closed in humiliating 645
circumstances. He had many achievements in secular affairs to his credit — his advice to the king in earlier years, the draft of the Constitution, and his administration since 1880 which, in spite of the confusion of the period, had shown his executive ability and his flair for legislation in many fields. He might have prolonged his regime and added to his administrative record had it not been for his controversial policies.

The saddest legacy of Baker's thirty years was a divided Tonga, with memories of quarrels and persecutions that would delay any possibility of unity for many a long year. The old Tongan proverb was applied to Baker — "The string-ray has gone but the barb is left".

* * * *

The departure of Baker was acclaimed by the Church in Australia as a 795
vindication of the Wesleyans' cause; their jubiliation was not helpful to the 797
delicate situation in Tonga. Baker's removal made no difference whatever to the [645]
Free Church party. Sir John Thurston, writing on the day Baker left (17 July 1890), made this clear to Dr. Kelynack, President of the Australian General Conference —

> "The King and all the higher chiefs who met His Excellency appear firmly attached to the Free Church. Any indication of an attack upon it would, in His Excellency's opinion, be followed by a determined resistance." (24) [643]

Thurston believed that, if Tonga was recognized as a Conference, as recommended by George Brown, re-union was possible; but this, unfortunately, was an unsubstantial hope.

After Baker's removal the king readily assented to the return of the exiled 797
Wesleyans who had been at Koro, in Fiji, for over three years. They now numbered 798
130, including children. Sir John Thurston and his staff personally farewelled 166
them on the wharf in Suva. Tupou's daughter, Salote, was one of them. They [643]
returned to Nuku'alofa on 19 August 1890, in no exultant spirit, but with the Tongan traditional forms of humility and submission to the king. Some of the Free Church ministers who had often made pointed allusions to an imagined threat of British annexation went so far as to preach against the returning Wesleyans, alleging falsely that they had taken the oath of allegiance to the British Crown during their sojourn in Fiji.

That genuine religion could survive the bitter strife of the previous decade 771
was little short of miraculous. Religion had been indeed discredited in the eyes of many people, Tongans and Europeans. Basil Thomson, though not unbiassed concerning Missions, had grounds for his observation:

> "The Tongans, an intelligent people . . . have seen the Mission first support and then dismiss their Chairman for questionable practices. They have seen religion and the Churches made use of as a mere political instrument for the personal aggrandizement of one man. . . . It is to be feared that the Tongans, with whom religion has already become a mere form, will have little to show for the self-denying work of the early missionaries." (25)

[1885 - 1892]

It was soon apparent that reunion was impossible. The wounds were still too 795
deep for the Wesleyans, and the fomented fears of a foreign ecclesiastical affiliation 797
were too strong for the Free Church party. In 1894, General Conference resolved that there should not be

> "any continuation of the attempt to bring about a union of the two Churches . . . but to work quietly side by side . . . and by acts of kindness and conciliation endeavour to secure the present harmony and future union of the two Churches."

These were wise words, but the "future union" did not come for another thirty years.

The Free Church held its Annual Conference after the pattern of the 795
Wesleyan Conferences in Australia and New Zealand. Watkin was elected President every year. Baker attended as a minister and supported Watkin, from 1885 until 1889. From 1885 onwards salaries for Tongan ministers were fixed [465]
at a much higher rate than in the Wesleyan Church. The full name, as stated in the Constitution of 8 August 1885, "Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga", was used in the Minutes of the first three Conferences, but "Free Church of Tonga" was substituted from 1888, without any resolution authorizing the change. The 1888 Conference decided to send a donation for work among Maoris and Chinese; this was in lieu of missionary collections sent by the Wesleyan Church and a substitute also for giving workers for overseas fields. A branch of the Free Church was established in Samoa for the benefit of Tongans living there; it lapsed after a few years. Later, another branch was set up in the Lau group of Fiji for local Tongans.

Despite criticisms such as Basil Thomson had expressed about the state of religion in general, the small Wesleyan Church showed signs of spiritual strength as well as denominational loyalty. Persecution had refined the lives of its members. They also cherished the Moulton tradition of academic learning and biblical [771]
scholarship, notwithstanding the element of elitism which this gave. In a different sense the Free Church, much larger, showed its loyalty as well as an elation due to complete local control. Whatever Watkin's motives had been for deserting his former Church, he was always anxious that Methodist principles and piety should be preserved among his people.

The Wesleyans were distinguished by their participation in overseas service. 797
George Brown, as Missionary Secretary, stimulated this spirit. Offers of service from ministers and pastor-teachers were readily made for the new Mission that Brown established in Papua (Islands Region) in 1891. Other Tongan missionaries served in New Britain and, later, in the Solomon Islands.

After the departure of Moulton (1888) and Crosby (1892), the Wesleyans generally had only one missionary. James A. Bowring, who arrived in 1890, was in charge of the Church from 1892 to 1895. James Egan Moulton, B.A., born in Nuku'alofa in 1869, and educated at the Leys School, Cambridge, with his uncle, Dr. Fiddian Moulton, and at Newington College, Sydney, followed his father in the ministry and served at Tupou College for seven years, 1896-1903 (and at times in 1893-6 before entering the ministry).

Dr. Moulton, absent from Tonga since 1888, made a brief visit in September 1891, when he met the king and was received cordially after the many years of estrangement. He was anxious to return to work in Tonga and, in November 1892, the General Conference Committee on Tongan Affairs discussed the matter at great length for three days and decided against his return.

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[1892 - 1896]

It was significant that Sir John Thurston, and Leefe, the British Consul, were strongly opposed to Moulton's return although they knew that the Wesleyans desired it. Langham, Chairman of the Fiji District, also felt that it would be unwise. The High Commissioner wrote to the President of the New South Wales Conference on 29 March 1892: 797

> "The High Commissioner places on record his opinion and belief that the reappointment and residence of Mr. Moulton in Tonga will result in a reopening of the troubles and dissensions which were quieted barely two years ago. The High Commissioner is satisfied that King George would view Mr. Moulton's return as an act of unkindness, if not of hostility, on the part of the Wesleyan Conference . . . If Mr. Baker returns to Tonga, voluntarily or otherwise, and troubles arose, official action would certainly be embarrassed, perhaps neutralized, by the presence of Mr. Moulton. . . . If Mr. Moulton is returned to Tonga by the Conference and troubles arise between the so-called Free Church and the Wesleyan Mission Church, the Conference will have no just claim to the sympathy or assistance of that authority which it formerly invoked. Wilfred Collet, Secretary." (36) [643]

On 12 October 1892, the High Commissioner wrote to J. C. Symons, President of the General Conference:

> "Since the previous letter, the king has written to the High Commissioner stating that he does not wish Mr. Baker or Mr. Moulton to return to Tonga." (37) [643]

In view of these adverse opinions, the General Conference Committee on Tongan Affairs recommended the New South Wales Conference to permit Moulton to visit Tonga for short periods only. In the meantime, Moulton went ahead with his literary work in Sydney. Eventually the New South Wales Conference in 1895 [873] appointed Moulton to be Principal of Tupou College and Superintendent of the Tongatapu Circuit, but not to reside continuously in Tonga; he spent two or three months there in 1895, the same in 1896, and short periods in later years. In [795] spite of his conspicuous ability and intellectual gifts, the evidence reveals that Moulton had become personally objectionable to the Free Church people and an insuperable obstacle to any possibility of reunion.

It can be said now that Moulton's beneficial influence in the land he loved has outweighed the unfortunate effects of his prolonged feuds with Baker and his misunderstandings with the old king. Unwise though he had often been, and though the Wesleyan remnant had suffered for his indiscretions, he retained the unquenchable affection of his faithful followers. Not only was he a scholar from a family of scholars, a teacher of unusual brilliance, and a preacher of penetrating power. He must also have been a man of magnetic personality to bind the persecuted Wesleyans to him with strong cords of love. Outwardly his work could be found in his monumental translation of the whole Bible, a work covering nearly thirty years and completed with the publication of the Old Testament in 1902, his 264 superb hymns, his many other literary productions and musical transcriptions. Even more enduring was the quality of the ministers and laymen he trained. This quality stood out like the high islands of Kao and Tofua, in Tongan imagery. Moulton died in Sydney on 9 May 1909. A granite obelisk, erected to his memory, stands outside Tupou College Chapel today.

"The Grand Old Man of the Pacific", George Tupou I, passed away on 18 643
February 1893 at 96 years of age. It was thought that he had caught a chill
during his daily bathing in the sea in front of the Palace. There was general 643
mourning for six months. No work was done on the plantations, which resulted 765
in a serious food shortage. Time seemed to stand still in the little kingdom and the
loss of the central figure of the century left his people benumbed. No one could 643

[1890-1900]

Extraordinary in an ill temper and had given his father, Fatafehi, power to sign 648 on his behalf. At 10 a.m. on 19 May, the Treaty was proclaimed in public in 643 English and Tongan. In deference to the people's susceptibilities, the Union Jack 644 was hoisted on H.M.S. *Porpoise* and not on shore. Although Thomson had felt obliged to put pressure upon a reluctant king in order to secure the signing of the Treaty, his support for Tonga's independence was clear from his own words:

> "May the Protectorate remain purely nominal for many years. That rests with the Tongans. If they will abstain from squabbling among themselves, keep free from debt, and govern themselves decently, there is no reason that their status should change, though the history of little States is not reassuring. . . . I, for one, should be grieved if the last native State in the Pacific should pass away." (30)

Writing much later, in 1937, Thomson said:

> "Many years have passed but it is a satisfaction to me to know that the Protectorate that I negotiated has worked admirably and that Tonga has been comparatively free from the internal struggles that have beset so many other countries." (31)

• • • • •

Shirley Baker did not appear again in Tonga for some years. After his 797 removal in 1890, he spent much of his time in Auckland where he had business interests. If he had been content with caring for these, he would not have aroused fresh suspicions from the Tonga Government and the British High Commissioner.

The ex-Premier spent several months of 1890 in Samoa, where he bought 797 some land outside Apia, inviting Tongan "malcontents" to settle there to await 648 the day when he could return to Tonga in triumph. His son and the son of the Rev. J. B. Watkin travelled between Samoa and Tonga several times in that year, for purposes indicated by an Ordinance of 9 January 1891, which forbade the distribution of papers likely to disturb the public peace.(32) On 31 December 1890 Baker suddenly left Samoa for the U.S.A. He was reported to be in Washington D.C., and to intend a later visit to Berlin "with the hope of exciting suspicions in both quarters that Her Majesty's Government have designs against the independence of the Tongan Islands and of procuring the interference in some form of the Governments of the United States and Germany respectively. There is no reason apparent to me why he should succeed. . . ." (the High Commissioner declared).(33) Baker was, apparently, firmly convinced that he could obtain American citizenship after six months' residence in one State (34), and also that he would be sympathetically received in Berlin. With the backing of the U.S.A. and Germany, he hoped to be reinstated in Tonga. Thurston concluded that, instead of spending his savings on a property in New Zealand, as had been expected, it seemed he would, "true to that spirit of bitterness and rancour which led to all the late wrongdoing and cruel persecution in Tonga", spend all his money on stirring up feeling against the new regime in Tonga. Thurston added that, if Baker did succeed in stirring up trouble on the death of the king, the British Government should intervene to "support and direct the Native Government".(35)

In 1893 the financial depression caused the loss of Baker's investments in 797 New Zealand. No one would forbear pity for him in the vicissitudes he experienced 795 in his closing years. In February 1897 he was in Tonga, fruitlessly endeavouring to be accepted as Tonga Government medical officer. Later in the same year, he sought, unsuccessfully, to be appointed as minister of the Free Church in Ha'apai. His wife died soon afterwards.

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[1900-1904]

The Methodist General Conference of 1904 deplored the action of Bishop 797
Willis in setting up the Anglican Church in a land long evangelized by the
Methodists. This, it said, was a venture "calculated to stir up dissension". However,
the General Conference did no more than make this protest. Since then the [871]
Anglican Church, supported mainly by European residents but taking also a useful [563]
part in the education of Tongan students in Nuku'alofa, has been on amicable
terms with the other Churches.

Shirley Baker died on 16 November 1903 in Ha'apai. His devoted daughters [645]
built a massive monument over his grave; the statue represents the ex-Premier [642]
holding the Constitution of 1875, which his friends regarded as his masterpiece.

At the Free Church Conference on 16 May 1901, another Constitution, 795
approved by the king, was adopted. There seemed to be no lack of new
Constitutions and new names for the Church. This was called "The Constitution
of the Church of Free Tonga, 1901". It stated that "while the king remains a 795
member he will be in contact with the Conference in all matters". The king was 643
to appoint the President and to have the right of approving all subsequent
Presidents. This Constitution followed the recognition of the Church as virtually
a State Church in the Gazette of 27 January 1898.

On 13 March 1900 Salote Mafile'o Pilolevu was born to George Tupou II 644
and Queen Lavinia Veiongo. The first reference by a European to the future
Queen Salote was made by Basil Thomson, who saw the infant princess, then
three weeks old, during his visit for the Treaty negotiations.(43)

In 1902 Tupou II became ill and it was feared that the illness would be 643
fatal. Seddon, Prime Minister of New Zealand, took this opportunity to cable
Joseph Chamberlain, Colonial Secretary, suggesting that Britain should be ready
to annex Tonga, but Britain declined to take any action.(44)

Queen Lavinia died on 25 April 1902, and Salote was given into the care 644
of a remarkable woman, Rachel Tonga, who was the widow of David Tonga,
Moulton's chief assistant at Tupou College in earlier years. Rachel was also the
sister-in-law of John Mateialona, a later Premier. In Salote's formative years,
Rachel Tonga's influence was profound, encouraging a Christian faith and
imparting to the princess a knowledge of Tongan history and traditions. As
chaperone, she accompanied Salote at the age of nine to Auckland where the
future Queen afterwards became a pupil at the Church of England Diocesan Girls'
School. In later years the Queen referred to her experience at this school in the
happiest terms. She was confirmed in Auckland and received communion in the [795]
Church of England, but her membership was always with her own Church in
Tonga.

In 1904 the Government's finances were in a parlous state, as they had been 652
when the Treaty with Britain was made in 1900. There was much criticism of a 643
foreign firm which had indue influence over the king, had a monopoly of
Government contracts, and lent money to the Government on its own terms. It
was alleged that the king used Government revenue to pay some of his personal
expenses. The Consul at the time, Hamilton Hunter, was contriving with some of 648
the chiefs to depose the king in favour of his father, Fatafehi Tu'ipelehake, who 643
was willing to save Tonga from any possibility of annexation by New Zealand.(45) 565

In December 1904 the High Commissioner, Sir Everard im Thurn, came to 648
investigate the position. He dismissed some Europeans from the Government for 652

[1901-1924]

in New Zealand. When Mr. Watkin visited Ha'apai in 1920, his ministers gave 795
him an honour reserved in ancient times for the Tu'i Tonga and the Tamaha; 563
ten black-coated Free Church ministers waded into the sea at Lifuka and carried 576
the boat ashore with Mr. Watkin seated in it.(47) 643 644

It was sometimes hoped that the Free Church might co-operate with the 795
Wesleyans in sending ministers and pastor-teachers to overseas fields. When Rodger 797
Page, Chairman of the Wesleyan Church, made a request to Mr. Watkin in 1912 to persuade some of his ministers to answer an urgent call from New Britain and go together with Wesleyans, the appeal fell on deaf ears; and a discreet inquiry along the same lines from the Mission Board in Sydney met with no response whatever.

The disparity between the financial strength of the two Churches was marked. 795
Visitors to Tonga sometimes commented upon the contrast between the large and 797
ornate buildings of the Free Church and the poor properties of the Wesleyans. 794
The fact was that the Wesleyans had the burden of their primary schools and the 872
College, and they had a struggle to pay Tongan ministers and teachers a meagre 873
allowance as well as support two or three European ministers and European 793
female teachers. The Free Church, on the other hand, left education entirely to 658
the Government; and, with its numerical strength, it was able to build and 659
maintain its handsome churches.

Throughout the early years of the 20th Century the strength of the Free Church appeared especially in Ha'apai and Vava'u whereas, proportionately, the Wesleyans had a better following in Tongatapu. In 1902 the numbers for the Free Church were — Ha'apai, 4,883; Vava'u, 4,413; Tongatapu, 4,616. In 1923 their numbers were — Ha'apai, 6,416; Vava'u, 4,886; Tongatapu, 5,344. In 1911 the denominational statistics showed — Free Church, 15,968; Wesleyans, 4,055; Roman Catholics, 2,387.

* * * *

At nearly every General Conference the question of a possible reunion in 795
Tonga was introduced, but with more optimism than knowledge of the position. Its messages in 1901 and 1904 were rejected by the Free Church. The 1913 General Conference wrote to Mr. Watkin asking him to bring the question of union before his next Conference, with the assurance that Free Church ministers and members "would be welcomed to the fellowship and brotherhood of the Australian Church". However sincere the motive, the expression was infelicitous. The message continued,

> "Should union with the Methodist Church in New Zealand" (recently separated from Australia) "be preferred, the General Conference will consider any proposal in that direction." (48)

General Conference authorized the President-General to take all necessary steps before the next General Conference (in 1917) for giving effect to the reunion proposals if these were accepted by the Free Church. This resolution was useless at that time; yet, as it transpired, the President-General in 1924 used the powers given in 1913 to endorse the reunion settlement from the Wesleyan (Methodist) side. When Mr. Watkin replied, in July 1916, to the 1913 General Conference's request, he merely said,

> "There are still grave difficulties in the way. The benefits of union would be very great but a forced union would greatly increase the difficulties."

And there he let the matter rest.

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[1908-1933]

The question of union was not allowed to lapse with the new and vigorous 795
Wesleyan leader. Rodger Page devoted the whole of his ministerial life to Tonga 797
and church union. He belonged to a very well-known family in the town of Grafton, on the Clarence River in northern New South Wales. His father, Charles Page, was several times mayor of Grafton; he was remembered for his beautification scheme in planting jacaranda trees in the main avenues of the town. A brother of Rodger Clarence George Page was Sir Earle Grafton Page, physician-politician, founder of the Australian Country Party, and for some years Federal Treasurer. Page of Tonga, born at Grafton in 1878, shared his family's pride in the town and river as well as its love of country life. He became Tonga's greatest church leader in this century.

It seemed by accident that Rodger Page went to Tonga in 1908. Soon after 797
entering the ministry he offered for overseas missions and he was sent to a vacancy on the staff in Tonga. He spent a year as a bachelor with Charles Walkden Brown and family. Brown was a tempestuous genius, a keen preacher, a skilful musician who wrote several excellent hymns still loved by Tongan congregations. In his six years (1903-09), Brown made no secret of his dislike for the secessionist Church. On this issue he once had a violent public contretemps with a local lawyer, George Scott, afterwards Judge in the Land Court case brought by the Free Church dissidents after union in 1924. Page diverged completely from Brown's policy. He determined to seek reconciliation with the Free Church at almost any cost.

Page travelled extensively through the group, especially when he was free from home ties (he did not marry until 1912). In the small boats he suffered dismally from sea-sickness. The worst sailor in the Pacific, he was called; although of tough physical frame, he always became ill the moment he set foot on any craft, small or big. He was not the conventional type of Methodist parson. No one was more dedicated to the ministry than he, but he was a man's man, jovial, friendly. A winsome raconteur, he had a distinctive laugh. As he told his jokes, his laughter continued in seemingly unending gurgles. He loved the Tongans. Some of his colleagues in later years thought he went almost too far in indulging their whims and occasionally in extending loans; but he knew the people and his leniency alternated with firmness when this was called for.

He was essentially practical. His upbringing in a dairying district stimulated his interest in Tonga's agricultural needs. To this was allied a strong desire to promote education at every level. The splendid estate of 750 acres at Toloa, where Tupou College is now situated, would not have been acquired and developed but for his foresight and also his hard manual toil in planting the property.

Page preached in stirring idiomatic Tongan. He did not regard himself as a good preacher in English but a hard-bitten critic, Dr. J. W. Burton, declared that he could hardly remember any address of the same epic quality as Page gave to the New South Wales Conference Missionary Meeting in Sydney in 1933. But then Page's subject was the Tongan Church, its sufferings, its loyalty, its missionary exploits in Papua and the Solomons; and Page's strong emotions and his eloquence, with all the stops pulled out, were perfectly in tune with that theme. To see Page giving the sacramental elements to Tongan ministers and laymen at Conference was to realize the depths of his genuine feeling which probably no other European would have shown. He wept, and so did the Tongans kneeling at the communion

[1908 - 1946]

rail; he knew their weaknesses as well as their strengths; they knew he loved them 797
through everything.

Page devoted himself, year after year, to achieve reunion. He was diplomatic 797
in trying to conciliate Mr. Watkin and he did his best to co-operate with him. 795
In 1912 there was a severe hurricane in the northern islands; he went with
Watkin to urge the king to devote some of the Government's reserves to finding [731]
employment for people left destitute. Even when acting alone, he was always on [643]
the side of the Tongans. In 1910 he supported their cause against the British [648]
Consul of the day who, he said frankly, was "not the right type of representative
of Britain".(49)

He was willing to take risks of giving offence when reunion was his ultimate aim. In 1908 there was a suggestion that J. E. Moulton, Dr. Moulton's son, might return to take charge of the Church when Walkden Brown was leaving; Mr. Watkin gave his opinion that such an appointment would be unwelcome to Free Church people, and Page agreed. Again in 1910, Page discreetly opposed Moulton's coming as his colleague because he knew how the Free Church party disliked the very name.(50) Samuel Roberts, son of the old founding Principal of the Government College, a Methodist minister in New South Wales, expressed a wish to be a minister in the land of his youth and said he believed he could help the cause of reunion; but there was an objection from the Wesleyans to his coming. Page found it difficult to keep a balance but somehow he succeeded.

It would have been hard to find any Wesleyan leader in the Pacific who evoked greater loyalty than Page. Even if a colleague occasionally differed on a point of policy, he would not quarrel with Page. And this was not only because of the history of sordid disputes on the Mission staff in Tonga in the 19th Century. It was Page's personality which made others follow him gladly and work with him for the realization of his hopes for the Tongan people.

Queen Salote did not know Page very well until the union negotiations began 797
late in 1923. For more than twenty years afterwards she found in him a perfect 643
confidant. His intimate and extensive knowledge of the people was exceptional
among contemporary Europeans. As chaplain and unofficial adviser, he became
invaluable to the Queen. Always he showed discretion, for the record of political
interference by missionaries was a warning.

Page's wife died in September 1939, their only child was permanently in 797
Australia, and Page continued to serve alone in the land of his adoption. Serious
ill-health compelled him to leave in 1946 and, except for brief visits in 1947
and 1950, he did not see Tonga again. He died in Sydney on 2 July 1965, aged
86; at his request his ashes were interred in his wife's grave in Nuku'alofa.

Page may well be considered the architect of reunion. Nevertheless, the 797
proposals would not have been initiated without the Queen. It was her influence, 795
based on her conviction that reunion was imperative that healed — even 643
incompletely — the breach that had seemed irreparable for forty years.

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Footnotes:

(1) *The Persecutions in Tonga*, preface.
(2) *Tongan Papers*. N.L.C.
(3) Report of Brown and Fletcher, 1888, pp.9-10.
(4) Report, ibid, p.24.
(5) *Tongan Papers*. N.L.C.
(6) General Conference Minutes. 1888.
(7) *Christian Advocate and Wesleyan Record*, 26 May 1888; General Conference Minutes, 1888.
(8) *Appendix*, Mitchell Report, p.10.
(9) Report, Brown.
(10) Report, Brown, p.33.
(11) General Conference Minutes. 1890.
(12) Brown G., *Autobiography*, p.449.
(13) Brown, ibid, p.461.
(14) Watsford, J., *Glorious Gospel Triumphs*, p.252.
(15) Thurston to Lord Knutsford. F.O.C.P. 5783, No. 80, Enclosure 1; Rutherford, ibid, p.161.
(16) Langham to General Secretary, 8 September 1890. Catalogue 295. M.O.M.C.
(17) Thurston to Colonial Office, 28 August 1888.
(18) Thurston to Lord Knutsford. F.O.C.P. 5784, No. 80, Enclosure 1; Rutherford, ibid, p.161.
(19) Thurston to Colonial Office, 28 August 1888, 9 April 1889, W.P.H.C.; Scarr, *Fragments of Empire*, p.106.
(20) W.P.H.C., Suva; Leefe to Thurston, *Papers*, 128/1889.
(21) Tuku'aho to Thurston, 20 November 1890, W.P.H.C., 341/1889; Scarr, ibid, p.107.
(22) W.P.H.C. Dispatches to Secretary of State, 31 July 1890; Scarr, ibid, p.107.
(23) Brown, G., *Autobiography*, pp.450, 453.
(24) Thurston to Dr. Kelynack. Item 169. M.O.M.C.
(25) B.H.T., W.P.H.C. *Papers*, No. 276, par. 17, 1891, in *Memorandum on Tongan Affairs*.
(26) Thurston to Dr. Kelynack. Item 169. M.O.M.C.
(27) ibid.
(28) Cummins, H. G., *Sources of Tongan History*, pp.505-7.
(29) Thomson, B., *The Scene Changes*, pp.212, 220-3.
(30) Thomson, B., *Savage Island, an account of a sojourn in Niue and Tonga*, pp.216-7.
(31) Thomson, B., *The Scene Changes*, p.224.
(32) Tonga Government *Gazette*. 9 January 1891. N.L.C.
(33) Thurston to Knutsford, 16 February 1891. F.O. 58/260. N.L.C.
(34) Baker had become a Tongan citizen on 6 April 1881 (Records of the British Commissioner and Consul, Tonga: F.3/39. N.L.C.). It was during this visit to the U.S.A. that an LL.D. was claimed to have been conferred on him by an American University, but verification is lacking. [797] [645] [641] [563]
(35) Thurston to Knutsford, 16 February 1891. F.O. 58/260. N.L.C.
(36) *Book of Tongan Traditions*, The Palace, Nuku'alofa.
(37) Conference Minutes, 1898. F.W.C.
(38) Seddon, R. J., *Visit to Tonga, Fiji, Savage Island and Cook Island*, p.17.
(39) Seddon, ibid, p.18.
(40) *Seddon Papers*, New Zealand Archives, 60/73; Baker to Seddon, 4 September 1900.
(41) Seddon, ibid, p.21.
(42) *The Missionary Review*, June 1901.
(43) Thomson, B., *The Scene Changes*, p.204.
(44) Ross, A., *New Zealand's Aspirations in the Pacific in 19th Century*, p.282.
(45) Scarr, D., *Fragments of Empire*, p.110.
(46) Colonial Office, 225/67, footnote, 9 November 1904; Scarr, ibid, p.111.
(47) Gifford, *Tongan Society*, Bishop Museum, Bulletin 61, p.108.
(48) General Conference Minutes, 1913.
(49) Correspondence with Missionary Secretary, 10 December 1910. Catalogue 115. M.O.M.C.
(50) Correspondence, ibid, 28 May 1910.

[1920 - 1924]

> either of them to lay hands on sacred things . . . It is quite clear that there is a big 643
> difference between the kingdoms of this world and the Kingdom of God." (1)

In 1923 an audit of the Free Church's finances was carried out. Chiefs who 795 afterwards entered into union insisted on this. The audit disclosed that many accounts were missing and that there was no record of the annual missionary collections for 1920 and 1921. Paul Vi, Secretary of Conference, was alleged to have debited the Church with his personal expenses. Defalcations had occurred through many unauthorized loans. Some ministers had obtained goods on false pretences. The Queen, after this audit, wrote to Mr. Watkin, on 13 August 1923, informing him that many chiefs had complained to her about scandals in church administration. She said that the Privy Council had advised her that a clause in the Church's Constitution gave the sovereign authority to intervene in Church affairs and she had decided to call a meeting of chiefs and ministers which she asked him to attend.

From 10 to 14 September 1923 this meeting of Free Church ministers and chiefs was held at the Palace, the Queen presiding. After many charges were made by the chiefs against the administration of the Church the questions of reform and reunion were considered. Mr. Watkin agreed to restore the correct name of the Church, the Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga, and to enter into union negotiations with the Wesleyans. He promised to place these matters before the next church meeting, the Tongatapu Quarterly Meeting on 2 October. This Quarterly Meeting, attended by 500, unanimously resolved to accept the proper name of the Church and "to follow the Queen". Mr. Watkin reported the decision in those terms to the Queen. The specific point of reunion was not stated although "to follow the Queen" carried this implication.

On 19 October 1923, the Queen wrote to Page, as Chairman of the 795
Wesleyan Church: 797

> "I desire to establish again on a proper basis the Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga in 643 keeping with the wish of King George Tupou I. . . . It was clearly the intention of Tupou I that there should be but one Church in Tonga. The miscarriage of the plan was due to the extremely unfriendly relations between the two European gentlemen who, at that time, were the leaders of the Government and the Church respectively. It does not seem to me to be God's will that the two Churches holding the same doctrines should be so divided. The spiritual life of Tonga has been retarded by the division and ill-feeling, and the proof is the absence of any revival such as in the early days of the Church in Tonga." (2)

The Wesleyan Quarterly Meeting of Tongatapu on 19 December heartily accepted the Queen's letter.

Page seldom wrote to the Church authorities in Australia; he was sensitive 795
to possible interference, however well-intentioned. Now he felt that he had to give 797
"the fathers" some inkling of the possibility of reunion. They had such a limited understanding of the actual situation, not realizing that Australian participation in the negotiations would be an obstacle, that they suggested sending representatives from Australia to take part.(3) Page politely declined this offer. He also warned them that other denominations were waiting to benefit from what they expected to be the "disintegration" of the Free Church, especially after the death of the aged Mr. Watkin, whenever that might happen.(4)

Up to this stage — and later, at the crucially important committee meeting in February 1924 — Mr. Watkin had given his approval to the project of reunion. On 22 January, he wrote to the Queen:

> "We trust that the blessing of God will be on you in this great task of uniting your

[1924]

> people into one Church so that the two Churches will be one Church called the Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga."(5) 795 797

On the face of things all seemed favourable. Nevertheless, Watkin was vacillating and distrustful. In his heart he disliked and feared the reversal of the policy of separation, and when, at length, he openly opposed the proposal there were lamentable consequences, for himself and the people of the Churches.

On 11 February Watkin sent to the Queen a letter of resignation:

> "If you will allow me I will resign from the office as President of the Free Church. I informed you some days ago that I am now very old and not equal to the work, and I desire to retire if Your Majesty consents. . . . Your Majesty is aware that by the Constitution a year's notice is required, but if Your Majesty desires that I should retire at once let me know your wishes."(6)

As subsequent events showed, he did not stand by this resignation, just as he did not honour his engagements to enter into union.

The Queen convened a Joint Committee which met at the Palace on 20 and 21 February. It consisted of Watkin, six chiefs and six ministers from his Church, and Page with a similar number of Wesleyan representatives. The Constitution of 8 August 1885 was accepted, with the use of the correct name, "Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga". This Constitution, as "amended and adopted" by the Committee, was signed by the Queen as Chairman of the Joint Committee, by Mr. Watkin as "President of the Free Wesleyan Church", and Page as "Chairman of the Wesleyan Church", and also Tungi. At the foot of this document it was stated that — 795 797 643

> "The following resolutions are also agreed to:
> (1) Requesting affiliation with the General Conference of Australia.
> (2) Permitting the use of both old and new translations of the Bible in public worship." (This referred to the old translation by Thomas West, used in the Free Church, and Moulton's new translation.) [779]

The advantage of the link with Australia was recognized by the Committee as securing a supply of European ministers and teachers. This was repeatedly emphasized in the months that followed; the Free Church had no European ministers (except Watkin) and no teachers; the Wesleyans had both. It was agreed that the Queen should appoint the first President of the united church and appointments in following years would be by Conference election, with endorsement by the Queen. Regulations for the conduct of worship and for the holding of Church property by trustees were agreed upon. The Joint Committee decided that the first united Conference should be convened in the second week of April. Watkin confirmed this in a letter to the Queen on 24 February; afterwards, he spoke of delaying the Conference until July. [609] 795 797

Knowing the urgency of the situation, Page asked J. G. Wheen, Missionary Secretary, to get authority for the Wesleyan Church to enter immediately into union. He did this before the meeting of the Mission Board in February, and before the New South Wales Conference (to which the Tongan Wesleyan Church was attached) also met in February. He requested that the President-General himself would give general approval of the terms of union. Page felt he was justified in doing this, but some of the advisers of the President-General (Dr. E. H. Sugden) doubted whether the decision of the 1913 General Conference (see supra, page 212) was still operative. Finally, the President-General gave the approval that Page had desired. At the New South Wales Conference satisfaction with the prospects of reunion was shown in the fervent singing of the Doxology.

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[1924]

Some leaders thought that the President-General should go to Tonga to sanction 795
the union, but Page and his colleagues realized how inappropriate this would be. 797

Mr. Watkin was now adopting a completely obstructive attitude. On 22
March the Queen wrote to him about his interfering with the agreement to 643
exchange pulpits in the two Churches; the fact that such an exchange had never 795
occurred before indicated how real had been the separation. She wrote again to 797
Mr. Watkin, on 9 April, reminding him that he had promised to call the Free Church Conference in the second week of April and, so far, he had not done this. When no reply was forthcoming, she called upon him to resign from his position as President and Chaplain, and added that there would be a pension from the Government for his chaplaincy and also from the Church.

> "If [she wrote] with a willing heart you send your resignation you will receive a pension while you remain faithful to me and the Free Wesleyan Church." (7)

However, on 16 April, Mr. Watkin wrote withdrawing his previous letter of resignation, and stating,

> "I respectfully inform Your Majesty that I will certainly not resign from the position to which I was appointed by King George Tupou I and to that I hold." (8)

This was in answer to another letter from the Queen's Secretary, J. F. Tongilava, on the same date, 16 April, pointing out that he (Watkin) had not replied to the Queen's letter of 9 April and calling for his resignation "not later than 3 p.m. this day, April 16".

The aged President must have been acting on advice, but whose it is now 795
impossible to say. He had cancelled his agreement to union, because he would 797
not even tacitly admit that circumstances had changed and that union had become desirable. He had shown a strong aversion to Moulton's translation of the Scriptures and his hymns, although their use was to be left optional after union. He was, in actual fact, stirring up among his ministers the old animosities and the suspicions of affiliation with Australia, even though the documents showed that Tupou I had desired this.

Meanwhile, on 7 April, Page had reviewed the position in writing to J. G. Wheen:

> "At the meeting of the Joint Committee, Mr. Watkin voted for practically every motion, in fact I think there was only one motion that was not carried unanimously, and I had hoped there would be willing co-operation to achieve union but it has not been so. He has placed every obstruction in the way possible, and even gone so far as to ask his ministers to repudiate their vote which I am glad to say they declined to do — the first time in Free Church history that the ministers have dared to thwart his purpose. . . .
>
> "Without the Queen's zeal and statesmanship union would not have been possible. . . . The [643]
> Bible question was a burning question with Mr. Watkin and his Free Church folk. They [779]
> were desirous of prohibiting Moulton's translation; eventually we were able to induce them to accept the resolution permitting the use of both old and new translations in public worship and the use of both hymn-books. When Mr. Watkin dies, the opposition to the new translation will die; it is too much Moulton for his stomach." (9)

Finally, Mr. Watkin convened the Conference on 16 April, but nothing was done for a week while he was endeavouring to tamper with the loyalty of those ministers and chiefs who favoured union and who had already indicated this to the Queen.

The Queen's patience was now exhausted. On 22 April she attended the 643
Conference. After addressing the members she handed Mr. Watkin her letter of 795
dismissal. In this letter she wrote — 797

> "It is clear to me from the Constitution of our Church that the sovereign is head of the

[1924]

> Church, and also from the legal advice I have received; and therefore I am pleased to 795
> inform you that I shall attend this morning that we may meet in the Conference." (10) 797

In her address she reminded him of his letter of 11 February offering to resign, 643
an offer he had made known to the people. She outlined his breaches of the
agreements he had given at the Joint Committee of 20-21 February, and his efforts
to persuade ministers to withdraw their consent to union. She also gave a brief
review of the lack of control in the Church and its maladministration in recent
years. She reminded Mr. Watkin of her letters of 9 and 16 April, and added,

> "I have done my utmost to make things easy for you. . . . You have broken the appointment, together with some clauses of the Constitution. Therefore I declare that the appointment no longer holds and is annulled from the time at which you receive this letter and it shall be as if it never was." (11)

After Mr. Watkin had read the letter he said he would go home, and he walked out of Conference.

In the ballot which followed, Conference elected Setaleki Manu as President 795
and Kisi Taulani as Secretary. On the next day, 23 April, the roll-call of 797
ministers showed that some who supported Mr. Watkin had left the Conference.
The Minutes that day recorded, in answer to the question, "Who become
Supernumeraries?" "Mr. Watkin", with the compassionate addendum, "because of
age". The Minutes also declared that, as far as the ministers from Ha'apai were
concerned, "All of them have sailed for Ha'apai". That district became a strong [578]
centre of opposition to union. Altogether, seventeen ministers were informed of [793]
their dismissal because of their absence from Conference sessions.

Conference also called upon Mr. Watkin to attend and to answer charges of maladministration. This showed a new and unnecessary harshness. Nothing followed this demand but sympathy was beginning to appear for an aged minister who, it was said, had been summarily and unwarrantably dismissed by the Queen; Mr. Watkin's broken promises and obstructions were not known to many who rallied to his side. Conference, however, erred in this harsh resolution against the old President.

On the same day, 23 April, Mr. Watkin sent a letter to the Queen:

> "I will not relinquish this appointment, and if any strong measures are taken against me, I shall appeal to the British Consul for protection." (12)

His son-in-law, Mr. J. W. Masterton, was Acting Consul at the time, during the absence of Mr. Islay McOwan on furlough. At no time was there any evidence of "strong measures" against Mr. Watkin.

Conference, through the Secretary, Kisi Taulani, wrote to Mr. Watkin —

> "Conference has decided that Mr. Watkin has vacated his position and Setaleki Manu has been elected President. Setaleki and the ministers and representatives send their respects to you and trust you will be agreeable to the resolutions of the Conference and deliver the office and the key of the safe." (13)

This was the action of ministers and laymen who had never before given anything but unquestioning obedience to Mr. Watkin's decisions. He refused to deliver the keys.

Mr. Watkin wrote to Mr. Masterton (on 23 April) —

> "I have received a letter from the Conference with a demand that I must give up all belongings to the Church without delay. So I request your advice and protection as British Consul — as I am a British subject. Yours respectfully, J. B. Watkin." (14)

There is no indication of any action taken in response to this letter.

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[1924]

On 28 April Conference agreed to the Constitution of 8 August 1885, and 795
voted in favour of union and of affiliation with the General Conference. The total 797
number of ministers dismissed was now 25, most of them for leaving the 793
Conference. Two were dismissed for misappropriating money in their circuits. Twelve new ministers were appointed, and all probationers were raised to full status. None of these had received any theological training; and such an accession of numerical strength blocked the path of any new candidates for the ministry for several years.

On 7 May the Wesleyan Synod (District Meeting) agreed to enter into union. 795
This meant the legal extinction of the Wesleyan Church and the absorption of its 797
members and property by the Free Wesleyan Church. A few Wesleyans were reluctant to unite; some older members found it hard to forget the days of persecution, and others were proud of their training and experience (the elitism which had proved a rock of offence in the earlier years of Tupou College). Page effectively used his persuasive powers and unanimity was reached.

During these confusing days an official authorization came from Australia, over the signature of Dr. Sugden, President-General:

> "I hereby agree to, and authorize, the union of the Methodist Church in Tonga and the Free Church of Tonga and to the Constitution of the United Church in Tonga as a separate Annual Conference, associated with and a part of the Methodist Church of Australasia."

These phrases, which seemed natural to Church leaders in Australia, gave concern to the advocates of reunion in Tonga where the nature of the link with Australia was a matter of contention and called for careful explanation. Dr. Sugden added,

> "For the present, the Constitution of the Annual Conference of Tonga shall be upon the basis arrived at by the Joint Committee in Tonga, provided that the Constitution shall be subject to such readjustments by the General Conference as may be necessary to bring it into harmony with the Constitution, Laws and Regulations of the Methodist Church of Australasia, all such readjustments to have been previously submitted to the Annual Conference in Tonga." (15)

When Page received this formidable authorization, he perceived the dangers. He cabled to Dr. Sugden:

> "Litigation pending. Will you assure that adjustments Tonga Constitution as stated in authorization to harmonize with Methodist law must not only be submitted to but approved by the Tonga Conference. Also General Conference will not pass laws affecting Tonga to which the Tonga Conference does not consent."

The reply stating that Tonga would have the full powers of an Annual Conference was too general to be helpful in the court actions that ensued. A strict legalism in the minds of J. G. Wheen and other leaders hindered their imagination; clearly they should have agreed to accept whatever the united church in Tonga decided. Their rigidity was the more regrettable because, actually, the General Conference, neither then nor since, has ever passed any resolution or made any law contrary to the will of the Tonga Conference. Every law and every amendment to its Constitution, passed by the Tonga Conference, has been accepted by General Conference without question since the day when reunion was effected in Tonga fifty years ago.

The united Conference met on 21 May. The Queen was in attendance, 795
together with Setaleki Manu, Kisi Taulani, seventeen other ministers, and 15 lay representatives. The Wesleyans entered the Conference that day — Page and three other European ministers, 14 Tongan ministers and 10 lay representatives. These

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
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[1925-1926]

Furthermore, the old rivalry between the Government College (the stronghold of the Free Church throughout 795 its history) and Tupou College had much to do with the divided Church. Then, [578] too, the Free Church ministers who refused to unite wanted to keep their positions [173] and privileges, and this feeling became stronger as years went by. [643]

It said volumes for the Queen's restraint and fairness that, although she 795 must have been grieved by the non-fulfilment of her desires, this did not affect 578 her outwardly. She continued to show the same regard for those who opposed 643 her wishes as for those who had followed her in the united Church.

The 1925 Conference elected Page President, a position to which he was 795 re-elected every year afterwards without question. The Secretary of Conference in 1925 was John Havea, senior tutor at Tupou College, and a conspicuous example of the reconciling spirit that had brought the Wesleyans into union; he was re-elected to that position until his death in March 1942.

When forwarding a copy of the Constitution of the Church to the President- 795 General on 18 February 1925, Page referred to the 643

> "mode of election of the President of the Tongan Conference. It will be seen that provision has been made for the exercise of the royal prerogative. While this is a departure from Methodist custom we feel that it is a necessary safeguard, the value of which can be appreciated only by those with a knowledge of existing circumstances in Tonga." (1)

Page was sincere in this belief and he could give reasons for "the royal prerogative" in the early days of union. Since then it has been difficult to see justification for a departure from the theological principle of "the Crown Rights of the Redeemer" in the Church.

Page's fear of another development which did not materialize appeared in his 795 letter to the ex-President-General, Dr. A. McCallum (29 June 1925):

> "The non-unionists still continue their existence as a Church. After Mr. Watkin's death, they appointed an Anglican lay reader to the position of President. This man had been sent here by the Bishop of Polynesia to open a school for European children. . . . I admit that I have always been a little sceptical about the reason stated for his coming, due to a remark made by an Anglican archdeacon while on a visit to Tonga. This archdeacon stated that it was very evident that the Free Church would go to pieces on Mr. Watkin's death and that it was advisable for them to be established in time and that he would bring the matter before the Bishop while in Suva. . . . There is an effort being made to induce these non-unionists to join the Anglican Church." (2)

The Free Church followers who opposed union did not long continue as one body. Within two years there was a further division. One section, with its strength mainly in Ha'apai, separated and called itself simply "The Church of Tonga"; it was often called "The Church of the Chiefs" because its leader was Finau 'Ulukalala. The other section, the larger of the two, kept the name, "Free Church of Tonga". Both of these have had Tongan Presidents ever since they separated.

The General Conference of 1926, held in Brisbane, was not attended by any representative from Tonga, but the constitution of the Free Wesleyan Church was approved without any amendment.

The year 1926 was marked by the observance of the Centenary. The coming 797 of John Thomas in 1826 was taken officially as the beginning of the evangelization of Tonga. In this there was no reflection upon the work of the London Missionary Society, nor upon Walter Lawry in 1822-3, but rather a recognition of the continuous work begun by John Thomas whose name had become a legend among the Tongans. Visitors from Australia, New Zealand, and Fiji, including J. G.

[1921-1952]

Wheen, now President-General, were welcomed to the celebrations which lasted 797
several weeks.

It was hoped that the Centenary would remove any consciousness of 795
differences within the united Church and even soften the hearts of those who had
refused to join it. Undoubtedly, there was a fulfilment of the first desire. A very emotional outburst of religious fervour and Christian love indicated this. The revival (as it seemed to be) began in January 1926 in the village of Koulo in Ha'apai. Like the Pentecostal experiences in Vava'u in 1834 it spread very quickly through the whole of Tonga. "The love has fallen" upon the Church, the people said, and any friction within the united Church disappeared. The second desire, that there would be a movement towards completing union, failed entirely; the Centenary celebrations left untouched those who were opposed to union.

It was intended that a Centenary Church in Nuku'alofa should be the most 368
demonstrative memorial. The site on historic Zion Hill where the old Wesleyan 346
Church had stood was too small for the very large building now planned. Financial difficulties, with the economic depression and then the Second World War, caused repeated delays with this project; and it was not until 1952 that the imposing Centenary Church, seating over 2,000, was built.

Some of the financial difficulties in the Church arose from the pressure of 795
chiefs who expected the Church to retain their favour by making loans to them. 426
This practice had been widely followed before union in 1924 and it proved 565
difficult to reverse it suddenly. This illustrated another problem in a "chiefly 622
Church".

It was not only at the highest national level that deference to the chief could 795
cause a weakness in the Church. At the local level the ministers were sometimes 622
brought into conflict with the chiefs' authority. It was traditional for the people 565
to follow a chief's decision. When moral and spiritual issues were concerned and when a chief thought little of the standards of the Church it was difficult for a minister in the village to oppose him. For example, he might countenance alcohol or gambling or he might expect his wishes regarding church property or money to be obeyed. In all such cases it required a strong personality in a Tongan minister to uphold both moral principles and strict church procedures against a chief.

Better education, general and religious, for chiefs and people, and better 795
theological training for the ministry, were needed to strengthen the Church's 871
character and influence. In the forty years of division in Tonga educational progress was hindered not only by the limited resources of the Wesleyan Church but by the continuing rivalry between Church and Government, aggravated by the old differences between the Wesleyans and the Free Church, the latter supported by the Government system of education.

Reunion led to new opportunities in education. Before reunion Tupou College 795
had waned greatly in numbers. It had continued to use Tongan as its medium, 873
with the large amount of literature translated by Moulton. However, the growing [191]
need for English was recognized by the establishing of a new section with this objective; this was built in 1921 at Nafualu, four miles west of Nuku'alofa. At first it had only 20 students, with the brilliant historian-anthropologist, Dr. E. E. V. Collocott, as Principal; he retired early in 1924. The school grew to 104 in 1928. The girls' section, soon to be called Queen Salote College (in honour of George

[1927- 1934]

Tupou I's Queen), had 48 students in 1928 and increased steadily afterwards, 795
under the direction of Miss Gwen Blamires and, later, Mrs. M. E. Thompson. 873
The Primary School in Nuku'alofa had 288 pupils in 1927 and was the largest 872
school of any kind in Tonga at that time.

A Government scholarship scheme from 1929 enabled some students from 658
any secondary school to enter Newington College, Sydney; and others went to
the Central Medical School in Suva which had been established by the Rockefeller
Foundation, with support from various Pacific Islands Governments. In 1928 873
Tupou College, Nafualu, sent to tour Australia a choir of 30 boys, including the 484
present king; a second, smaller choir toured the Australian States from December
1932 to April 1933.

In 1931 an Education Commission, appointed by the Government, 658
recommended a division in secondary education — Tupou College to train future
teachers and the Government College to concentrate on agricultural and technical
education. It advised also that primary education should be left to the Missions,
with Government subsidies. Because of party feeling, along Church and College
lines, these recommendations lapsed.

For Page it was regrettable that the world-wide depression of 1929 and 795
following years, with the very low price of Tonga's staple product, copra, gravely [935]
limited the Church's expansion. The Nuku'alofa church could not be built. Money
could not be found for educational progress. The European ministers voluntarily 795
took a percentage reduction in stipends. The teachers in Free Wesleyan schools did 465
even more; some went month after month with no salaries and no complaints. A [793]
widowed Australian teacher, Mrs. M. E. Thompson, in charge of Queen Salote [563]
College and, afterwards, Siu'ilikutapu College, Vava'u, took no salary for a [875]
considerable part of her term of 22 years. From 1934 the Mission Board decided [797]
to pay the salaries of the European staff, not only as a relief to the Tongan Church,
but to honour the principle that European workers were a gift from Australia to the
indigenous Church. This action also rebutted any criticism from the seceding
Churches that the cost of European staff was an obstacle to reunion. Page, who
bore the brunt of post-union problems, waited for eleven years to take furlough.

By 1938 the Free Wesleyan Church had 25 primary schools with 2,266 795
pupils; with no grants, the buildings were inadequate and the teachers' salaries 872
very low. The inequality of poll-tax assessments for students sixteen years and 877
over had been a bone of contention since the Government College students had 651
always been granted a concession of half-tax; partisanship delayed the granting
of equal concessions to all College students until 1932.

Theological training for ministerial candidates waited until 1933 because 793
of the surplus of ministers after union. The first theological students were 879
accommodated at a wing of Tupou College, Nafualu; they were nine in number
and included Sau Faupula, who became the first minister in the Pacific Islands to
gain the Diploma of Licentiate in Theology, Melbourne College of Divinity.

• • • •

Changes in church procedure and in forms of worship came slowly, through 795
the conservatism of the people who feared to depart from the practices of the
early missionaries, and often through the opposition of the chiefs. The question 291
of allowing preachers to wear the Tongan skirt *(vala)* was debated for some years. 793

[1942-1952]

suddenly of a heart attack. His great-great-grandfather was Fatu with whom 644
Walter Lawry stayed in 1822-3. His great-grandfather was 'Ulakai, the first convert
of the two Tahitian teachers in 1826. In Church and State Tungi stood loyally
beside the Queen with sound advice and unwavering integrity. He was beloved
of his people in the Mu'a district, being generous in his allocation of land. Always [349]
a leader among old students of Tupou College, he was honoured by them in the [873]
erection of the Tungi Mailefihi Memorial Building at Toloa in 1957.

Before the war, Tupou College had grown to 400 students and Queen Salote 873
College to 170, all being boarders. In 1947 the boys were removed from Nafualu
to Toloa, near Fua'amotu, 14 miles south-east of Nuku'alofa, for the sake of
more gardening land; the enrolment grew to 700 in post-war years. Day girls were
admitted to Queen Salote College until the number grew to 750; this school has
an outstanding reputation for both academic and domestic training, as well as
participation in national dances on important occasions. In 1949 middle schools
were formed in various centres; this avoided overcrowding at the Colleges and
improved the standards in Ha'apai, Vava'u and other places. The financial burden [795]
on the Church continued to grow heavier, even though, for instance, the head [465]
teacher in a Church school had only the same salary as a beginner on a
Government school staff. The women of the Church in Australia gave some help, [797]
for example, with the building of the dormitory for 200 girls at Siu'ilikutapu
College in Vava'u.

After the removal of Tupou College to Toloa, the property at Nafualu was 874
used, from 1948 onwards, as a combined Theological College and Bible College,
the latter for church stewards who were virtually assistant pastors in smaller
villages. The Queen gave it a new name, Sia'atoutai, the place where nets are [103]
prepared for fishing. From 30 the number grew in 1970 to 126, with six young
women training as deaconesses. The Rev. R. A. W. Woodgate was most successful
in preparing students for the L.Th. examinations in 1951-61. By 1961 seven had
gained the L.Th. at Sia'atoutai. After 1965 all L.Th. subjects were taught by
Tongan teachers.

As the long-delayed project of building the Centenary Church finally 346
developed, it was necessary to remove the building erected by the old Free Church
in 1888. Accommodating 800, it was an excellent example of Tongan architecture.
The large roof and supports were moved as one unit, mounted on two motor-trucks
and 24 carts, with hundreds of willing helpers. What seemed the impossible feat
of transporting this heavy structure intact more than 300 yards was accomplished
in the presence of the Queen.

The new concrete church took almost three years to erect. It is 184 feet by
70 feet, with an imposing clock-tower, the largest church in the South Pacific,
seating over 2,000. The architect was Mr. W. C. Brown and the foreman of works,
Mr. R. L. Pearson, both of Sydney; the Tongan foreman was Amini Fonua. Much
of the work was done voluntarily by church people. The actual cost was £40,000. [435]
On 27 September 1952 it was opened by the Queen and dedicated by the visiting
ex-President-General, Dr. H. G. Secomb.

On the whole, the Free Wesleyan Church may well feel that it has benefited 795
greatly from royal approval and encouragement. The Queen was always whole- 643
heartedly involved in the faith and witness of the Church at every level. This
was much more important than the exercise of her constitutional prerogative of
approving the election of the President of Conference each year. Whether the

[1926 - 1975]

unemployment and an increase in crime have followed. In the two years, from 161
1966 to 1968, there was an increase of 46% in juvenile crime. It was estimated 162
in 1968 that there would be 11,000 youths leaving school in the following ten [674]
years, with only 1,400 jobs available for them in Government, commerce and [464]
industry — and no gardening land for a large proportion of them.

In 1975 it is estimated that about one-half of the taxpayers have no land 162
in spite of their legal entitlement. Because of the social and economic consequences 423
of this disturbing situation the Methodist General Conference in Sydney in May [797] ●
1975 expressed its sympathetic concern to the people of Tonga.

Migration to New Zealand, California, Hawaii, and elsewhere, has grown 167
considerably but has done little to mitigate the population problem. Many of the 184
large number of Tongans educated overseas return to find a social and cultural 464
gap as well as difficulty in gaining suitable employment. Tourism has given 457
limited relief, in the sale of artifacts as well as fruit and vegetables. Against this 177
are ill-effects arising from contact with the undesirable types of tourists.

Faced with economic conditions which affect the people's moral and religious 795
well-being, the Church has had to re-assess its own situation and its impact on
the community. It has failed to increase in proportion to the growth of population. 795
In 1926 the Free Wesleyan Church was 59%, in 1956 49.75%, in 1966 49.85%. 162
The Mormons who were 2.3% in 1931 were 7.15% in 1966. In 1966 the Roman
Catholics were 15.9%, the Free Church 14.3%, Church of Tonga 8.9%, Seventh
Day Adventists 1.08%. New sects, including Pentecostalists, Jehovah's Witnesses
and Baha'i, have entered the country.

The Free Wesleyan Church finds some satisfaction in the quality of its 795
ministry and in the development of its organization. In 1970 it had 13 ministers 793
with L.Th. diplomas, three with Diplomas in Religious Education (Melbourne
College of Divinity), one Bachelor of Arts, two Bachelors of Divinity, one Doctor
of Divinity. The Pacific Theological College in Suva, for advanced theological
education, is supported by the Free Wesleyan Church and other Churches in many
Pacific Islands groups. Greater attention has been given to improved organization 795
and literature for Sunday Schools and youth groups. The Friendly Islands [444]
Bookshop was established in 1973 through the initiative of the Connexional [212]
Secretary, John M. Connan, B.Sc., B.D., to provide more material in English
and Tongan for a people increasingly capable of benefiting from good literature.

At the local level religion still plays a major part in the Tongans' family and [771]
community life. The teachings and methods of the early missionaries have been continued, with the opportunities these have provided for singing, extemporaneous prayer and testimony in the services and "class meetings" that suit the Tongans' temperament. New forms, especially for young people, such as the Christian Endeavour Society, have been added. The three Churches which have sprung from the Wesleyan stock have generally followed the same pattern. What is distressing is the spectacle of division in even small villages. Two, and sometimes three, congregations worship simultaneously and not far apart from each other, using similar hymns and forms of worship, proclaiming the same doctrines, observing the same procedures — early Sunday morning prayer-meeting, two Sunday services, Sunday School, mid-week service, mid-week prayer meetings, "class meetings" for members, and the ever-popular choir practices. In many villages in recent years the rivalry has been worsened by the presence of other denominations also, with a total of five, six or more in some villages.

[1951 - 1972]

In June 1968, the centenary of Tupou College was observed; it had been 873
postponed from 1966 because of the Queen's death, the period of mourning, and [643]
the coronation celebrations. There were 10,000 present at the final service at [765]
Toloa, the present location of the College. Another feature was the singing of [533]
Handel's oratorio "The Messiah" by a massed choir of 2,000, formed by village
choirs from all districts, at the Centenary Church, Nuku'alofa. The entire oratorio
was sung from memory and with great eclat.

The development of practical teaching in agriculture and in animal husbandry 874
at Tupou College has made it almost self-supporting. A new science block and [797]
a technical wing have enlarged the usefulness of the College; these were supported
by "The Methodist Million" fund in Australia and the benevolence of the late
Lord Rank in England. The new Hango Agricultural College on the island of
'Eua, opened by the king in 1969, with a property of 420 acres, is designed to
emulate the success of Navuso, the Methodist Agricultural School in Fiji. The 873
value of Tupou High School, established in 1963 for higher academic studies, was
seen when in 1965 the first of its students qualified to matriculate at Melbourne
University; this was the first case of matriculation from a school in Tonga.

The contribution of the Churches to secondary education is revealed by the 795
fact that over 50% of the secondary school students in Tonga are now being 873
educated by the Free Wesleyan Church, about 40% by other Churches, and only
10% in Government secondary schools. In 1972 the Free Wesleyan Church had
2,990 students in six colleges, 2,000 in twenty-one middle schools, 3,999 in 29
primary schools. Other Churches have expanded their educational facilities; the
Mormon College was developed with an expenditure of $4,000,000 in five years
and has reached an enrolment of 1,200 co-educational pupils.

An encouraging instance of better inter-church relationships is the friendliness 795
with the Roman Catholic Church. This has been inspired by the world-wide
influence of the late Pope John XXIII. Agreement was reached regarding a new
translation of the Bible. A noted missionary-linguist, the late Dr. Maxwell [779]
Churchward, who produced, first, a new Grammar and Dictionary for the
Government, revised the New Testament between 1951 and 1961. In August
1962 the two Churches agreed to accept this and to revise the Old Testament
also. The Roman Catholic Church asked for only four words to be spelt according
to its custom (Jesus, Mary, Joseph, and grace). Dr. John 'Amanaki Havea was
commissioned in 1965 to conduct the whole revision. So amicable is the [796]
relationship between the two Churches that in 1972 a choir of 1,000 Free
Wesleyans took part in the service of consecrating a Tongan priest to be the first [793]
Tongan-born Roman Catholic bishop. The Tongan Council of Churches,
established in 1973 (under the auspices of the World Council of Churches),
consists of the Free Wesleyan Church, the Roman Catholic Church, and the
Church of England. The Free Church and the Church of Tonga have not become
members of the Council of Churches.

The Church has felt itself fortunate in the quality of overseas ministers and 793
teachers who have served in Tonga in this century. A full list appears in the 797
appendix. Special reference is made to the following:—

Ernest E. V. Collocott, M.A., B.D., Litt.D., served in Ha'apai, and also as Principal of Tupou College, beginning the new section at Nafualu with English as the medium. His published works in Tongan history and anthropology were accepted in the Bishop Museum, Honolulu, and other learned societies.

Arthur M. Sanders, an Englishman, hearty and dependable, served for 793
thirteen years at Vava'u. A forceful preacher, he possessed a magnificent speaking 797
and singing voice.

Charles Moore, another Englishman, gave eight unbroken years most conscientiously to an appreciative people in Ha'apai and Vava'u.

George Harris, M.A., 1926-34, returned in 1961 and finished his ministry as President of the Tonga Conference until his retirement in 1969. His faithful leadership was of outstanding quality.

Cecil F. Gribble, M.A., Dip.Ed., was Principal of Tupou College for three [873]
years and was then asked by the Government to become Director of Education; he
placed teacher-training in all schools on a new basis before returning to Australia [871]
where he became General Secretary for Overseas Missions.

Alfred E. McKay, B.A., B.D., succeeded Mr. Page as President of Conference in 1947. In a total term of sixteen years he proved an efficient and careful administrator.

Kenneth Grove, B.A., served in Vava'u for eleven years, dying very shortly after leaving Tonga in 1958.

Ronald A. W. Woodgate, B.A., B.D., B.Ed., was fourteen years in Tonga at Tupou College and the Theological College. His outstanding successes in preparing students for the L.Th. examination at Sia'atoutai have been mentioned.

Howard W. Secomb, B.A., Dip.Ed., served for fourteen years, including twelve as Principal of Tupou College, Toloa, in a period of expansion; he was supported by his wife, born in a missionary family in Tonga; her knowledge of Tongan life and understanding of the people provided a liaison between the missionaries and the Tongans not often found in mission situations.

Eben E. V. Newman, B.A., B.D., B.Litt.; John Sutton, B.A.; H. Paul K. Trigge, B.Sc., B.D.; Justin J. Gooderham, B.A., and H. Geoffrey Cummins, B.A., were among the many ministers conspicuous in educational work in recent years; Mr. Cummins achieved many matriculation successes in Tonga at the newly-formed Tupou High School.

Mrs. M. E. Thompson for 22 years toiled faithfully at Queen Salote College and Siu'ilikutapu College, Vava'u.

Miss D. Rowlands, B.A., had the record of 25 years as Principal of Queen
Salote College. She was responsible for developments which made her school not [873]
only the largest but the most influential girls' school in Tonga.

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[1891-1960]

assisted Dr. Moulton in translation work in 1904 in Sydney and was ordained 793
that year by the New South Wales Conference. Later, he collaborated with Dr. 795
Collocott in writing *Proverbial Sayings of the Tongans* and other contributions to [113]
anthropological research. He had a most beneficial influence on the hundreds of
students who passed under his care; among these were Prince Tungi, and his sons, [815]
the present king and the premier. And what more shall be said of William Tupou, Methuselah Talakai, Charles Napa'a, and many other heroic souls who moulded and guided the Church during difficult days?

Sau Faupula, L.Th., by general consent, was the outstanding minister of his generation. Those qualified to evaluate his work have considered that no Pacific Islands minister surpassed him in dedication and in qualities of leadership. His great-grandfather, John Faupula, was the first convert in Fiji, who would have succeeded to the chieftainship in the Lau group but was forced to flee to Tonga.
His son Kebuel and his grandson Robert, Sau's father, were ministers. Sau's son, [797]
Harold, is a missionary in Arnhem Land, North Australia.

Sau entered Tupou College, Nafualu, in 1925, eventually becoming dux and a teacher there in 1929. With his full teaching programme and his gardening tasks he still studied for the L.Th. and, in November 1933, completed the course, including New Testament Greek and the Latin Vulgate, being the first Pacific Islander to gain the L.Th. Diploma. He was one of the first Pacific Islands deputations to Australia in 1934. He was a representative to General Conference in 1948, 1954 and 1960. On the morning after the 1960 General Conference ended, on 27 May, he died suddenly from a heart attack. He had been the first director of the Young People's Department and also Secretary of Conference for 14 years. By his eloquence and forcefulness he exerted a powerful influence through his preaching in churches and in the open air. His transparent sincerity and consistency of life underlined his utterances. It was recognized that his loss to the Tongan Church was irreparable and, even now, his contemporaries wistfully exclaim, "If only Sau were still with us!"

The supply of Tongan ministers and teachers for Overseas Missions never 797
faltered. When the Mission in Papua (Islands Region) was begun in 1891, John Kuli became renowned both for his preaching and his skill as a navigator; in an enthusiastic meeting at Nuku'alofa in 1910 he offered to return, but he was far too old. After the Mission in the Solomon Islands was established in 1902, James Nau, with a Samoan colleague, Pologa, showed conspicuous devotion when waiting in an exposed dinghy off an island in the Ontong Java atolls for thirteen weeks until the people ceased their opposition and allowed the teachers to land. Another faithful missionary was Paul Havea, eldest son of John Havea, who served for many years in the Solomons, including the years of Japanese occupation in the Second World War. A younger John Taufa (now Bishop in the United Church of Papua, New Guinea and the Solomons) and Daniel Palavi have laboured in Bougainville and Vella Lavella, Solomons, for nearly twenty years.

Jonathan Meleke and Ezekiel Hau'ofa went to Papua in 1937; they rallied their people during the confusion of war when overseas missionaries had been withdrawn by Government orders. Hau'ofa continued for 33 years in much isolation that called for special responsibility. Meleke died in 1944. Another devoted missionary in Papua, David Mone, said of Meleke, "I was jealous of Meleke, jealous of his goodness". David Mone, L.Th., was a strong leader, both in Papua during the war years, and afterwards as a pioneer in the Lai Valley in

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[1924 - 1972]

the Papua-New Guinea Highlands. John Fiusati, L.Th., also a missionary in the 797
Highlands, like Mone, died soon after returning to Tonga.

The Church in Tonga has received wholehearted support from distinguished 794
lay members of Conference who placed the interests of the Church first always in 795
their objectives. Among these were Solomon Ata, who succeeded Prince Tungi as Premier, Moulton Finau Fisi'ihoi, lawyer and veteran member of Parliament, John Phillip Tongilava, the Queen's Secretary for more than thirty years, William Mataka 'Umufuke and Jonathan Tupou, prominent civil servants, all now deceased.

Two of the leaders today typify the dedication of the Church to its tasks. 795
The Secretary of Conference is Siupeli Taliai, B.A., Dip.Ed., L.Th., still a [873]
comparatively young man, and first Tongan to be Principal of Tupou College
with its enrolment of 700. Unusually energetic and forthright in religious and [771]
educational affairs alike, he insists on challenging the people always to obey the one Master, Jesus Christ, whose will should determine the course Tonga is setting — in family life, in the church and the nation.

The President of Conference since 1970 is John 'Amanaki Havea, B.D., of Drew Theological Seminary, U.S.A. and Doctor of Divinity (St. Paul's University, Tokyo). Son of the saintly John Havea, brother of Paul Havea of the Solomons, he breathes the same spirit of complete devotion. Except for Setaleki Manu, President for the year of reunion, 1924, 'Amanaki is the first Tongan President. He was also the first Tongan Principal of Sia'atoutai Theological College. He was chosen Chairman of the first Conference of Pacific Churches in 1960 and held that office until 1971. In 1972 he was elected one of the eight Presidents of the World Methodist Council, the only representative on the presidium from Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific Islands. His sagacity and his wide experience have won him the respect and esteem of his own people.

'Amanaki and Siupeli are the third generation of ministers in their families. Sau Faupula was the fourth in his family line. No Church shows more clearly than the Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga the influence of the families of ministers from whom one generation after another has drawn its Church leaders. So the goodly succession runs. In such leadership and with the people's response lies the hope of the Church for the future.

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(1) Luke, H., *Queen Salote and Her Kingdom*, p.77. [113]

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LIST OF MISSIONARIES (MINISTERIAL)

Walter Lawry	1822-23
John Thomas	1826-50, 55-59
John Hutchinson	1826-28
Nathaniel Turner	1827-31
William Cross	1827-35
Peter Turner	1831-35, 39-53
James Watkin	1831-37
William Woon	1831-33
John Hobbs	1831-37
Charles Tucker	1833-41
David Cargill	1834-35, 42-43
William Brooks	1836-40
John Spinney	1836-39
Stephen Rabone	1836-50
Matthew Wilson	1836, 39-54
Thomas Wellard	1836
Richard Burdsall Lyth, M.D.	1838-39
Francis Wilson	1840-46
George Kevern	1840-46
William Webb	1841-53
George R. H. Miller	1843-53
Thomas West	1846-55
Joel Bate	1846-47
Thomas Adams	1847-60
George Daniel	1847-56
Walter J. Davis	1848-56, 61-66
Richard Amos	1847-58
John Vercoe	1854-60
John Whewell	1855-65
George Lee	1857-68
Martin Dyson	1857, 65-68
William G. R. Stephinson	1858-70
William Hill	1859-60
Joseph T. Shaw	1860
Shirley W. Baker	1860-81
John Clifton	1861-64
Frank Firth	1862-64
James Egan Moulton, D.D.	1865-88, 95-1905
Jabez Bunting Watkin	1866-85
George Minns	1867-75, 78-81
William T. Rabone	1867-74
James W. Wallis	1867-68 797
David S. Wylie	1869-71
Henry Greenwood	1869-74
James Thomas	1871-76
Charles Sanders	1874
Henry C. Oldmeadow	1876-84
Ebenezer Fox	1876-77
Ernest E. Crosby	1884-91
George Brown, D.D.	1888-90
Charles E. James	1889
James A. Bowring	1890-95
James Egan Moulton, B.A.	1896-1902
Charles P. Walkden Brown	1903-08
Rodger C. G. Page	1908-47
Ernest E. V. Collocott, M.A., B.D., Litt.D.	1911-24
Arthur M. Sanders	1914-27
Harold F. Allen	1921-22
Charles M. Moore	1923-31
A. Harold Wood, M.A., D.D.,	1924-37
George C. Harris, M.A.	1926-34, 62-69
Edwin G. Harris, B.A.	1928-39
Walter Shepherd, B.A., B.D.,	1936-38
Cecil F. Gribble, M.A.	1939-46
Alfred E. McKay, B.A., B.D.	1940-56
Eben. E. V. Newman, B.A., B.D., B.Litt.	1943-48
John Churchill	1945-48
Kenneth D. Grove, B.A., B.D.	1946-58
Ronald A. W. Woodgate, B.A., B.D., B.Ed.	1947-60
Howard W. Secomb, B.A.	1949-63
Colin J. Harkness	1953-60
John Sutton, B.A.	1960-67
H. Paul K. Triggs, B.Sc., B.D.	1963-68
Noel J. Kentish	1965-66
H. Geoffrey Cummins, B.A.	1966-73
Justin J. Gooderham, B.A.	1966-71
Clive R. Skewes, B.A.	1967-74
Robin A. Nance, B.Sc.Agr., B.D.	1970-
John M. Connan, B.Sc., B.D.	1971-

CHAIRMEN OF DISTRICT

Nathaniel Turner	1827-31
John Thomas	1831-50, 56-57
Peter Turner	1850-53
Thomas Adams	1853-55, 57-60
Walter J. Davis	1861-67
George Lee	1867-69
Shirley W. Baker	1870-79 795
Jabez Bunting Watkin	1880-81 797
James E. Moulton, D.D.	1881-88, 95-1905
James A. Bowring	1892-95
Charles P. Walkden Brown	1906-08
Rodger C. G. Page	1908-25

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PRESIDENTS OF CONFERENCE

795

Jabez Bunting Watkin	1885-1924
Setaleki Manu	1924-25
Rodger C. G. Page	1925-47
Alfred E. McKay, B.A., B.D.	1947-56
Ronald A. W. Woodgate, B.A., B.D., B.Ed.	1956-60
Howard W. Secomb, B.A.	1961-63
George R. Harris, B.A.	1963-69
Justin J. Gooderham, B.A.	1969-70
John 'Amanaki Havea, D.D.	1970-

LAY MISSIONARIES

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Frank R. Green	1948-51
J. Claude Thomas	1952-58
John W. Norman, B.A., B.D., B.Ed.	1963-66
Ian W. Harris	1967-
Geoffrey L. Hocking, B.Sc.	1969-71
Colin J. Cumming	1969-71
Nigel N. H. Statham	1970-
Robert W. Springett	1970-75

MISSIONARY SISTERS AND TEACHERS

Lena Bennett	1911-14
Lizzie G. Curwood	1921-24
Doris Barber (Mrs. Smith)	1922-24
Gwen Cole (Mrs. Moore)	1923-24
Gwen Blamires (Mrs. Peterson)	1926-33, 63
Ruth Fabrin (Mrs. Harris)	1926
Beryl Grigg	1925-26
Mavis Cannam	1925-26
Eunice Bowden	1926-29
Irene P. Knight	1926-28, 46-51
Dorothy Ferguson	1927-29
Marjorie Harford	1927-32
Hazel Gaulton	1929-32
Mary E. Thompson	1932-47, 53-59
Dilys Rowlands	1945-68, 70
Neeta Garrad	1954-57
Joan Collins	1956-64
Glennis Leach	1957-64
Muriel Snell	1958-61
Beryl Weston	1959-70
Solway Love, B.A.	1965
Glenys Crothers	1969-70
Janette Maddox, B.A.	1970-74
Jennifer Harkness	1972-73
Patricia Meldrum	1973-
Barbara Pott, B.A.	1974-

Western framework. Scarr has pointed out that Tongans were advised in 642
the 19th century that, if Tonga wanted to avoid being taken over by
foreign powers, Tonga would have to take on the accoutrements of 177
Western civilisation. This "Westernisation" was epitomised by the written
Constitution and codified laws.[27]

With the change to a Constitutional Monarchy in 1875 a basic and important difference was rigidly introduced into the total fabric of Tongan life. Much of the aboriginal system of consensus and flexibility was done away with at that time. The Constitutional Monarchy may not have been created solely with the aim to restructure the patterns of aboriginal Tongan social organisation, but it certainly represented the 19th century culmination of the restructuring process which began with the first Christian colonisation of the islands in 1797.[28]

THE BEGINNING OF EUROPEAN CONTACT

Part of the Tongan archipelago had been contacted by the Dutch 177
navigators Schouten and Le Maire in 1616, and various contacts with
other Europeans eventually followed: Tasman (1643), Wallis (1767), Cook 175
(1773, 1774, 1777), Maurelle (1781), La Perouse (1787), Bligh (1789, 1792), Edwards (1791), D'Entrecasteaux and Labillardiere (1793), and Malaspina (1793). These contacts, which lasted from a few days to a few weeks, made Tongans quite aware of Europeans (and European technological devices)
and also placed Tonga on Europe's map of the world. The publications 797
of the men associated with the expeditions spurred Europeans to send men
and materials to proselytise the peoples of the Pacific. In 1797 Tonga was 175
chosen, along with Tahiti, to receive European missionaries. As Oliver has accurately pointed out, one cannot study Pacific events without placing the events into the context of other activities on the planet.[29] In the late 18th century the great "Evangelical Revival" swept the European continent, and the peoples of the Pacific began to change because of it!

The first missionaries to land on Tongatapu Island were of the Missionary Society of London (formed in 1795 and later termed the London Missionary Society or LMS). The LMS vessel *Duff* reached Tonga on April 10, 1797, after first leaving missionaries at Tahiti.[30]

Some of the missionaries remained on Tonga until 1800, but the attempt at religious conversion ended in a debacle. One missionary left the island shortly after he arrived while one (George Vason) married a Tongan woman and accepted the "Tongan way of life". Three missionaries were killed during a battle on Tongatapu in June 1799, and the remaining five huddled together for safety until they were removed in 1800.

The various reasons for the failure of this 1797–1800 LMS attempt in Tonga are many, and it is difficult, if not impossible, to isolate any one single factor. Certainly one cannot place the total blame of the LMS

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27. Scarr 1968:86.
28. "Restructuring: is used after Brookfield (1972:1) who writes of "Colonialism" as the "thoroughgoing, comprehensive and deliberate penetration" of an area by individuals "who aim to restructure the patterns of organization".
29. Oliver 1962:98.
30. Wilson 1799:96; Benson 1960:113.

797 failure on the Tongans, as some seem to suggest. Wood wrote of the
Tongans of this period and of their "lawlessness and fiendish cruelty",
175 and Lâtûkefu wrote of the LMS venture that: "This well-meaning effort
was doomed to fail right from the beginning, for the missionaries were
ill-equipped for this tremendous task, and the Tongans themselves were
not ready for the new religion".(31)

To state that the missionaries were ill-equipped is only partially correct; to state that the Tongans "were not ready" tells us very little. Perhaps a better interpretation would also point out that the new religion bringers were not ready for the Tongans! The subsequent successes of the Wesleyans would seem to prove this point.

THE WESLEYAN MISSION

797 The problem that faced the Wesleyans was simple: how to convert the Tongans. The motive of the Wesleyan missionaries was conversion, but, viewed against a larger background, the Wesleyans also wished to succeed where the LMS had failed. The solution to the problem of Christian colonialism in Tonga included (1) better-trained missionaries and (2) increased supplies of western technological devices.

The Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society began their colonial
venture in Tonga in 1822 with the mission group led by Walter Lawry.
Lawry and his wife and servants were in Tonga from August of 1822 until
October of 1823, when he was ordered by his London Committee to be
797 "removed from Tonga to Van Dieman's Land".(32) Although his stay was
short, and his attempt at converting Tongans a failure, Lawry was an
177 extremely important individual in setting the pattern for subsequent 19th
century Wesleyan work in the islands. Lawry understood the necessity for
a constant supply line back to Sydney for material goods for the mission.
The Wesleyans of the 19th century realised that material goods diffused
much more rapidly than philosophical or ideological systems. In 1823
Lawry acknowledged the importance of material goods for the success
of the missionaries:

> . . . inasmuch as the only importance attached to the character of the Missionaries is derived from their being annually visited by their relations (as the natives term it) and replenished with such property as most effectively secures the natives in our favour. And we are all most decidedly of the opinion that had this measure been adopted by the directors of the [LMS] Mission begun here 25 years ago, it would have prevented its ultimate failure.(33)

The Tongans of the 19th century, to be sure, had their own motives for
[649] interacting with the Wesleyans. As Lâtûkefu has pointed out concerning
Taufa'ahau, later known as King George Tupou I: "It appears, however,
that Taufa'ahau's initial acceptance of [Wesleyan] Christianity was only
part of his general desire to adopt the ways of the white man, his wealth,

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[31] Wood 1932:29; Lâtûkefu 1974:25.
[32] Lawry n.d.: entry for July 25, 1823.
[33] Lawry n.d.: Entry for Aug. 10, 1823.

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superior knowledge and weapons of war, and also [quite incidentally it would appear] his religion, to achieve his ambitions".(34) 797

This is quite similar to the 19th century Wesleyan missionary John Thomas' first assessment of Taufa'ahau when he met that Tongan in 1828 at the time that Taufa'ahau was Tu'i Ha'apai "Sovereign of Ha'apai" and was requesting a missionary to live in those islands: 177 643 [634]

> Indeed the present offer by [Taufa'ahau] the head man of the [Ha'apai] islands would by some persons be considered a good thing. I think, however, but little about it, because it is natural for man in their state to make use of various means in order to obtain property and although I hope good will follow yet the heathen will tell many lies to obtain their object and when they have got the property under their arms, they will then do as they please with us, at least this is what we have experienced at Hihifo [on Tongatapu]. All his fair promises are little worth if he is under the superstitions of their own priests and hotuas ['*otua* 'gods'].(35)

The theme of "property" or the need for material goods runs throughout the letters and diaries of the early 19th century Wesleyan missionaries. The Wesleyan missionary Nathaniel Turner (in the archipelago from November 1827 to April 1831) wrote to his Wesleyan superiors, thanking them for the fresh supplies, including: 797 177

> . . . a good supply of hardware, calico, &c&c, but [they] have unfortunately omitted one important article, viz. *beads*. . . . They are to us here what fish-hooks are in New Zealand. Their colours should be a dark and light blue, purple and green — let them be of sizes. There is a light blue bead nearly the size of a marble that is very valuable here. Some of these should be sent if possible.(36)

Indeed, so dependent were the Wesleyans in Tonga on material goods (and money to purchase the material goods) as a means to their Christianisation end that when their budget request had been cut, part of the mission expansion also had to cease. In the late 1820s Taufa'ahau wanted John Thomas in the Ha'apai group. Although Lātūkefu states that the Wesleyans needed "approval from mission headquarters in London" before sending Thomas to Ha'apai,(37) in 1829 Turner wrote that he received a letter from New Zealand authorising "no more than £300 for the prosecution of this mission" and "In consequence of the information received we shall be obliged to relinquish the idea of Mr. Thomas going to commence a new station at the Haabais, for which he was prepared and only waiting a fair wind".(38) Thomas eventually went to the Ha'apai Islands and "converted" Taufa'ahau, one of the most important achievements (or perhaps even *the* most important achievement) that the missionaries accomplished in the 19th century. Without the support of Taufa'ahau it may seriously be debated whether the Wesleyans would have done as much as they did. 797 643

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34. Lātūkefu 1970:61.
35. Thomas n.d. *Journals*: entry for Mar. 28, 1828.
36. Turner, N. 1931; emphasis original.
37. Lātūkefu 1970:62.
38. Turner, N. 1929.

CHARLES F. URBANOWICZ

797 Although Walter Lawry was in the Tongan Islands for a little more than
a year, his reports back to London influenced what was to follow.
[177] Specifically, Lawry stressed the supposed "ripeness" for a mission in
Tonga and the need for material goods for the successful completion of
[114] the mission's work. Lawry's successor, John Thomas, arrived with his
wife and another missionary family in June 1826. Thomas, more than any
other 19th century European, provided us with some excellent accounts
of Tonga.

It has been asserted above that in aboriginal Tongan society consensus
642 and flexibility were key concepts of the political system. An individual who
571 wanted to lead the people had to have support, and even the Tu'i Tonga
'Sovereign of Tonga' could not be appointed to office (or remain in office)
without the support of the people. Thomas recorded that "there is a union
amongst the Tonga people, especially the chiefs, so that they consult each
642 other before they determine anything".(39) With the systematic introduction
of Western material goods and eventually Wesleyan ideology in the 19th
177 century, a not-so-subtle restructuring of aboriginal religious beliefs and
the body politic began. Under Wesleyan encouragement, individual
[643] Tongan chiefs soon rose to power, and the most important was Taufa'ahau,
later known as King George Tupou I.

In the early years of the mission, things did not go smoothly for the
797 Wesleyans. The Tongans often told Thomas and Hutchinson what they
had earlier said to Lawry: "Your religion is very good for you, and ours
is very good for us."(40) Thomas wrote that the Tongan chief Ata feared
797 that if the Tongans "allowed the [Wesleyan] praying to go on the English
565 will come by and by and take their land".(41) The important role of the
individual Tongan chief must be stressed. If a chief was converted, his
people also converted with him. Thomas wrote: "It is said by the head
Chief, or King, of Tonga, Tubou, that if Ata turn, all Tonga will turn to
Christianity; and on this one point this important matter depends."(42)

797 The Wesleyans made numerous attempts to convert the last Tu'i Tonga
Laufilitonga but they failed, and he became a Catholic convert, a faith he
643 professed until his death in 1865. The Tamahā, on the other hand, did
convert to Wesleyanism and the Wesleyans scored quite a coup when this
797 happened. Thomas wrote that "Tamma ha had turned to God — also her
brother Fehokohabai, and all the people of Tungua [in the Ha'apai group]
644 have turned".(43)

The Wesleyan missionaries gradually gained a foothold in the islands,
797 first on Tongatapu and then elsewhere. With the aid of Taufa'ahau (and
[643] the Tamahā) the Wesleyan missionaries eventually expanded their stations
into the Ha'apai and Vava'u group of islands. The process, however, was
[644] slow, and the Wesleyan missionary Watkin (in the islands from 1831 to
1837) wrote on the mission in 1835: " . . . in Tonga [it] is almost confined
to Nukualofa, [and] a spirit of opposition to Christ appears to have grown

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39. Thomas n.d. *Journals*: entry for Feb. 11, 1828.
40. Lawry n.d.: entry for Dec. 21, 1822.
41. Thomas n.d. *Journals*: entry for Mar. 16, 1828.
42. Thomas 1828.
43. Thomas n.d. *Journals*: entry for Dec. 12, 1832.

up in the minds of some of the chiefs who were previously indifferent, 797 obstacles to the diffusion of the truth present themselves on every hand but I know they may be and will eventually be surmounted."(44)

Dissension existed among the Tongans themselves, as Watkin's following statement makes clear:

> The heathen [or non-Wesleyan Tongans] not-withstanding their unanimity in opposing Xz [Christianity] are far from being at one in other respects [and] they are living on bad terms with each other and live as the hostilities were on the point of commencing. All Tonga with the exception of this place are building strong holds, sharpening their spears, and fabricating clubs with which to take away each others lives.(45)

Wars eventually occurred and Taufa'ahau consolidated his position. 797 Installed as Tu'i Kanokupolu in 1845, he finally unified the various island groups of Tonga under his personal leadership after final battles in 1852. 643

The Wesleyans managed to convert an earlier Tu'i Kanokupolu, Jiosaia [669] Tupou, in 1830, but it was Taufa'ahau's eventual acceptance of Wesleyanism that really made the difference for the missionaries. With Taufa'ahau's rise to power, there came a concomitant decline in the power of the Tu'i 643 Tonga and related titles. After the last Tu'i Tonga died in 1865, Taufa'ahau absorbed his title. In a speech to the Tongan parliament in 1875, he stated that at a meeting in Vava'u he had been conferred with the titles of "Tu'itonga and Tu'iha'atakalaua together with the titles of Tu'ikanokupolu".(46) Consensus and flexibility were done away with in 1875, and [642] Tongan society was restructured.

Taufa'ahau was made Tu'i Kanokupolu at a meeting of the assembled [178] chiefs of Tonga in 1845. Thomas wrote of the occasion:

> There is now talk about George being made Tuikanokubolu. I have been waited upon by some who have to do with it. I do not think there is any other person so suitable — also I think it is *good* that George should have the office. Some persons it is said have wished for someone else, but no notion will be taken of them or what they talk about among themselves. My pray[er] to God is, that he would undertake for us, and give to Tonga a righteous governor.(47)

Jiosaia Tupou, the previous Tu'i Kanokupolu, had been pro-missionary but decidedly not as powerful as Taufa'ahau. Jiosaia Tupou had been made Tu'i Kanokupolu in 1827.(48) Although Jiosaia Tupou gave up the 643 Wesleyan religion in 1827, he eventually re-converted and was baptised by the Wesleyan missionary Nathaniel Turner in 1830.(49) This baptism 797 was not viewed favourably by some of the non-Wesleyan Tongans, and the missionary Cross wrote in 1830: "A report is in circulation that the chiefs who are opposed to Christianity are determined to depose our chief [Jiosaia] Tubou and to choose one from among themselves in his place.

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44. Watkins n.d.: entry for Apr. 11, 1835.
45. Watkins n.d.: entry for Apr. 11, 1835.
46. Hunter 1963:4.
47. Thomas n.d. *Journals*: entry for Dec. 4, 1845; emphasis original.
48. Thomas n.d. *Journals*: entry for Dec. 1, 1827.
49. Thomas n.d. *Journals*: entry for Jan. 10, 1830.

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643 It is probable that should this take place a war would be the immediate consequence".(50)

797 Jiosaia Tupou was not deposed, and he retained his delicate position as Tu'i Kanokupolu until his death on November 18, 1845. In his position as Tu'i Kanokupolu, Jiosaia Tupou did not exert pressure on the Tongan people to convert to Wesleyanism. Thomas wrote that certain chiefs were saying that "Tubou is taeofa [*ta'e 'ofa*], that is without care to them. He does not speak to them about the new religion".(51) On the other hand, when Tupou did get seriously involved in the work of the mission, Thomas was not at all pleased with that, as the following relates: "The chief is not a firm friend to the cause. He wishes to be the head of all things, not only the inhabitants of Tonga, but to the Church of Christ here."(52)

The Wesleyan missionary Tucker termed Jiosaia Tupou's government "miserably inefficient".(53) Such inefficiency, however, allowed the Wesleyans to become firmly entrenched in the islands.

Part of the Wesleyan methods also involved using the beachcombers
797 who were in the archipelago as translators and intermediaries. When
563 Thomas arrived, he reported:

> 797 I learn from a young man here, an Englishman, that Tonga at this time is principally in the possession of petty chiefs. Some few years
> 642 ago the great men departed this life and some were killed — even the King's family now have no power — but these chiefs fought and defended Tonga and they now possess the part they have rescued from their enemies, so at this time they seem much confused, having no head man.(54)

797 Concerning the overall lack of Tongan leadership at this time, N. Turner wrote: "Mr. Lawry was certainly in an error when he published to the
643 world in an [sic] magazine that the offices of Tuikanakabola, and Tuitonga, where [sic] then filled. See Mag^c Sep. 1825 for no person is yet created to the latter office."(55)

Because of the problems between Taufa'ahau and Laufilitonga (the *Tu'i Tonga* to be), the Wesleyans were able to gain a stronger foothold in the archipelago.

669 A major series of battles took place in the Ha'apai group of islands in 1826 between the forces of Laufilitonga and Taufa'ahau. Although
669 Lâtûkefu has written that "it took place during a period when there were no Europeans such as William Mariner or Vason to give eye-witness
114 accounts" and therefore, according to Lâtûkefu, "oral traditions were the only source of information on the events of 1825 and 1826",(56) this is only partially correct. Although there were no "eyewitnesses" to the battles, Thomas and Hutchinson *did* record such information in their manuscript

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50. Cross 1830.
51. Thomas n.d. *Journals*: entry for July 29, 1832
52. Thomas 1834.
53. Tucker 1838.
54. Thomas n.d. *Journals*: entry for Jan. 30, 1827.
55. Turner, N. 1827.
56. Lâtûkefu 1968:140

accounts. As Thomas wrote in September of 1826: 669

> Early this morning a canoe arrived here from the Hapies [or Ha'apai] (to the Inache ['*inasi*]) which brought intelligence that they were at war at the Hapie Islands. The King [Taufa'ahau] of the Hapies and the Tui of Tonga (as he is called) have fallen out. However we expect it to be of short continuance to Tooi or King of Hapie is likely to be the worst of it, as the other islands are all against him.(57) [114]

By the end of October the battle still raged in the Ha'apai Islands, and Hutchinson wrote back to England: "The war at the Hapies continues to rage. If the King of Tonga [Laufilitonga] should be overcome, we shall soon be in serious circumstances; and something of this is expected, as the people have received orders to prepare for war".(58)

Taufa'ahau was eventually victorious, and his star in the Tongan firmament began to rise. [643]

THE WESLEYANS AND ACCELERATED CHANGES

Although it may not have been deliberate missionary policy, the Wesleyan approach was literally that of "divide-and-conquer" as they turned Tongan against Tongan. The three religious wars in 1837, 1840, and 1852 were ferocious. Of the 1840 war, Thomas wrote that he told the Tu'i Kanokupolu Jiosaia Tupou that "the heathens [or non-Wesleyan Tongans] had acted more kind a great deal than the Christians and that they were less disposed for war".(59) The Wesleyan missionary P. Turner, commenting on one battle, stated: "The heathens seem determined to die in their foolishness. I am told that they have made an oath to do so, before they will yield to the Xtns.(60) 797 669 798

Tongan society was altered from within and from without: from within by Tongans who were desirous of change, and from without by Europeans who were advising and encouraging the Tongans to change. This internal and external restructuring process, however, must be viewed as a complementary one. Without the presence of the Wesleyan missionaries Tongan society would never have developed as it did. 177 178 797

The Wesleyans were aided in their restructuring process by the occasional appearance of vessels of the British Navy in Tongan waters. On visits from passing British vessels Thomas wrote: "From what I have heard by the natives in reference to the visit of His Majesty's Ship of War at Vavow, the effect will be very beneficial and lasting. The [Tongan] King and his people seem to think that religion is of more importance now than they were willing to believe."(61) 797 648

The Wesleyans also tried to get various ships to "remove" some of the beachcombers in the archipelago. The British vessel H.M.S. *Seringapatam* arrived at the islands in 1830, and the captain removed some Frenchmen who were "troublemakers".(62) 797 648 563

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57. Thomas n.d. *Journals*: entry for Sept. 25, 1826.
58. Hutchinson 1826.
59. Thomas n.d. *Journals*: entry for Aug. 4, 1840.
60. Turner, P. n.d.: entry for July 19, 1840.
61. Thomas 1830.
62. Thomas n.d. *Journals*: entry for June 10, 1830.

The British Wesleyans received tremendous moral support from the
797 visits of the British men-of-war but when the French Roman Catholic
priests attempted a similar method, the Wesleyans were not at all sympathetic.
997 The Catholic mission in Tonga began in 1842 and since the
Tu'i Kanokupolu was a Wesleyan convert, the Catholics concentrated on
643 the Tu'i Tonga Laufilitonga. The Wesleyan P. Turner wrote that the
Catholic priests "have induced some poor heathens [or non-Wesleyan
Tongans] to come over to them by making them false promises of help
from France." Turner continued: "And the Tuitonga who has just become
a Papist is to be the King of Tonga, and Geo. Taufaahau and some others
are to be put on one side as of no importance."

Turner also wrote that "these things I told to the priests and showed
797 them how unbecoming it was for them to meddle so much with the chiefs
and the government of the Islands" and "That all true ministers of Xt
preached the gospel and lived holily before God and men. But that they
were trying to intimidate the people by telling them of a [French] man-of
war wch. wd. come and give them help."[63]

This is the same Wesleyan missionary who wrote of a visit by Taufa'ahau
[642] to the Wesleyan compound in 1842, when that Tongan "came to ask our
opinion about punishing those who violate the laws of the land". At the
797 time Turner also wrote that the Wesleyan missionaries "desired not to
have much to do with the affairs of the land in a political sense" but
177 Wesleyan activities and statements belied that "desire".[64] At a later date
the same person wrote:

> And the [Tongan] King and chiefs are becoming jealous of our interfering with what they think their prerogatives. We have been recommending to them a better code of laws, but O no things must remain as they are and we are thought evil of for wishing to elevate them in the scale of civilization, and we have but little hopes of seeing them much better.[65]

Briefly stated, the British Wesleyan missionaries did interfere in the
797 politics of the Tongan islands. Not only did the missionaries restructure
177 traditional religious beliefs, but they also caused major changes in the
642 political system. With the aid of various Wesleyans, three law codes were
promulgated in 1839, 1850, and 1862. These codes would never have come
671 into existence had not the Wesleyans been in the islands. The three codes
797 eventually culminated in the celebrated Tongan Constitution of 1875.
Captains of various British vessels told the Wesleyans not to interfere with
797 Tongan politics. One wrote that he advised the missionaries "against
proposing laws to the natives",[66] but the advice was not taken. Lātūkefu
177 has written off the influence of the Wesleyans on Tongan politics.

> 642 In spite of the Society's official policy of 'no politics' its missionaries in Tonga *participated significantly* in the political development of that country during the period covered by this study [1826–1875] . . . the

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63. Turner, P. n.d.: entry for Nov. 5, 1848.
64. Turner, P. n.d.: entry for Feb. 28, 1842.
65. Turner, P. n.d.: entry for Nov. 28, 1849.
66. Waldegrave 1833: 187.

> 797 177 642 missionaries' influence was crucial in deciding the direction which political changes took subsequent to their arrival. This was a natural consequence of the task which they had undertaken and of the circumstances in which they found themselves. . . . As politics *was so closely interwoven into the total fabric of Tongan society*, it was unavoidable that they would be affected by the new teaching. When the *religious basis of the old order was undermined, much of the framework of the traditional society collapsed with it*. Christianity became the foundation in which the new structure had to be built. It was inevitable that the missionaries should become the principal designers of the new social order, particularly in its early stages. *They were mainly responsible for the destruction of the old.*(67)

This statement is supported by an earlier unpublished work by Hammer.

> The period of the Wesleyan-Methodist Missionary activity in Tonga, extending from 1822 to 1855, was essentially a pioneering one. During this time the missionaries *broke down much of the native culture and customs*, and partly replaced them by Christianity and the way of life peculiar to Western civilization. *The changes were accomplished mainly through the medium of political power . . . it would appear that the missionaries did not fully understand the native culture in all its ramifications*, and that the task of replacing that ancient way of life by Christianity in its deeper sense had not been accomplished by 1855.(68)

[643] Although the Wesleyans may not have fully "understood the native culture", they did know enough to entrench themselves firmly in the island and they did this by astute support of Taufa'ahau.

CONCLUSIONS

797 Christian colonialism was ultimately introduced to Tonga through the Wesleyans (and their material goods) via weapons:

> 643 [177] [642] This beatific state of religion had not resulted exclusively from the sweet reasonableness of the Tongan heathen to the moving sermons of the emotional Wesleyans. The instrument that had saved these people for Jehovah was George Tubou I [Taufa'ahau], [eventual] King of all the Tongans, a sovereign who carried the sword amongst unbelievers and smote members of the Devil's party as gladly as he preached to his subjects of the Sabbath. Before this servant of the Lord was gathered to his fathers at the age of ninety-six in 1893, he had Christianized, one way or another, all the islands in his domain, and if Tonga had become a byword for religious intolerance, it was only the logical consequence of the teachings of the Wesleyan preachers who shaped the policies of the preacher-king in the forties and fifties.(69)

797 642 Indeed, the Wesleyans *did* shape the policies of Taufa'ahau in the 1840s and 1850s. Tippett attempts to stress the point, in writing about "civilization" in Tonga, that: "Immediately after its conversion to Christianity

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67. Lātūkefu 1967:537–8, 1974:218–9; emphasis mine.
68. Hammer 1953:170–1; emphasis mine.
69. Wright and Fry 1936: 243.

797 Tonga introduced its own form of civilization. The missionaries were
instruments and agents bringing it about, but they did not initiate it."
642 He further adds: "The one point I make firmly is that if the missionaries
[643] *aided* this, they did not *initiate* it. It was all the desire of the Tongan
people, and of the king [Taufa'ahau] in particular".(70) Unfortunately,
the 19th century evidence certainly does not support this opinion of the
non-initiatory role of the Wesleyan missionaries. The missionaries were
both the initiators and the major instruments of colonialism in Tonga.

177 It is Rutherford's contention that Tonga's "most rapid westernization
began in 1862",(71) but the evidence presented indicates that Westernisation
began before 1862. In some respects, Westernisation began when Schouten
177 and Le Maire first stopped in the archipelago in 1616. The true beginning,
however, of Westernisation was in 1822/1826 when Wesleyan missionaries
797 began their flow (and distribution) of material goods in the archipelago. In
1826 Tonga finally entered into sustained contact with the Western world.

428 Although Scarr has written of rigidity in Tongan social structure, springing
"in part, from primogeniture,"(72) aboriginal Tongan society displayed
565 a great deal of flexibility. Consensus and flexibility stemmed not from
571 primogeniture but from the fact that a chief needed the support of the
people he was to lead. Strict rules of primogeniture were only introduced
[642] with the Tongan Constitution of 1875, a Constitution strongly influenced
[177] by Western European concepts of leadership and inheritance principles.
In aboriginal Tongan society rank was relative to the particular occasion,
554 and a chief was a chief because of the consensus of the people. After the
Constitution, a chief was a chief because of law. Because of these changes
[571] in the Tongan system, King George Tupou II (who came to the throne
[642] in 1893) eventually had related problems with a variety of Tongan chiefs,
[643] with whom, as Barney points out, he was "already very unpopular"
in 1900.(73)

The motives of the early 19th century Wesleyan missionaries in Tonga
797 included the will to succeed where the LMS had failed and to Christianise
the archipelago. The methods that the Wesleyans used included the
[177] systematic and steady introduction of material goods into the archipelago,
[648] combined with the visits of British men-of-war. As one of their methods,
the Wesleyans used the "division" of territorial "rights" with the LMS.
In the 1830s the Wesleyans received "exclusive rights" to Tonga and Fiji
provided they would not attempt to convert the inhabitants of the LMS
territory of Samoa.(74)

177 This brief paper has attempted to demonstrate that in the 19th century
certain Europeans were extremely instrumental in restructuring Tongan
797 society. The point must also be stressed that certain Tongans were not
mere passive pawns in the overall political process. Some Tongans aided
the Wesleyans and manipulated and restructured the system to their own

70. Tippett 1971:108; emphasis original.
71. Rutherford 1971:x.
72. Scarr 1968:4.
73. Barney 1972:263.
74. See Garrett 1974. For a recent explication of Catholic missionary work in Samoa, with passing reference to the LMS activities in Samoa, see Franco 1976.

distinct advantage. This point comes across in Lâtûkefu's work(75) and is stressed in Cummins' review where he points out that "in the process of change and modification that resulted from missionary involvement in political affairs, the Tongan chiefs and people were by no means clay in the potter's hands."(76) 177 797

Decktor Korn's work is pointing out the need to re-think Tongan social structure for, indeed, "a noble view is a faulty basis for generalising about an entire society".(77) The analyses of Gifford,(78) Sahlins,(79) Goldman,(80) and others must be put into perspective. Barney(81) has more than adequately pointed out that the "literate revolution" was an important factor in the political processes of Tonga after the mid-19th century. It is more than clear that "twentieth century Tonga is not aboriginal Tonga"(82) just as the late 19th century was not aboriginal Tonga. As stated elsewhere: 114

> There is a certain amount of timelessness inherent in some ethnographic reports: a timelessness which stems from the quest of the synchronic description *cum* analysis of culture . . . . Change obviously takes place over time, yet all too often statements in the published accounts have compressed many of the unique aspects of Tongan culture into a homogenized whole.(83)

When researchers lump all of the Tongan data into a fictive "ethnographic present" statement, not only do they do the data an injustice, but they also do Tongans a gross injustice!

EPILOGUE

> It almost seems as if Anatole France had uttered a truth which were valid for the whole Western world, when, in his *Penguin Island*, Catherine d'Alexandrie offers this advice to God: "Donnez leu une ame, mais une petite"!(84) 000

The 19th century missionary refrain did appear to be "Give them a soul, but a little one!" In numerous respects, 19th century missionaries did not aid the Tongans in becoming first-class Tongans, but rather encouraged the Tongans into becoming second-class Victorians! A classic example of the 19th century Wesleyan paternalistic attitudes towards Tongans is a statement made by the Rev. T. Adams in 1853: 797

> It is only by the judicious maintenance of salutary discipline that our present triumphs can be secured and provisions made for the stability and perpetuity of the work which we are labouring to promote. *We think the time has not yet come to consent to native agents in Tonga*

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75. Lâtûkefu 1974.
76. Cummins 1975:106.
77. Decktor Korn 1974:12.
78. Gifford 1929.
79. Sahlins 1955.
80. Goldman 1970.
81. Barney 1974.
82. Urbanowicz 1973:119.
83. Urbanowicz 1975:559.
84. Jung 1927:xxviii.

797 *[to] the exercise of this holy discipline over their fellow countrymen. They are valuable auxiliaries to our work.*(85)

[643] Such sentiments led to an eventual break which came in the 1860s; King George Tupou I gradually separated himself from his Wesleyan advisers, with the exception of the Rev. S. W. Baker.(86) And so, it is only in this 795 decade of the 20th century that a Tongan finally became the leader of the Tongan Church in Tonga.

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85. Adams 1953; emphasis mine.
86. See Rutherford 1971.

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[1792]

in 1792 (Gifford, p. 86). We do not know whether she claimed this 175
for herself. She based her claims on the fact that she was a descendant 578
of the Tubou family. Her father was Maeliuaki (Cook 1803, IX, 643
p. 182). Her brother Mulikihaamea, who was *Tui Kanokupolu* until 644
that time, gave up his post and became *Tui Haa Takalaua*.[9] Tubou Moheofo's ambitions were frustrated by her cousin Tukuaho, who was in fact the strong man in the Tubou group, even though his father Mumui was still alive. He ousted the widow and her son Fuanunuiava from Tongatapu to the nearby island of Eua, where they remained for a short time. After this they went to the Vavau Islands where Malaspina met Tubou Moheofo, living near the tomb of Paulaho. He does not mention her son, however (p. 244 ff.). The defeat decreased the prestige of the royal family considerably (Wilson, p. liii, 104). Thomson (1894, p. 321) is of the opinion that the quarrel is over
some estates. This motive may indeed have played a part, the *Tui* [634]
Kanokupolu being at the same time chief of the district of Nukualofa [423]
and owning extensive estates there (Dumont d'Urville 1832, IV, p. 227; Farmer, p. 90, map). After his victory Tukuaho caused his father Mumui, Maeliuaki's brother, to be appointed *Tui Kanokupolu*.

This struggle was over when Labillardière and Dentrecasteaux visited Tongatapu. They mention the old Tubou as the temporal ruler of the island and they know that Paulaho had been succeeded by his brother — Maulupekotofa (cf. Gifford, p. 58; Collocott 1924, p. 166).

Judging from information from Labillardière (II, p. 163) this brother died soon after coming into office and the rule passed into the hands of his sister Tine, the *Tui Tonga Fefine*, as Paulaho's son was said to have been too young to reign. However, Tine did not succeed in keeping this power, for when the two Frenchmen arrived it already lay with the old Tubou (i.e. Mumui).

Probably we must explain this as follows: Labillardière did not quite understand these complicated affairs and that is why he tried to construe a picture of his own that fitted the situation. The death he mentions was Paulaho's. Labillardière did not meet the latter's brother who succeeded to the throne, nor, indeed, Paulaho's widow. An echo of her experiences is to be found in the Frenchman's remark about Tine "...who had not been able to retain the power..." (cf. Dentrecasteaux, I, p. 304).

A curious fact is that during their visit the Frenchmen saw neither 175
the *Tui Tonga* nor the *Tui Haa Takalaua*. The missionaries of the 643
"Duff" were luckier in this respect, for they met Mulikihaamea, the [1797]

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[9] Gifford, p. 88, puts Tui Halafatai and Tubou Lahisii between Maeliuaki and Mulikihaamea in his list of *Tui Kanokupolu*. Cf. Gifford, p. 86, where he says that Mulikihaamea was *Tui Haa Takalaua* as well as *Tui Kanokupolu* but not at the same time.

[1792-1806]

175 *Tui Haa Takalaua.* In their writings he is mentioned as Mulicemar
643 (Wilson, p. 231, 248; Farmer, p. 83, 87). Furthermore the missionaries
797 met the son of Paulaho. They mention him with his family name of
[551] Fatafehi, but he was in fact Fuanunuiava, the future *Tui Tonga*
(Dumont d'Urville 1832, IV, p. 184; 1846, II, p. 54).

4. *The civil wars (1799-1820).*

175 During the reign of *Tui Tonga* Maulupekotofa (1792-1806) civil
669 war broke out. In this conflict Tukuaho, who succeeded his father in
643 1797, represented what we might call the government party (for his
634 succession, see Wilson, p. 240, 249). There was a great rivalry between him and Finau Ulukalala II, chief of the Vavau Islands.[10] The crisis came to a head in 1799. On the occasion of a religious ceremony
[682] the island lords gathered on Tongatapu, and Finau's ally Tubou Niua of Vavau killed Tukuaho (Mariner, p. 90; Dumont d'Urville 1832, IV, p. 187 ff.; Lawry 1851, p. 66; Farmer, p. 97 ff.; Geschichte der christlichen Missionen, p. 62). A great confusion arose. The *Tui Tonga* sided with Finau (Dumont d'Urville 1832, IV, p. 191) and the *Tui Haa Takalaua* also supported him, so that on the face of it it is
175 somewhat difficult to accuse Finau of rebellious acts. However, when
669 we take into account that the temporal power formally rested with the *Tui Kanokupolu*, it is evident that the murder of this official meant

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[10] 114 Gifford, p. 139, discusses the position of the Ulukalala family extensively. He is of the opinion that they were hereditary rulers of the Vavau Islands.
634 This is not quite correct, as appears from note 7. Finau I, who is described by Cook, was possibly a brother of Finau II, the patron of Mariner. See for this Wilson, p. 254; Dumont d'Urville 1832, IV, p. 183; Farmer, p. 80; Geschichte der chr. M., p. 54; Thomson 1894, p. 321. About the date of Finau I's death opinions differ. The "Duff" missionaries at any rate witnessed the death of a Finau Ulukalala in 1797 — who they thought was the Finau mentioned by Cook.

How the reign in the Vavau Islands can be squared with the influence of Finau I on the Haapai group, as we can read in Cook (1803, IX, p. 103), is not clear. Cf. Walther, p. 76; Zimmermann, p. 18 ff. According to Gifford, p. 135, a certain Matauvave is the ruler here, possibly the son of Vuna.

Dumont d'Urville 1846, II, p. 56, mentions Finau II as lord of the Haapai Islands. This is corroborated by West, p. 55. These assertions probably go back to Mariner, who ascribes the rule of these islands to his lord. He
114 points to the war which Finau II had to wage to subject the Vavau Islands.
634 However, it appears, also in Mariner, that the power over the Haapai group had first to be captured by Finau II (Mariner, p. 87).

669 The struggle between the Vuna family and Finau II may possibly offer an explanation for the tensions between Finau and Tukuaho, for Vuna was the candidate of the *Tui Kanokupolu* (Gifford, p. 139). (Cf. Note 7).

[1799-1812]

rebellion against the lawful authority (cf. Collocott 1928, p. 90). 175
Fighting broke out between the followers of the *Tui Kanokupolu* and 669
Finau's party. At first the latter scored a few successes, but after the death in battle of Mulikihaamea this changed (Thomson 1894, p. 325 ff.; Farmer, p. 104). His merciless conduct had many ill effects, and in the end Finau was obliged to withdraw to the Haapai Islands. From here he continued regularly making raids on the main island.

The Protestant missionaries of the "Duff", who were in a dangerous [797]
position on account of this war, tried to leave the island. They found an opportunity to do so when an English ship called at Tongatapu in 1800 (Farmer, p. 114).

First the office of *Tui Kanokupolu* was held for a short period by 643
Maafuolimuola, then in 1800 Tubou Malohi, a brother of the murdered Tukuaho, came into office. With a break of a few years, which he spent in the Fiji Islands, he retained this office until 1812 (Wilkes, III, p. 38; Lawry 1850, p. 67; Farmer, p. 123; Thomson 1894, p. 333; Gifford, p. 86). However, a new *Tui Haa Takalaua* was not appointed.

Another brother of Tukuaho, Tubou Toa, joined Finau and — with his know- 643
ledge and cooperation — revenged his brother's death by killing Tubou Niua 634
(Mariner, p. 137). After this Tubou Toa was appointed chief of the Haapai 669
Islands (Wilkes, III, p. 38; Mariner, p. 219). Finau would rule the Vavau Islands himself. However, a rebellion broke out against him here, as he was suspected of having had a hand in the death of Tubou Niua, who was popular on those islands. With difficulty Finau at last managed to subdue the islands
(Mariner, p. 178 ff.). All this did not prevent him, however, from raiding [177]
Tongatapu a few times, in which guns looted in surprise attacks on ships played [713]
an important part.[11]

On Tongatapu the leading figure in these years was Tarkai, who 669
ruled in the district of Bea (Thomson 1894, p. 333). At first he had 634
supported Finau, but now he worked for himself (Mariner, p. 119 ff.). Elisabeth Morey, who was on Tongatapu from 1802-1804 as a prisoner, mentions "Ducava" as the most important chief (Morey, p. 187). This may have been Tahofa, Tarkai's brother (cf. Dumont d'Urville 1832, IV, p. 95 ff.).

In 1806 the *Tui Tonga* Maulupekotofa died on the Vavau Islands 643
and he was succeeded by Fuanunuiava. The latter was strongly influenced by Finau. He even married one of his daughters (Mariner, p. 132).

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[11] Thomson 1894, p. 333; Dumont d'Urville 1832, IV, p. 194. Numerous cases
are known of ships raided in the Tonga Islands between 1800 and 1810. [648]
Lockerby gives various examples of this: p. lxiii ff., 10 ff., 95 ff., 181 ff., [609]
200 ff.; cf. Mariner, p. 58 ff.

95: Claessen E-4 (no date) 1968 OU9 Tonga OU9
(1770-1820)

[1810-1865]

634 669 643 When in 1810 Finau Ulukalala II died and was succeeded by his peace-loving son Finau III,[12] the main stage of the civil wars was over. A short time later the *Tui Tonga* Fuanunuiava also died (Mariner, p. 353 ff.). He was succeeded by Laufilitonga, the last descendant of this royal family, who held the office from 1810-1865. He was a son of Fuanunuiava, but not by his marriage to the daughter of Finau II. As Laufilitonga's age is put at approximately 12 by Mariner, he was most probably the child that was born in 1797. The missionaries [797] of the "Duff", who then stayed on Tongatapu, mention this fact (Wilson, p. 264). This royal prince would remain on Vavau until his death.

The third leader who died about this time was the *Tui Kanokupolu* Tubou Malohi (1812). He was succeeded by his brother Tubou Toa, who reigned till 1820 (Gifford, p. 86).

5. *The period of the missionaries and the English protectorate (after 1820).*

642

Between 1820 and 1827 there was a sort of interregnum. There was no official head of the state of the Tonga Archipelago. Finau IV 634 reigned in the Vavau Islands. In 1830 Waldegrave met him. Who this Finau was cannot be clearly ascertained. Waldegrave (p. 190) estimates him at about 30 years old. If this is right, he must have been a brother of Finau III. Gifford (p. 139) also adheres to this opinion. Others say he was Finau Fiji, the brother of Finau II (Lawry 1851, p. 68; Thomson 1894, p. 341, 347). The missionary Williams, who also met Finau IV, says nothing about the prince's age or descent (p. 82). This Finau IV was on friendly terms with Taufaahu, a son of Tubou Toa, who ruled the Haapai Islands.

634 797 On Tongatapu there were several distinguished people who each ruled a part of the island. In 1822 the missionary Lawry made a vain attempt to convert the Tongans (Farmer, p. 159). Four years later the mission returned, this time in the person of John Thomas, and it was he who would succeed in converting the Tongans to Christianity (Farmer, p. 161). Among his most important converts was the head of the still influential Tubou tamily. The chiefs of the island now [643] offered the office of *Tui Kanokupolu* to him, on condition that he

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[12] Finau III, according to Mariner's account (p. 315), had to overcome Vuna before he could take over the authority over the Vavau Islands, Vuna also claiming them.

[1822-1844]

634 643 797

abandon the new religion. Josiah Tubou accepted this and from this moment Tongatapu had one lord again (Lawry 1850, p. 236 ff.; Farmer, p. 167; Geschichte der chr. M., p. 78; West, p 57, 279). Josiah continued regarding the missionaries with goodwill and left them free to preach. In 1830 he became Christian again and allowed himself to be baptized. Soon Taufaahau, ruler of the Haapai Islands, also joined the new religion (Geschichte der chr. M., p. 100). According to the church historian Neill this was the decisive moment in the conversion of the Tonga Islands (p. 298). From this time onward Taufaahau was called George Tubou. In his turn he led his friend Finau IV of Vavau to Christianity (Geschichte der chr. M., p. 103; Lawry 1851, p. 68). When the latter died in 1833, he left his territory to George Tubou, who therefore became one of the most powerful persons in the Tonga Islands, as appears from the writings of all the visitors of those years (Wilkes, III, p. 10; Lawry 1850, p. 238; ib. 1851, p. 68; Farmer, p. 235).

797 798 643 669 [634]

Gradually two parties were forming on Tongatapu, who were naturally called the "Christians" and the "Heathens" by the missionaries. The leader of the former party was Josiah Tubou, the *Tui Kanokupolu*, of the latter party the *Ata*, a prominent official from the Hihifo district. In the conflicts between these two parties George Tubou came to the aid of the *Tui Kanokupolu*. In 1840 the American Wilkes tried to mediate, but without result (Wilkes III, p. 7 ff.; West, p. 58; Thomson 1894, p. 198, 353). The situation became even more confused when French missionaries arrived in the Tonga Islands (Geschichte der chr. M., p. 184; Koskinen, p .114 ff.; Neill, p. 419). A number of the "Heathens" now became Catholics, among them the *Tui Tonga* (Farmer, p. 367; West, p. 289). An attempt by the Catholic missionaries to win power over the Tonga Islands for him failed due to the action of the Protestant missionaries and George Tubou (Lawry 1851, p. 65; West, p. 55, 58, 291, 306). To balance the French pressure [648] Josiah now called in the aid of the British. In 1844 Britain established its protectorate over the Tonga Islands and the French/Catholic danger was hereby nipped in the bud (Farmer, p. 364; Geschichte der chr. M., p. 186).[A] A short time later Josiah Tubou appointed his [643] friend and nephew George his successor. With some difficulty the latter succeeded, after Josiah's death, in establishing his authority over all the Tonga Islands.

[644]

One of George's daughters married the *Tui Belehake*, a brother of the Tui Tonga, in 1837 (Thomson 1894, p. 351). The son born

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[A] [The author seems to be in error here. The treaty making the Tonga Islands a British protectorate was negotiated by Thomson in 1900. See 15: Thomson. 89: Wood and more specifically 1: Gifford, p. 350 or 14: Thomson, pp. 355-356. --Analyst]

137 /12 cont./
241 of the island, left standing as a protection for the plantings.
174 Polynesians, probably coming from Samoa, reached this
Archipelago 1000 to 1500 years ago, and settled many of its islands.
All the Tonga Islands, from Niua Fo'ou and Niua Toputapu in the north
to 'Ata in the south, formed a kingdom headed by Tu'i Tonga. The
[173] latter lost power after approximately 1470, when it passed over in
part to collateral lines (Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and Tu'i Kanokupolu) of the
175 ruling family. A revolt in the year 1799 introduced a period of
177 civil-warlike confusion that did not end until 1852. At this time
[669] European influences (5)

> 5. By "European" influences we mean, above all, West European influences, especially English and, related to these, Australian, New Zealand and North American influences.

has long since reached Tonga. For in the year 1616 Niua Toputapu and
Niua Fo'ou were discovered by Shouten and Le Maire, in 1643 Abel
Janszon Tasman found 'Ata, 'Eua, Tongatapu, Nomuka, Tofua and Kao, and
from the year 1767 (Wallis) the Tonga Islands were increasingly
visited by European ships. In 1795 the first whites settled in the
[797] Archipelago, and the systematic missionary work in the island group
began in the year 1826. At the end of the civil wars and after the
175
643 first quarter century of successful mission work, Chief Taufa'ahau of
Ha'apai, who possessed certain rights to the ruling title of Tu'i
Kanokupolu, headed the united Christian state of all Tonga Islands, as
King George Tupou I. (6)

> [113] 6. A more detailed description of the development from 1616 to 1852 in G. Koch, Die Fruhen europaischen Einflusse auf die Kultur der Bewohner ~~der~~ Tonga-Inseln /The early European influences on the culture of the inhabitants of the Tonga Islands/. Manuscript dissertation, Gottingen 1949.

642 /13/ Today the Tonga Kingdom with a population of nearly 50,000 natives
161
648

/23 cont./

181 near a group eating together. Children play catch with captured
[825] wild birds until the latter perish, while adults raise no objection.

The Tongan character which, along with a large measure of
181 kindness, was at one time also characterized by a certain brutality
178 toward human beings, (27)

27. For example, Martin, loc, cit. I, pp. 84/85, 210; Wood, loc. cit. pp. 28, 32, 38, 48.

seems to have changed (28)

[797] 28. Doubtless especially because of the strong missionary influence and the corresponding government authority inspired by it.

to the extent that today brutal behavior toward fellow-humans is regarded as revolting and almost never occurs.

181 These natives definitely give the impression of a peaceable, rural people attached to their soil. The daring that characterized their forefathers who, as intrepid seafarers, crossed the ocean, seems to be lost. Yet this impression is misleading. Those Tongans who
[484] nowadays cross the vast ocean every day in their small, primitive and
[502] overloaded cutters, the men who in a storm in January 1952 salvaged
[226] an unmanned cutter driven on a reef outside Nomuka by swimming out
[648] into the surging sea, the young natives who, with their catapults,
[701] shoot fish swimming below the surface in the shark-infested sea, as
well as the large number of those who volunteered for action in the last war (and the attitude of the 50 Tongan fighters on the Solomons) prove that the Tongan, even under altered living conditions, has preserved his ancient valor. The old Polynesian urge to seek and colonize new land has, however, disappeared. Stubbornly the Tongan
[823] inhabitants remain on their presently occupied and, in part, over-
[241] populated islands; at best they /24/ will lay out a few plantings on
neighboring islands and disregard the fertile and as yet unoccupied islands of the Archipelago. (29)

291 /49 cont./
294
177
[426]

> 121. On a small island like Nomuka there were already four lowerable sewing machines in 1952. The hand sewing machines in particular are willingly lent from house to house.

just as they, naturally, also hem the *vala*. (122)
[462]

> 122. This work is sometimes also done by men.

291 In Tonga the shirt was introduced by law as a result of missionary
[671] influence ("decent clothing"). Thus today in the villages one does
[177]
[797] not see a Tongan with the upper part of the body uncovered, though on
the plantations many will seek relief on hot days and take off
their shirts. True, the law did not prescribe the shape and condition
of the shirt, so that for some natives it seems sufficient, at least
on weekdays, to place a circular rag around their necks. Every
291 Tongan observes a definite hierarchy in his wardrobe: the first out-
292 fit (his best and newest things) is commonly worn to church on Sunday, the second outfit (that is, the one for Sundays that is already somewhat worn) is donned for festive occasions and for the *kawa* gatherings, while the third (that is, the outworn second) serves for everyday and, along with definite work clothes, is still very serviceable for various activities, especially in the plantings.

292 /50/ For church-going, for a festival or a *fono* (123)
[621]

> 123. A village gathering, especially for the purpose of hearing explanations by government representatives with regard to specific village matters.

the *ta'o-vala* is worn, a more or less finely plaited mat (depending on one's wealth), secured with a plaited coconut cord (*kafa*). (124)

> 124. The customary types of *ta'o-vala* mats are the ones made of the various pandanus species, *ta'o-vala tofua*, *ta'o-vala kie*, *ta'o-vala tapa 'i la*; less frequently used is the rather shabby *ta'o-vala tangai* made from a dyed European sack.

/54 cont./

291 older ones and 25 younger ones) wore a
177 vala, whereas nine (one older and eight
178 younger ones) dispensed with it. A similar count in the small village of Fungamisi, which borders on the urban seaport of Neiafu/Vava'u, showed 20 Tongan women (eleven older and nine younger ones) with the vala and five (two older and three younger ones) without it.

291 In compliance with the wishes of early missionaries, no Tongan
177 woman is now seen in public with naked breasts. Even ten-year-old
797 girls bathe fully dressed. However, in the villages of the small
[515] islands young women and girls still work in their huts with naked
[184] torsos, and some of the village women's naked breasts thrust through
[831] torn undershirts and tattered blouses probably have a more provocative
effect on the male inhabitants than did the natural, unclothed female
torso of former days. For, the well-meaning puritanical missionaries
were unable to go on providing for the constant supply of costly, full
291 covering. Since the Tongan woman scarcely knows how to take care of her
296 clothes--she will actually go into the bush wearing a new silk dress--
and cannot keep acquiring new ones, the female everyday clothing on the
small islands is often quite untidy. Things are better in the seaports,
292 and the Sunday-best of Tongan women throughout the Archipelago is pretty
(184) immaculate. For church, festivals, etc., women wear a ta'o-vala (like
the male population) over their dresses; often this is also replaced by
the lighter ta'o-vala kie-kie (136)

[824] 136. The ta'o-vala kie-kie is a narrow belt
[294] plaited of strips of pandanus leaves (lou tofua-like) with a black design, and with pendant strips plaited in the
(176) same way. It was "invented" some years ago as the colleges and soon became popular with women, and sometimes also men. See p. 308-310 for how it is made.

and a bast belt, the mana fau,(137)

/54 cont./

292 [824] (294) 137. This is plaited from bast of the *Hibiscus tiliaceus*, has long, pendant bast fibers and is entirely in natural color. See pp. 321/324 for method of production.

as well as the much-worn kie-kie lou fau. (138)

[824] (294) 138. A belt likewise plaited on *Hibiscus tiliaceus* bast, with long pendant bast fibers, but more artistic and dyed with European colors (for instance, crimson, purple, blue, pink, green, vermilion); also a variation called kie-kie Lopa decorated with red tree seeds (*Adenathera pavonina*). See p. 323-324 for method of production.

291 Tongan women still commonly go barefoot. Some wear sandals or white tennis shoes, more in the seaports, naturally, than on the small [177] islands. A few also struggle with European /55/ women's shoes. --Turbans made of undyed tapa (feta'aki) sometimes temporarily wound /around the head/ as a protection against the sun are reminiscent of similar head coverings of times past. (139)

139. Cf. J. Dumont d'Urville, *Voyage pittoresque... loc. cit.* II. p. 78.

292 177 Hats (tata lou 'akau) (140)

140. Cf. pp. 320-323.

292 [824] [294] plaited of leaf strips of pandanus (lou tofua and lou kie), which older women only wear for church and younger women and girls also on other festive occasions or merely as a sun shield on Sundays, go back to mission influence. (141)

141. The "sun hats" mentioned by Cook (J. Cook, *Beschreibung...loc. cit.* VI. p. 280) were very probably different.

[794] They were introduced at that time by missionaries for women and girls who had made a confession, as a sign of their membership in the congregation.

294 296 178 Among the new tasks of sewing, washing and mending, (142)

301 565 237 (113) /57 cont./

152. Cf. J. Martin, *loc. cit.* I. p. 311 ff; H. Plischke, "Ein Brustschmuck von Tonga-tabu und die Verarbeitung von Walknochen in Polynesien" /A chest ornament from Tonga-tabu and how whalebone is worked in Polynesia/ in *Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Gottingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse. Fachgruppe II, Mittelalter /?/ und Neue Geschichte*. New series. vol. II no. 7. 1939. p. 137.

and the large feather-headdress. (153)

153. Compare J. Cook, *loc. cit.* p. 280.

301 177 178 797 The causes for the disappearance of this ornament are probably to be sought in the general deterioration of the old crafts which in Tonga (as on the other islands /58/ of Polynesia) began with the import of European goods and tools, as well as in the attitude of the puritanical missionaries who were surely not favorably disposed toward adornment.

301 824 (178) Nowadays Tongans prefer perishable plant adornment. The necklaces (*kakala*) of blossoms, leaves and seed capsules familiar since ancient times and already mentioned by Cook, (154)

154. J. Cook, *loc, cit.* p. 281.

Ellis, (155)

155. W. Ellis, *An authentic narrative...* /cited in English/. *loc. cit.* p. 94.

and Dumont d'Urville, (156)

156. J. Dumont d'Urville, *Voyage de la Corvette L'Astrolabe*.../Voyage of the corvette L'Astrolabe/. *loc, cit.* IV. p. 285.

are worn by young men, girls (also women) and children on many occasions. (157)

157. For example, at festivals, cooperative work

/70 cont./

887 work along with them to the extent that they are able or disposed,
to and try to make themselves useful, the way they have apparently
always done. At the same time they enjoy the respect of the
younger ones. (202)

202. Compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 97.

177 Thus one may say that the old family structure of the broad
178 masses of the Tongan populace (including the commoners) has endured
with scarcely any change. Monogamy of commoners and the structure
[797] of their households were quite in keeping with the ideas of the
[595] missionaries who were the most important representatives of
[592] European influences during the decisive decades. Ancient Tongan
[585] marriage was strengthened by Christian doctrine, as well as by the
[423] church wedding, (203)

[642] 203. Including registration with public authorities.

and by individual land ownership (lifelong tenancy) resulting from the
new Constitution of 1875. The epoch that began with Christianization,
177 on the other hand, brought certain, to some extent decisive, /71/
797 innovations in family living. The frequent church attendance,
family prayers, and the absolute hallowing of Sunday, as well as
children's daily school attendance introduced by the missionaries,
created, at least temporarily, a new family organization. Yet even
[581] the most zealous puritanical missionaries have to this day not
succeeded in entirely suppressing the freer Tongan attitudes toward
marriage. (204)

[837] 204. Typical seems the case of the married Tongan F. who is an intimate friend of various girls and women of his village, and assured the author that for a long time after each nocturnal visit with his girl friends he was very careful to observe "whether anything happened from above"; yet he had to say that he never experienced a punishment from heaven for his behavior.

/91 cont./

551 Sione (John), many are also called Tevita (David), while others are
553 called Peni (Ben [jamin]), Paula (paul), Mosese (Moses), Taniela
177 (Daniel), Sosiua (Joshua), Aisake (isaac) or Samisoni (Samson). Many
Tongan women are called Meliame (Miriam), Lute (Ruth), Mele (Maria;
also an ancient Tongan name /meaning/: mistake, disfigurement) or Ana
● [997] (Anna). Since the Tongan learned these names from British missionaries,
[994] their form may be explained as a transmutation from /92/ English into
[993] the Tongan language which is poor in phonemes (in which, moreover,
syllables always end in vowels). Other common names of English or German origin are: Siaosi (George), Viliami (William), Alipate (Albert), Feleti (Fred), Oto (Otto), Hamani (Herman), Kusitafu (Gustave) and Vika (Victoria). Objects manifestly of European importance likewise served in name-giving; for example, Pulu (munition), Telefoni (telephone) and Makoni (telegraph), just as famous composers were obliged to stand sponsor for the song-loving Tongans; for example, Haniteli (Handel), Mosa'ati (Mozart), Uebi (Weber), Paka (Bach), Haitini (Haydn) and Losini (Lortzing). However, the old Tongan names are not forgotten. They are used together with the new European names or by themselves (that is, usually double). The influx of European names seems to be stronger in the case of the male sex rather than the female sex. (263)

263. According to a count taken by the author on a number of islands, the ratio of European names to old Tongan names among the male sex is approximately 1:1.5 and among the female sex approximately 1:3.

In contrast to the newly introduced names which, as in Europe, are used only for the female or the male sex respectively, the same ancient Tongan names are given for both sexes, as in former times.
551 Many a father will lovingly choose for his newborn child an attractive
553 and significant name, as for example: Niu Tupu 'i Vaha (freely

527 /99 cont./
177
[621] return, collects presents. Brass bands or groups of guitar players
[533] go about in the same way.

[431] It is not only on these festivals that the Christian religion
794 has taken on a certain importance in the community life of the village.
177 It is specifically through the integration of large sections of the
182 population in the many services of the various churches that it exerts
a certain influence on group formation in all settlements. Moreover,
[533] the bringing together of numerous adults of both sexes in the choirs
(each with some 50-150 voices strong) of the individual Wesleyan
churches has become important in the community life of many villages,
for the numerous evening rehearsals are a very welcome change in the
everyday life of the vocally gifted and song-loving Tongan men and
women.

527 Whereas the festivals mentioned (*kautaha-show*, *faka-afe*), the
574 church services and the choirs each unite only a certain part of the
182 village population (through membership or by special invitation), the
621 old Tongan custom of the sociable kava circle has remained an
institution of community life that is accessible to every adult male
Tongan.

276 In ancient Tonga more kava was probably drunk than on the other
islands of the South Seas. (273)

[797] Although the missionaries did not by any means encourage the natives
[178] in this custom, (274) it determines social life at least as much today as in the past and
[171] perhaps even more. In Tonga far more kava is drunk than in Samoa

273. See J. Cook, *Beschreibung*...VI. p. 224;
Johann Reinhold Forster's *Bemerkungen*...
/Comments/ p. 416.

(113) 274. See J.E. Erskine, *Journal of a cruise among the islands of the western Pacific*...
/cited in English/ London 1853. p. 149.

/100 cont./

276 is filled, which the recipient must now empty in one draught. The work can be carried out by the girl alone. However, one or two young men may assist her in pounding the kava root and adding the water.

276 This procedure resembles the one customary in ancient Tonga. In
178 those days, however, the Kava roots were chewed; (275)
177 the missionaries influenced the natives to perform this work with stone
412 slabs and stone pestles (from the volcanic islands of the Archipelago).
(276)

276 The old water vessels (hollow coconuts, calabashes, wooden bowls) were
177 also replaced by European buckets. It is interesting that the Tongans
415 never drink kava out of a European cup (even though porcelain cups or
tin mugs are found in every house), but only out of coconut cups (277)
which, with the wooden bowl, the mat and the bast bundle form a natural unit. The bucket which is a somewhat jarring note does not bother anyone, even though the natives have a certain feeling for bad taste (for example, a Tongan would never wear a *ta'o-vala* with trousers). (278)

276 The kava group (that is, the men gathered together to drink and
574 socialize) (279)

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797 275. See J. Martin, *loc*. *cit*. II. pp. 189/190.

276. See H.N. Moseley, *Notes by a naturalist*... /cited in English/ p. 287.

[178] 277. The banana-leaf cups observed by Mariner (J. Martin, *loc*. *cit*. II. p. 197) are no longer made, probably because it is too inconvenient to bring the banana leaves from distant plantations to the village.

278. See page 69-71.

[562] 279. Women do not as a rule drink kava; they often sit in another part of the house and listen to the conversation of the men.

/103 cont./

565 554 chief. (287)

287. See J. Martin, loc. cit. I. p. 288; II. pp. 90/91; E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society /cited in English/. p. 140.

565 182 Since the social order for all concerned (except for a few ambitious chiefs) was taken for granted, and even the "repressed" commoners "without rights" had sufficient economic means to be able to live rather comfortably, (288)

288. See J. Martin, loc. cit. I. p. 287.

the system functioned for many centuries, so that Cook was able to write: "In fact, I cannot think of any civilized people who show in all public affairs such a tendency towards order, such willingness to obey the commands of their chiefs or who, in all classes, are so harmoniously united, seemingly animated by one spirit, as are these islanders." (289)

289. J. Cook, Beschreibung...VI. p. 296.

565 177 797 The Christianization of the Archipelago brought changes in this social stratification. Naturally, the missionaries were obliged to insist on breaking the absolute power of the chiefs (which was, moreover, closely connected with the "superstitious" taboo ideas of the natives) and "freeing" the mass of the people from their "slavery." [671] [643] [642] The most important step in this direction was the Wesleyan missionary-inspired emancipation declaration of Tu'i Kanokupolu George I, on June 4, 1862. The constitutions of 1862 and 1875 and their effects on daily life gradually weakened the old order. The chiefs, who lost their old taboo-protection and their taboo-power in the now Christianized Archipelago, forfeited their principal authority when the commoners became independent tenant farmers (for life). /104/

565 178 Yet the old system was so ingrained in the minds of all Tongan and had penetrated daily life so intensively that it is only now, nine

/107 cont./

642 643 175 powerful and godlike Tu'i Tonga whose succession began around 950 A.D. with the legendary 'Aho'eitu. (298)

298. See E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society. p. 49 ff.

Around 1470, the 24th Tu'i Tonga granted one of his brothers important powers, resulting in the new line of Tu'i /108/ Ha'atakalaua. The Tu'i Tonga remained the supreme ruler, but it was inevitable that now his power gradually decreased. Around 1600 the sixth Tu'i Ha'atakalaua transferred several of his offices to one of his sons who therewith began the second lateral line of the Tu'i Tonga with the title of Tu'i Kanokupolu. The power of the Tu'i Kanokupolu increased very (669) much in the next two centuries. In 1799, during a revolt of the powerful chiefs, the ruling Tu'i Kanokupolu Tuku'aho was assassinated, and there followed many years of civil-warlike disorders in the Archipelago.

643 797 (113) Beginning in 1820, the capable and warlike chief Taufa'ahau of Ha'apai achieved increasing power. (299)

299. See A.H. Wood, History and geography of Tonga /cited in English/. p. 43 ff.

In 1834 he was christened George (Siaosi) by the Wesleyan missionaries. After futile attempts of the London Mission Society (1797-1800) and of their own church (1822-1823), the Wesleyans began once more missionary activity on the Tonga Islands in the year 1826, this time with increasing success. It seems the missionaries recognized early the valuable assistance that Taufa'ahau (George) was able to give them, and the latter likewise felt cooperation with the missionaries useful. In 1845 Taufa'ahau (the grandson of Tuku'aho and son of the next-to-the-last Tu'i Kanokupolu Tupouto'a) was elected Tu'i Kanokupolu (George Tupou I). However, the Tongan chiefs, as a result of old disputes that were further compounded by influences of different missions, (300)

300. Beginning in 1842 the Catholic mission also

/108 cont./

643 worked on Tongatapu.
797 were far from united and peaceful. The last war on Tongatapu did not
end until 1852, and George I was now ruler of a reunited and Christianized
state of all the Tonga Islands.

643 In a parliamentary speech in the year 1875 George stated that
554 the chiefs had transferred to him the status of Tu'i Tonga (301)
and of Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, and that he had decided to grant new titles
to two chiefs who by inheritance would have been entitled to these,
giving the first /chief/ the title of Kalaniuvala and the second the
643 title of Tungi. George Tupou I died in 1893 at the age of 96. His
grandson mounted the throne as George Tupou II and reigned until 1918.
He died that year and his daughter became Queen Charlotte (Salote)
Tupou. In her son, Tuni, the present Crown Prince, the three ancient
sovereign lines of Tonga are united inasmuch as his mother embodies
the line of the Tu'i Kanokupolu and the status of the Tu'i Tonga and
Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, and his father (the deceased prince consort Tungi)
was of Tu'i Ha'atakalaua blood.

643 /109/ George I had already in 1835 declared his subjects on
641 Lifuka (Ha'apai) free, at the advice of the missionaries. (302)
642
797 The laws which he enacted under missionary influence, in 1839 (303)
and 1850, were followed by the Constitution of 1862 according to which
all Tongans, chiefs as well as commoners, were to be equal before the
641 law. The people were given freedom and complete control over their
642 property, and a parliament consisting of chiefs and representatives
646

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301. The last (powerless) Tu'i Tonga died in 1865.

302. See A.H. Wood, loc. cit. p. 56.

[113) 303. S.S. Farmer, Tonga and the Friendly Islands /cited in English/. p. 264 ff.; Th. West, Ten Years in South Central Polynesia /cited in English/. p. 164.

/113 cont./

648 necessary experience in the European way of life and in the treatment
177 of whites. The missionaries, according to their rules, were not
[563] permitted to involve themselves too obviously in politics, and
[797] therefore scarcely count as teachers in this respect. Only white private persons could have been consulted as advisors, but this solution could not have averted the possibilites of conflicts with the members of various nations, possibly leading to a situation where Tonga could have become much more dependent on a major power than is the case with a protectorate.

[563] Today there are a number of Tongans who realize that the status of their country can be improved in future if it learns more of the knowledge and ways of Europeans and becomes capable of replacing white employees of the Tongan government with Tongans.

648 All ministers except the minister of finance (312)
177 312. He is a New Zealander.
563 are Tongans. However, working among the Togan ministers are influential
645 Whites. (313)
647 313. New Zealanders, English, Australians, Dutch.

Thus, for example, a European serving as "inspector of agriculture" /cited in English/ for the minister of agriculture, and a white physician serving as "chief medical officer" /cited in English/ for the minister of health, are doing important work. Though the Tongan ministers give their white employees the necessary authority listen to their advice and put many of their suggestions into practice, these Europeans are nevertheless always dependent on their Tongan superiors and have no extensive powers. For this reason and as a result of the easygoing nature of most Tongans, the effectiveness of white employees is limited. (314)

314. Except for the powers set forth in the protectorate agreements, which apply to the

829 /116 cont./

565
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> 320. S. is, of course, speaking very radically. A few commoners have indeed succeeded in being promoted to the highest administrative positions.

[465] At the top' are often those who were not as good in school as he, who
did not accomplish as much, and now earn 40£T. a month, and the ones
who, by their own efforts, struggled through in New Zealand and are
capable, have subordinate positions and earn 10 to 15£T.; they are
obliged to start at the very bottom, yet they know better than 'the
ones at the top' how the work up there should be done..."

829 In answer to the objection that there is, after all, no
indigence in Tonga, that there is enough food for everybody and that
life seems peaceful and, on the whole, happy, since every Tongan
can own a house and land and even money for his copra work, he says:
"But we are not free, we cannot influence government affairs or domestic policy."

642 The ancient Tonga state centrally ruled by a godlike Tu'i Tonga
177 has thus passed away, and Tonga is today a state with a European-like
643 structure accepted by the world of Whites. This change succeeded
[797] chiefly because, when it began, the uppermost power of the state was
already dissolved, and the capable personality of Taufa'ahau on his
way to supreme power was supported by the Wesleyan missionaries. The
develcpment was also able to run a peaceful course because Tonga, as
a protectorate, retained a certain independence and therefore could
642 preserve essential traits of its old government. In the person of
[565] Crown Prince Tungi, the future king, the three sovereign lines of
[644] Tonga were united, and the aristocracy has the key positions in the
government. The complicated system of the constitutional monarchy
[177] which in its peculiarities and possibilities is actually foreign to the
natives and difficult for them to understand, functions--with the more
or less obvious guidance of Europeans--as well as it can under the

/126 cont./

69 for example by guaranteeing the new rights of commoners. It is
177 astonishing how all classes of the Tonga people accept, and submit to,
565 this administration of justice, without reservation and as a matter
69
177 of course. Even the inhabitants of the small, remote islands of
184 the Archipelago eagerly avail themselves of the laws and courts if
565 an injustice done them by anyone seems greater than their equanimity
671 and peacefulness can accept. A full appreciation of this judicial
[777] system can be explained chiefly by the way it began: under the strong
influence of the Wesleyan missionaries, the uncontested authority of
the chiefs was transferred to the new government and to the church;
the demands and rights of these two institutions were incorporated
in the laws to which the government with its law courts was able to
give more and more authority. Naturally, the commoners found it
all the more easy to accept the new judicial system since it gave
them many advantages in comparison with the past. After initial
resistance, the chiefs accepted the Christian-democratic laws of
this, at first very church-minded state, probably in part because of
their religious feelings, and especially because resistance seemed
hopeless and would only have worsened their position.

3. THEIR ECONOMIC LIFE

A. Dwelling

a) House and House-Building

342
177 The Tongan dwellings (sleep houses) today present a very non-uniform picture, for the decline of ancient Tongan crafts as a result of European influences brought about a certain crudeness in the old type of houses, and through the importation of European building material as well as the spread of new methods of construction, there arose a diversity of "modern" types.

346 The sources (346)

276 261 262 272 273 /198 cont./
chewing gum and candy, tea, coffee and cocoa, and finally alcoholic beverages.

276 574 Of all these luxuries, kava alono belongs to ancient Tonga. Since kava drinking for most Tongans is a purely social event, it was already discussed in connection with the description of village life. (519)

519. See p. 144 ff.

[178] It merits repetition to say that today kava dominates all social life on the islands of the Archipelago at least as much as, if not more then in the past.

276 [797] /199/ For more than a century the Tongans have been familiar with the use of tobacco, (520)

520. See Ch. Wilkes, Narrative.../cited in English/ III. p. 26.

and though the missionaries at first fought bitterly against this "vice,"

521. Ibid., p. 26/27; O. W. Brierly, Brief geographical sketch.../cited in English/ p. 117.

today by far the majority of adult natives of both sexes smoke. 276 177 439 The younger Tongan men and women and those of middle age smoke imported English tobacco almost exclusively. They have become quite choosey about its quality, since several different brands are imported. Using a two-ounce packet of tobacco, they generally roll 60 (thicker) or 90 (thinner) cigarettes (using cigarette papers that have likewise been imported). Girls and women are just as skilfull as the men in rolling the cigarettes freehand. Imported cigarettes, which are obtainable in sufficient quantities and are not much more expensive than the "prime cost" of the self-rolled ones, are seldom smoked.

276 887 178 Old people (men as well as women), however, still prefer the

/227 cont./

512 [252] women, the husbands prepare earth-oven meals for their working wives.

may influence and change the customary daily routine of some families. [592] The size of the family naturally plays a part in the daily routine, since kinfolk (men as well as women) living with the family can make tasks easier or take them over from the other members of the household. 512 461 However, the Tongan men and women are, of course, the determining factor in the daily routine; undoubtedly there is a certain need to work, but owing to the climate and the relatively rich resources of their homeland, work is not heavy enough to be burdensome so that, with Tongan equanimity, many a plan can be cheerfully postponed for days or weeks, and one can take a nap if one feels in the mood, or spend a forenoon or an afternoon at a game. (591)

591. On the other hand, it sometimes happens that during the hottest period of the day (around 13 or 14 o'clock) men will work on the plantations and women, for example, will gather food along the shore while the majority of villagers take a rest.

512 527 The daily routine as described applies only to the week days from Monday to Friday, for on Saturday preparations are made for Sunday: the men bring food for Sunday from the plantations (or from the sea), and the women are busy (besides their daily chores of preparing meals, taking care of the house, attending to the children) washing clothes and cleaning the grassy areas of their properties, which the men have cut short. The Sunday routine is, however, quite different. [797] [461] As a result of the missionization of the Archipelago, chiefly carried on by the Wesleyans, there is strict observance of rest from work on this day. [796] Early in the morning (usually around five o'clock) people attend the /228/ first church service followed, in the course of the day, by two or three further church attendances,

/245 cont./

436 within the community. Yet up to the present time the old feeling of
177 solidarity of the Tongans proved to be stronger, especially on the
178 small islands where those who, for instance, give plantation
182 products to their neighbors only for money are regarded as alien
elements in the village community. In and around the chief towns,
[432] however, selling of food is already taken for granted, but at the
[574] same time community feeling has not been destroyed in these settlements;
for example, every Tongan can enter here a house uninvited and take
part in a meal.

Thus money has become an important economic factor in Tonga. The
natives have become accustomed to it to a certain extent. In the
harbor towns of the Archipelago, especially, money has brought about
certain changes and has had, in part, a negative, though as yet a
limited influence on the old community life. An average Tongan,
however, does not have the attitude toward money characteristic of
a European. The reasons for this lies not only in the more even-
(181) tempered, casual manner of these natives and in the fact that thinking
in terms of money and self-interest are contrary to the Tongan
tradition, but especially in the fact that today, as in old times,
they can still live without money. Although every Tongan man and
woman, even on the smallest islands of the Archipelago, comes into
contact with money, some of these natives do not have a penny, for
they live chiefly on their land and can ask relatives or neighbors
for whatever they need from the outside world.

/246/

4. THEIR RELIGION

771
177 As for the religion of the Tongans, the strongest European
797 influences (missions) are to be noted, which have led to a fundamental
change in this field.

772 The ancient Polynesian (and the ancient Tongan) conception of the

/247 cont./

771 p. 207 ff.).

which were closely associated with the high chiefs, there was no
(346) systematic worship of the gods. There were few temples on the
islands; they did not differ greatly from the dwellings of the chiefs.
(778) Only a few wooden figures of gods existed in the Archipelago. The
793 (shamanlike) /248/ priests played a subordinate role and were by no
771 means united in a special, powerful rank. (664)

664. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 145 ff.

(776) They were inspired by the gods which each priest served; the chiefs
(787) asked them for counsel and the sick and dying were brought in front
of their dwellings so that they might induce the gods to heal them.
755 In order to dispose the gods favorably toward the recovery of the
782 sufferers, their relatives of lower rank offered joints of their
304 little fingers (or parts of the fingers), (665)
565

771 665. See J. Martin, loc. cit. I. p. 454; II. pp. 222/223.

and if all pleading and even the finger sacrifices were unable to save the dying chief, then a child of one's circle of relatives was strangled in order to dispose the gods to be merciful by means of this supreme sacrifice. (666)

(784) 666. Ibid. I. pp. 378 ff., 454; II. p. 220 ff. If a specially serious crime was committed, the natives also tried to avert disaster threatened by the gods through a child sacrifice (ibid. I. p. 228 ff.).

771 In Tongan society there are few examples of definite disbelief
● 779 (667)

177 667. See E.W. Gifford, Tongan society. p. 347; J. Martin, loc. cit. I. pp. 159, 338/339. II. p. 1 ff.

and although perhaps not all commoners could become reconciled to their lot of complete extinction after death, (668)

/248 cont./

771 668. See J. Martin, *loc*. *cit*. II. p. 136.

797 nevertheless, the great majority of all strata of the population
177 believed firmly and unshakably in the power of the gods and
obediently subordinated themselves to the supposed expression of
their will and especially to the taboos--until the missionaries,
through skillful and systematic work, destroyed this religion and
Christianized the Tongan people.

797 After unsuccessful missionary attempts of the London Mission
Society (1797/99) and of the Wesleyans (1822/23), the latter, in
1826, renewed their work of conversion and, through zealous and
purposeful work, succeeded in completing most of their Christinization
of the entire Archipelago by the year 1852. They, like their churches,
were Anglo-Saxon puritanical missionaries, and preached Christianity
with an Old Testament coloring. Despite all kinds of difficulties and,
in part, stubborn resistance and distrust on the part of the Tongans,
they achieved their goal by winning over influential chiefs and by
demonstrating the impotence of the Tongan gods. No resistance was
[793] possible from a united, consolidated priesthood, since this did
not exist. However, the chiefs who feared the loss of their old
powerful supremacy were a strong obstacle, as were all those who,
consciously or unconsciously, felt that Christianization would mean
the loss of ancient Tongan values. On the other hand, during their
contact with Europeans, the Tongans came to know their superiority
in many areas of life, /249/ and some natives believed that the
whites owed their superior knowledge, their might and wealth to the
special power of their gods, and they were therefore willing to
listen to the new teaching. In the personality of Chief Taufa'ahau,
finally, the Wesleyan missionaries found an invaluable aid in the
conversion of the Tongans. In 1842, Catholic missionaries also
started their work on Tongatapu; they came too late to be able to

/249 cont./

797 develop an effectiveness comparable to the Wesleyans who at that
time had already been working intensively for 16 years. But even
they converted a number of Tongans to their faith and were able to
found a few congregations, especially since they embraced a few
heathen chiefs whom the Wesleyan Tongans, for political reasons,
regarded as hostile, and because they often proved more tolerant
642 then the Methodists. The year 1852 then brought the final consolida-
643 tion of a Christianized, peaceful and united Kingdom of all the Tonga
797 Islands under the aforementioned Taufa'ahau who, as King George Tupou
I, ruled into the 90s of the 19th century. (669)

669. See p. 158 ff.; for the history of the missionization of the Tonga Archipelago see also G. Koch, "Die fruhen europaischen Einflusse auf die Kultur der Bewohner der Tonga-Inseln" /Early European influences on the culture of the inhabitants of the Tonga Islands/, manuscript dissertation, Gottingen 1949. pp. 70-83.

771 Today all Tongans are Christians so much as a matter of course
178 and with such devotion that their old religion is almost completely
forgotten. The ancient Tongan conception of the world with the
(772) idea of high and low beings has been replaced by the Christian ideas
of the good (pleasing to God) and the evil (satanic). The idea of
771 the phantom-being that characterized only the nobility has been
775 superseded by the belief in the individual eternal soul of all ranks
565 of Tongans and the resurrection of the body. The conviction that
772 all misdeeds were punished only on earth and that the phantom-being
178 of nobles alone led a paradisiac life in distant pulotu was replaced
by the Christian doctrine of divine justice not only in this world,
of damnation and hell, of slavation and heaven. Instead of the
771 virtually countless Tongan gods there is only one almighty God
776 (in a Trinity which, to be sure, is difficult to comprehend). The
178
000

795 /252 cont,/ In 1885 King George Tupou I, with the aid
794 (or at the instigation?) of his Premier, the former Wesleyan mission-
643 ary Shirley Baker, tried to obtain Tongan autonomy for this church.
[645] When he was denied this, George founded the Wesleyan Free Church of
(797) Tonga, alongside of which the Wesleyan Church continued to exist. In
1923/24, under the influence of Queen Salote Tupou, it was decided to
unite the two churches under the name of Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga.
795 The majority of Tongans joined this church, while some of the natives
794 remained faithful to the Wesleyan Free Church (first known as
Continuing Free Church, then as Free Church of Tonga). But in this
[578] church, too, differences of opinion arose, which evidently pertained
to its white president, and a group split off and in 1928 founded the
Church of Tonga.

795 The three Wesleyan churches in Tonga show scarcely any differences
578 in dogma. Their division is based on administrative disputes, some of
the reasons for which lie in the pride and self-assurance of the Tongans
who would like to control their church and its finances themselves.
[643] The present Queen Salote, in her not quite successful attempt to unite
the churches (1923/24), was drawn into the dispute to the extent that
some Tongans of the minority Wesleyan churches blame her for this
step and sometimes even come to some not altogether valid conclusions
/253/ /saying/, for example, that "all this confusion comes from Her
Majesty the Queen." Yet, although the seven denominations in Tonga
are rivals and are pleased whenever a new member from another church
comes over to them, and although there is occasional unfriendliness,
especially between Wesleyans and Catholics, there is nevertheless no
open and bitter opposition to be observed. Rather, there is a quiet
and rigid insistence on the different points of view. And the old
[186] community feeling of the Tongans still outweighs the seven ecclesias-
tical divisions of the people. Many natives take it for granted that
Wesleyan, for example, give donations when money is collected for

/253 cont./
346 the floor and a small wooden table for the preacher, to complete
352 furnishings, with a pulpit and benches. In the Catholic churches /254/
and chapels one finds altars and the customary decor.

797 Only a few white missionaries are still working on the islands.
793 In general, the Tongans carry on the work begun by Europeans, and
794 conduct the services themselves. The individual Wesleyan congregations
are headed by native clergymen and, in accordance with the character of
the Methodist church, they are assisted by a number of lay preachers.
In the Catholic churches of the Archipelago a bishop and several priests
officiate, but on the smaller islands native catechists have taken over
their work, provided they are authorized to do so according to the
organization of the Catholic church. Tongans also head some of the
Mormon congregations.

796 The number of church services is relatively large. The Wesleyans
generally go to church six times a week: Mondays at 17 o'clock,
Wednesdays at 5 (6) o'clock, Fridays at 17 o'clock and Sundays at
[533] 5 (6), 9 and 15 o'clock. (In addition there are often rehearsals of
[794] the quite large church choirs on two or three evenings a week.) In
the Catholic churches the morning masses are read every day, and at
18 o'clock the evening prayer service is held; in addition, on Sundays
there is high mass at 8 o'clock and the benediction at 16 o'clock.

796 Attendance at the services is very active; most Wesleyan Tongans,
794 for example, scarcely miss one of them; (677) they willingly get up early for them and cease their plantation
work in time so that they will not be late for church. (678)

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[578] 677. In the villages, however, there are some who, for various reasons (for example, because they have an antipathy to the priest) stay away from services for years.

678. On the subject of punctuality at church services see p. 33-34.

794
883 /255 cont./ Although the younger Tongans generally have a similar attitude toward the church as the older ones, there are a few among them who are freer (680) and more critical, and some who are even skeptical; it is difficult to say whether this is the beginning of a certain change (that is, a weakening of the old zealous faith), or whether it is merely an attitude that can be attributed to the youth of the persons in question, which will change as they grow older and will become more stable in the religious sense.

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177 In summarizing we may therefore conclude: The ancient Tongan religion is a thing of the past except for a few insignificant surviving elements, and Christianity has become an essential factor in the life of all Tongans whose religious needs are obviously being satisfied by the churches, and whose zealous devoutness is today probably stronger than in many traditional Christian countries. ● [797] Although the missionaries destroyed the belief in the ancient gods and the effectiveness of the tapu which cast its shadow over all of life, this did not mean a disruption and a catastrophe in the lives of the Tongans. [829] For in place of the old that was overthrown there was immediately something new that was highly revered and they could believe in, all the more so because Christianity seemed to the natives the reason for Europe's so successful development. (681) [565] Since the commoners were recognized as having the same status before God, the same prospects for a life in the next world as did the nobles, the population could be won over to the new religion all the more easily. [797] The present findings show that the great majority of Tongans are very devout Christians, hence the goal of the early missionaries

680. Some young Tongans, for example, attend the Wesleyan services only on Sunday.

681. During their conversion the bible was often regarded as the source of ability and power, and thus they were very willing to learn to read.

/255 cont./

77 177 [797] in this Archipelago was reached; the discrepancy occasional observed between belief and action is doubtless a universal attribute of human nature.

/256/ The change in Tongan religion is thus merely an exchange of the old belief in supernatural powers for a new belief in divine omnipotence. At the same time we must not forget that Christianization strengthened and deepened the religiousness of this people.

5. THEIR ART AND THEIR PLAY

A. Music, Poetry and Dance

764 349 643 The visual arts were not very highly developed in ancient Tonga. Noteworthy are only the step pyramids (langi) (682) built up out of coral limestone plates, in which the supreme rulers, the Tu'i Tonga (and their high-ranking relatives) were once interred, as well as the large trilithon "Ha'amonga 'a Maui," a gate-shaped stone structure (probably around 1200 A.D.) at Kolonga/Tongatapu.

532 Aside from that, only the few wooden sculptures of gods are to be mentioned.

341 532 178 In present-day Tonga there are no visual arts, since such works of architecture and sculpture have not been created for a long time because of political and religious changes in the Archipelago, and the modern period has apparently given no impetus to such efforts.

533 538 The musical and poetic arts, on the other hand, were carried on in the pre-European era to a great extent. Ancient Tongan music and explorers and the great seafarers who came after them. Europeanization, (177) (797) especially the Wesleyan Christianization of these islands, however, brought a change and also a suppression of these arts which therefore appear today in an essentially altered form.

533 Song was quite popular in ancient Tonga. The natives sang

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682. See also W.C. McKern, Archaeology of Tonga /cited in English/. p. 33 ff.

/261 cont./

535 served chiefly as entertainment and were performed on joyful occasions, especially at the festivities of chiefs; (708)

708. For example, J. Martin, loc. cit. I. p. 137.

but big dances were also staged on the occasion of important acts of worship (for example, burials of great chiefs, (709)

709. S.J.Wilson, Missions-Reise /Missionary journey/...p. 365; J. Martin, loc. cit. I. p. 417.

inasi-festival) (710)

710. See E.E.V. Collocott, Tales...p. 116.

large dances were staged. The reports of European seafarers who visited the islands in those days are full of admiration for the skill and perfect uniformity of movement which the Tongans displayed in the grand group dances.

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[177]
[777] Today large dances are seldom performed. Since the suppression of this art by the early Wesleyan missionaries who substituted studying the bible in place of the "heathenish games, dances and similar endless amusements," (711)

711. See Th. West, Ten years...pp. 213/214.

the ancient Tongan dance has not had a special flowering, although, thanks to the (diplomatic) tolerance of the Catholic missionaries (712)

712. See Annales...XVIII. pp. 26/27.

and to the conservative attitude of older chiefs, (713)

713. See B. Thomson, Savage island /cited in English/ p. 218.

it has been handed down to the present in various forms, and is today even taught in the schools and practiced for the large school festivals to be presented in contests between individual classes.

[527] Nonetheless, for very special occasions (for example, a wedding

/263 cont./

535 take part) in such a way that the men form the left half (as seen
554 from the observer) and the women (girls) the right half; the highest ranking male participant is first in the front men's row (he stands in the center ["juncture"] of the first men-women row), the highest ranking female participant dances beside him--as the first in her row. The best male dancer is the right-hand man of the highest ranking male (corresponding to the best female dancer to the left of the highest ranking female). The quality of the dancers decreases
[565] toward the wings, but the persons at the wing ends are usually skilled nobles.

535 Behind the dance group there often sits a chorus (men and women
533 of random numbers). Songs (715)
[534] are the sole accompaniment of the laka-laka. Musical instruments are not used. With manifold, precisely coordinated movements of arms, hands and feet (individual steps in various directions), of the torso, the head, the eyes, the eyebrows and the shoulders, male and female dancers illustrate the contents of the songs sung (about the Queen, the Crown Prince, the chiefs, the beauties of the landscape, the Treaty with England, the World Wars, the automobile and the airplane, etc.). At special achievements the audience breaks in with bravo-shouts (malie!), and after the dance they applaud appreciatively.

> 715. Various texts with various melodies are sung to the laka-laka; usually only newly composed laka-laka are danced.

535 The laka-laka may be danced at all hours of the day.

The laka-laka in its entirety is doubtless not an ancient Tongan
[797] dance. It is said to have originated from the marching drills of Tongan children in the former mission schools (laka-laka = to march [rapidly]). However, there are probably all kinds of ancient Tongan

535 178 [797] [669] (794) /267 cont./ The reason for this decline is doubtless the suppression of this art by the early Wesleyan missionaries; the restless times of the civil wars in the first half of the previous century may also have had a deterring effect. The more liberal /268/ views (726)

> 726. Even today the active members of the Wesleyan congregations may take part in dances only if their pastor gives them permission.

of recent times and the fact that today dances are taught in schools and are also presented at church festivals have not been able to revive this art to the height of the ancient times, for the original impulse, namely, the absolute power of the chiefs at whose command and for whom the dances were once practiced, has been too much weakened, and there is no other stimulaus that is as strong.

B. Games of Adults and Children

524 In ancient Tonga there were a great many different games (that is, activities that were carried out solely for pleasure).

524 565 Among adults, the chiefs and their *matapule* like to engage in a hand-gesture game (*liangi*?) which had special rules; (727)

> 727. See J. Martin, *loc. cit.* II. pp. 339-341; J.J. Labillardiere, *Relation*.../Account/ II. p. 146.

the lower classes were familiar with a similar, but simpler game (*matua*). (728)

> 728. See J. Martin, *loc. cit.* II. p. 344.

524 565 526 Other games, likewise subject to rules, with several participants, were *lafo*, played only by the nobility (played with chips thrown on a mat), (729)

> 729. For example, J. Martin, *loc. cit.* II. p. 343; E.W. Gifford, *Tongan society*, p. 117.

rat shooting (*fana kuma*) (a hunting game) (730)

> 730. See J. Martin, *loc. cit.* I. pp. 279-284.

put on by the nobility, the spear target-throwing (*tolo*) (in which a

/272 cont./

524 There are numerous variations of this game; for example, in the subse-
857 quent tossing series, while the first nut is in the air, a girl will pick up three of the four nuts lying on the ground and finally the last one, or she will keep all five nuts in her hand, throw one in the air, put another on the ground while the first one is in flight, then catch the first one and continue with this tossing-putting down-catching until all five nuts have been placed on the ground. If she misses catching one, if her hand slips, she has lost and another girl takes her turn.

Nowadays girls also sometimes play "Hinkekasten" /?/ and the smaller ones also simply play with empty cans to which they fasten a piece of string so that they have a little pail. The coconut-shell "stilts" with which one sometimes sees little girls walking around are, as the name indicates (su nge'eṣi niu = coconut-shell shoes), a modern toy; they put their feet on two coconut-shell halves lying on their open sides on the ground; on each of these, through a hole in the curvature, a band (for example, a pandanus-leaf strip) is fastened, and by pulling these bands which are slipped between the first two toes and drawing them taut with their hands they hold the shells firmly under their feet and can stalk about in this way.

524 In summary we may say about the modern games of adults and children
526 that most of them are of European origin. This change probably came
177 about chiefly as a result of the influence of Wesleyan puritanical
[797] missionaries who strove to replace the "heathen games" with church
services, prayers and bible-study. (743)

743. See Th. West, Ten years...pp. 213/214.

[565] The democratization of the Islands brought about by Christianization led to a decline of the power of the nobility and with it the loss of games tied to the nobility, as well as group sports and contests organized at the suggestion of the nobility. After Christianization of

/272 cont./

524 526 [177] (517) the Archipelago European games replaced the ancient Tonga ones, some of which were by that time already forgotten or seemed uninteresting. Probably people play less today in Tonga than they did in the past, for the church takes up much of the Tongans' time, and the energy required by their work (on plantations and at copra production) is now greater than it was in past centuries. Nonetheless, the idea of play, though in new forms, has been preserved on the Islands.

/273/

6. THEIR KNOWLEDGE

861 178 [871] In ancient Tonga the natives learned everything they needed to know for living through oral tradition, unsystematic guidance and their own experience. To judge from ancient sources, there were no "schools" of any kind (not even for priests and seafarers). The young natives of both sexes and all ranks grew into their life tasks and in this way acquired all the knowledge they needed to regulate their affairs.

Today too most Tongan men and women do not obtain the knowledge they need for their everyday life systematically; they simply imitate their elders; they learn chiefly by "seeing and taking part." Tonga--as in the past--is an island country with a predominantly farming population. Only a few trades are more widespread and, in contrast to the past, only a small group of natives out of the total number of inhabitants are engaged in newly created professions. (744)

744. See pp. 358-361.

From the standpoint of present economic life, an increase and change in their knowledge as seen from the European point of view is scarcely necessary, since in the villages children as a matter of course grow into the activities of their parents (who are "masters of their world"), and on the small islands there are few opportunities of applying the school-acquired knowledge of the whites.

871 177 797 Nevertheless, schools were established in the Archipelago as early

/273 cont./

871 an 1826 by the Wesleyan missionaries because these messengers of the
177 faith regarded the transmission of European knowledge an indispensable
[797] prerequisite for the successful work of conversion. European teaching increased more and more in the course of decades, and soon had considerable success among these islanders who were intelligent and for the most part eager to learn. Almost all Tongan adults living in the Archipelago, of all ages and ranks, have attended one of the schools now run by the government and by the various religious groups. The natives have thus largely adopted the average school knowledge of the whites.

212 Today, among this once illiterate people, there are only a few who cannot read and write. Of the adult Tongans of both sexes up to about 40 or 50 years of age approximately 97 to 99 percent can read and write, while at least 70 to 75 percent of the older generation have some experience in it.

803 /274/ The vast majority of Tongans, who knew the decimal system
177 even in the pre-European era, (745) are now likewise skilled in European-style math (approximately 85 to 100 percent, depending on their stage of life).

745. See E.A.W. von Zimmermann, Australien... /Australia/ vol. I. section 2. p. 654.

871 The "history of Tonga" (as taught in schools today) is known to al-
814 most all the younger generation, whereas the older generation was usually not taught this newer subject. About half the natives over 50 years, and about 80 - 90 percent of the younger Tongan men and women have become acquainted with the "history of the world," (especially the history of Great Britain.)

Most of the younger natives are well aquainted with the geography of the Tonga Archipelago--especially through their school (map-drawing)--whereas the information of the older generation (on account of the newness of this teaching subject) is limited to personal experiences

/284 cont./

175 these meant only the possession of supplementary or improved equipment.
177 /285/ No essential changes were created as a result of them, except
for the fact that iron was introduced and gained importance in Tongan
177 culture which had been without metal. European influences were very
much intensified, however, with the beginning of systematic missionizing
work in the Archipelago in 1826. In 1852 the Islands were Christianized.
In 1862 the democratized system of government received a special
constitution which, in 1875, was replaced by one fashioned on the
British model. During this development toward a Christianized,
constitutional kingdom, the material and spiritual influence or the
inhabitants steadily continued. Yet the pace of this process was never
too rapid nor were its effect too great since, because of the remoteness
and smallness of the island territory that had no riches worth
mentioning, there was never great interest concentrated on it by whites,
and the indifferent and conservative attitude of the Tongans also had
a deterring effect.

177 The cultural change in Tonga came about in various ways: In
797 particular, purposeful whites who brought about this contact (above all,
the missionaries, as well as officials and merchants) effected it by
destroying the old religion, "liberating" the commoners and importing
consumer goods on a large scale; but the ideas and the products of the
whites were also disseminated by the Tongans themselves, even as far as
the smallest island of the Archipelago. In some cases it was a matter
of a whole complex of changes, since the missionaries, for example, felt
obliged to change not individual aspects of Tongan life, but several
interrelated areas of their culture; thus they strove to obliterate the
power of the taboo along with the ancient Tongan religion, and to
replace the godlike chieftain system with its arbitrary power by a
177 178 Christian and democratic state with a proper judicial system. In

000 /305 cont./

T F especially in building of "bath houses." In the care of their bodies
515 there is a certain change to be noted--as in Tonga--through European
177 influences (soap, towel) and their continued use of the ancient body oil.

T F
302 Their hair style has likewise changed, for the Fijians--like the
177 Tongans--often cut their hair short nowadays in the European fashion,
T F and the old, puffed-out hair style is seen rather seldom. The clothing
291 of these natives--like that of the Tongans--has also changed very
177 much as a result of missionization and the importation of textiles; however, the younger Fijians wear pants (shorts /cited in English/) far more than is customary in the other Archipelago. Old articles of adornment are scarcely seen any more among the natives of both sexes; the change, the loss in this area is even greater than among the
T F Tongans. Tattooing, which was little practiced in former times in Fiji
304 has probably been forgotten everywhere, and does not live on in
178 "modern" form as on the Tonga Islands. However, circumcision is apparently still commonly practiced among the Fijians and, as in Tonga, is today a custom that the natives adhere to without attributing to it a deeper significance.

T F In the social sphere it is to be noted, first of all, that in
581 Fiji--exactly as in Tonga--marriage has been given a Christian basis
177 as a result of the missionization of the natives. A freer conception
797 of married life is, however, to be observed here as in the Archipelago
T F under comparison. On the Fiji Islands, too, the custom of brother-
593 sister avoidance is apparently still rather strictly observed, whereas
604 the old "privileged position in relation to the mother's brother"
178 survives in a weaker form than in Tonga--perhaps because of more
T F drastic colonial legislation. The Fijians, like the Tongans, have
601 kept their classificatory kinship terms. The festivals at the stages
T F
585 of life (birth, nuptials, death), as in the Tonga Archipelago, show
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177 /317 cont./ With regard to death and burial, these Africans prove quite conservative,
764 for they have scarcely changed the traditional form of their mourning
765 customs, and have also largely retained their old methods of burial;
178 in contrast to this, several of the old mourning customs in Tonga
T
177 have been given up because the missionaries fought against them.

797
765 /318/ Community life with its system of mutual obligations and
G aid has today become distinctly individualized among the Baganda
571 whose feeling of kinship beyond the individual economic performance
621
476 is beginning to make itself felt far more than among the Islanders.

178 As for social stratification, conditions in ancient Buganda were
T similar to those in pre-European Tonga insofar as commoners were
G
565 subordinate to chiefs by whom land was allotted to them and for whom
they were obliged to work, and on whose wishes they were dependent.
But, in contrast to the Archipelago, the people here had the right
to leave their chief if they were discontent with him, and the class
of chiefs was not a closed caste; rather, every man could entertain
the hope of some day being appointed chief by the king. Through
G European influences and intervention the old style of administration
565 of chiefs was here too largely changed and became a sort of "native
177 civil service" /cited in English/. Personal capability and
554 European training are today important for the position of chief,
which is no longer hereditary even in its previously already limited
G form. The traditional services rendered by commoners to their king
[651] and the chiefs have in this country also been replaced by the payment
of taxes.

T Governmental development proceeded in a similar manner in the two
G
648 areas under comparison insofar as Great Britain set up a protectorate
over Tonga as well as Buganda in 1900, and in the agreements relating
G to these, recognized the ruling house of the two kingdoms. The
177 government in this African country has also been based on a Western
643 model; thus Kabaka rules over his people with the help of his three
645
646

G /318 cont./
177
643 ministers (premier, superior judge, finance minister) and with the
645 help of the Lukiko (native council). The governor of Uganda, as
646 advisory (or supervisory) authority which represents the Protectorate
G
635 power has a function similar to the "British Agent and Consul"
648 /cited in English/ in Tonga, but seems to be even more influential
T
648 than the latter.

G With regard to the distribution of land it is noteworthy that in
T
648 both kingdoms the English have safeguarded native land ownership, (49)
and that at the same time there were important changes in this area
G as a result of European influence. For, although the Uganda Agreement
648 of 1900 confirmed the landed property of the chiefs who happened to be
423 in power, a sort of fixed and private land ownership (over which /319/
177 an individual owner had absolute right of disposal) was created, which
G had not previously existed. According to the law, the commoners who
423 cultivate the land enjoy greater security, and the duties imposed on
241 them are less than those previously customary. Since almost every
[671] non-landowning Muganda has the ambition to buy the land on which he
[185] works and thus free himself from dependence on the big landowner, a
gradual reduction /in size/ (or distribution) of land holdings has been
brought about, whereby Buganda will gradually become a regular country
T
177 of small farmers. This development resembles that introduced in Tonga
●797 in the last century at the instigation of the Wesleyan missionaries,
423 though with the difference that there the natives became tenant farmers
241 whose rights are legally attested and whose plots of land are properties
of the Tongan crown (and owned by the government, the royal house or
the group of nopele).

T
G With regard to the administration of justice in modern Buganda--
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49. Moreover, Buganda seems to have had little power of attraction for white planters.

/323 cont./

121 If the mental and material culture of a people is already some-
177 thing tremendously complex as a result of the great variety of its forms and their ramifications and connections, the change of such a culture seems an even more complicated subject in view of the forces and factors which act on the diversity of this culture. For the sake of clarity and in order to avoid aimless rambling and confusion by attempting to do justice to everything, we shall here try merely to give a comprehensive, simplified and general consideration of the reasons for the course of the change in Tongan culture.

/324/ The first part of this essay, the investigation of the change in various individual areas of Tongan culture form the bases of the following conclusions:

177 A large part of the change occurred simply as a result of the pressure brought to bear on the Tongans and their culture by European influences.

[797] Thus, the activity of the missionaries affected especially the area of religion (and the once so universal belief in taboos) and, more or less contingent on this, the clothing and ornamentation of all the natives, their customs surrounding marriage and death, the previous scarcely circumscribed privileges of the nobility in relation to the commoners, furthermore political development, land distribution and jurisdiction, art and games and finally knowledge in general.

177 Included in the idea of "pressure brought to bear by European
642 influences" is the effectiveness of the modern Tongan state (under the
797 British Protectorate) founded a century ago under the influences of the Wesleyans, /a state/ whose laws and institutions are responsible, for example, for the change in health care and education and whose registrations of birth, marriage and death give these events a European tinge, just as the missionaries before that provided them with Christian attributes.

/325 cont./

177 of goods--change of material cultural possessions; European tools--decline of the ancient handicrafts [ornaments, dwellings, boat building]).

177 797 [643] Special circumstances facilitated or made possible the cultural change in Tonga. For example, the heads of government in the Archipelago, at the beginning of stronger European influences (missionization), lost their actual power as a result of the historical development of the island kingdom. [793] [771] Furthermore, the Christianization of the people was favored by the absence of a powerful Tongan priesthood and by a certain laxity at the time in the worship of their gods.

177 On the other hand, the impact of European influences was, for various reasons, moderated or made impossible.

Thus, the Europeans in this Archipelago did not exert as much pressure as they did on some other primitive peoples. There was no particular decimation of Tongans through sickness, alcohol or terroristic attacks. Only relatively few Europeans came to these islands, and the natives kept a certain independence. The whites have not taken away their land, either in the past or in the present, and there were no violent European repression or extermination operations comparable to those in Tasmania, Australia and North America. Moreover, the whites did not exploit (or deport) Tongans workers, nor did they establish larger enterprises here. Since the Tongans have a kingdom of their own with relatively great freedom of self-determination and, moreover, only a small number of Europeans live in the Archipelago, the danger of friction between browns and whites has been slight up to the present time.

Within the framework of this development some areas of Tongan culture have experienced but weak European influences, and since the natives have not become acquainted with European culture in its

/329 cont./

177 178 from the example set by Europeans (for instance, tools, household equipment) are happily taken over, that the old form of government (with its more or less absolute power of chiefs, administration of justice and land distribution) succumbs to the pressure of whites as soon as this is resolutely carried out, and that religion and with it art and knowledge for the same reason undergo a great change. 177 As a result of the inclusion of these peoples in the European economic and administrative system the natives begin to acquire money through specific harvest sales and to use it in their fashion, they learn new professions and experience the opening-up of their homeland through modern traffic routes and methods of transportation used by whites.

177 178 In various areas of these native cultures the European element has not had such far-reaching consequences, and the old and the new still exist /330/ side by side, or have achieved a temporary or even definitive fusion; we experience this, for example, in bodily grooming and health care, as well as in household equipment and, very significantly, in the customs surrounding the stages of life, namely, birth, marriage and death, and likewise in the field of name-giving.

Some cultural traits, finally, seem scarcely changed. These include the more intimate iife of natives (conjugal and family life (59) and the community system), (60) style of living, means of sustenance (planting, basic diet) and the division of labor according to sex.

[177] 59. If it does not openly violate the demands of the missionaries.

60. Insofar as it was highly developed in pre-European times.

123
tacked to meet her. It[A] was about 15 feet in length, without any 501
carving or ornament, and having a single outrigger. There were
four natives in it, all naked with the exception of a little tappa, or 505
native cloth, wrapped round the waist, and reaching down to the [291]
knee. They came out against a heavy swell, often dashing right
through the crests of the waves, which at times broke completely
over them. They were talking to each other with great rapidity 123
and animation as they approached, and, as we looked at them, not 505
at all expecting to hear anything we should understand, one of 191
them hailed us in perfectly good English, "Square the main
yard!" As this had been already done some short time before
to allow the canoe to come up with us, this speech was no
doubt intended to show us how well he could speak English. A 505
rope being thrown over, one of them scrambled up the side, the
canoe pushing off again with the rest. The native who came on 142
board was a fine man about six feet in height, with really handsome
features, and a fine open expression that was quite prepossessing.
He was tatooed upon the breast and across the back of one hand, 304
and had lost one of his fingers. When he came on deck he announced
himself as a pilot, asked whether we were English or 502
French, and then pointed out the passage through the reefs to
the anchorage, watching the ship, and saying "very good," as she
came up to her course, and then, going forward, took up his station
on the bowsprit. The entrance to the anchorage is between a 502
mass of coral reefs and islets on the northern side of the island, and 133
is very narrow, but our native pilot showed the greatest coolness
and judgment in conducting us through it. Within the entrance 133
the anchorage spreads out into a bay with deep water right up to
the reef which skirts the shore.

Owing to the want of high ground there is nothing very striking [368]
in the appearance of the island, which from the sea forms a continuous
line of palms rising over a beach of coral, the highest part
being the small mount opposite the anchorage at Nu-ku-alófa, on
which stands the native church and a small stone, marking the
grave of Captain Croker, of H.M.S. "Favourite," who was killed
at Béa, in the island, in 1840. Upon the beach were some very 361
large sheds, and many pretty huts enclosed by neatly made fences.

When we had anchored, a whole fleet of small canoes, bringing 505
crowds of natives, came off to the ship. In the afternoon a party
was made up to go on shore. At the landing-place we were met 123
by a large troop, principally children and young women, with two [411]
or three young men, one of whom carried a bayonet fixed upon
the end of a pole. The women were dressed in short jackets of [291]
coloured cotton, with sleeves reaching down to the elbows, and
petticoats of tappa fastened round the waist. As we were going [797]
away to look for the houses of the missionaries, a native came

A[i.e., a Tongan canoe--Analyst.]

102: Brierly T-3 (1850) 1852
OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu

running up to tell us that they were on their way down, and 123
shortly afterwards we were met by two of these gentlemen, Mr. 797
Lawry and Mr. Amos, whom we accompanied to their houses.
The road lay between rows of very neatly made matted fencing, 363
by which the town was divided into regular lanes, shaded by the 137
cocoa-nut trees and bananas which grew on each side, forming 417
beautiful avenues over them. The missionaries had very neat 797
cottages with green lawns before them: and we recognized, 137
among many beautiful island plants, the rose and a variety of
English flowers, together with peas and other vegetables, all of
which appeared to thrive well. By the time we had made our 123
call here it became too late to see much more that night, and we
returned on board.

The following morning (June 20th) I accompanied Capt.
Keppel and a party to see an examination of the native school.
The scholars were all assembled upon a lawn within a fence, 877
which enclosed the school-houses and huts of the native teachers; 291
these were principally young women and girls—and like those we
had seen upon landing, wore a kind of upper body dress of
coloured cotton hanging loosely over the shoulders, with petti-
coats of tappa partly gathered into folds round the waist. Many [302]
had a species of convolvulus wound a great many times round the
waist, surrounding the body with a mass of leaves and flowers; [751]
and all had their skins rubbed over with cocoanut-oil, which they
use both as a protection from the sun, and because they think it
adds to their beauty. Most of them had cotton bags containing 877
their books and writing materials; and those who had not bags 415
carried them carefully wrapped in pieces of new tappa. They
were arranged in ranks placed so as to form three sides of a 872
square; and one of the missionaries, standing in the centre, 797
directed their movements by a whistle which he carried. At a
preparatory call all the monitors came out and stood apart from
the rest, and at a second signal they formed in line, and, led by the
missionary, started off at a moderately quick step; the rest of the
scholars falling in behind, all chanting at the same time in full
chorus, the procession winding backwards and forwards until they
formed a figure four deep. Other figures were then formed,
until a signal from the missionary called a halt, and they went
into the "Fále Lautóhi," or reading-room, a large house built in
the native style, where they sat down on the ground in six rows,
the young women and girls being placed in the middle lines. A 872
large number of the people attended, sitting on the ground
outside. The examination opened by the scholars singing a
hymn, then repeating portions of the Catechism, and going through
the Multiplication Table; reading chapters from the Bible, writ-
ing and geography also formed part of their exercises. In repeat-

102: Brierly T-3 (1850) 1852
OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu

what at first we took to be a canoe, about 5 feet in length and 634
18 inches deep; this was the "lali," or great drum of the town, 202
which was beaten to call the people together on important occasions. 123
The old chief, seeing our curiosity excited about it, took 534
up the sticks, two pieces of wood about 18 inches long, and began [609]
to beat it most vigorously, smiling all the time and nodding his
head as though he were giving us quite a musical treat, becoming
so energetic that we were afraid he would bring the whole place
to see what the matter was. It was struck on the edge, one side
being much worn away from continual beating. Although the
sound, when standing near the drum, did not appear to be very
loud, it could be heard distinctly for a considerable distance.

From the Governor's we went to the hill above the anchorage, 123
where the Meander's band was coming to play in the afternoon. On
the road we were passed by crowds of natives hurrying to the spot.
As the band had not yet arrived we went to look at the inside of the 346
church, which is a very perfect specimen of the native style of
building; the floor was about 130 feet long by 44 feet wide; the
roof being about 35 feet high in the middle, oval shaped and very
deep. There were no windows, the light coming in from the
openings in the sides, which served as entrances. The roof was
placed upon a frame of very large spars, secured where they
crossed each other by strong lashings, and supported by posts
below. The whole floor was matted and without division of any [352]
kind, excepting a low rail before the pulpit. This church was [643]
built for the missionaries by King George in a very short time, [797]
upwards of a thousand people being employed in its erection.

While I was making a sketch from the hill, a young man came
to me, and said he had a fine canoe to sell, and wished very much 123
that I would go home with him to look at it, saying, in English, 609
"Mine is a very good canoe; supposing you want it, I make 439
the sail to-night;" and then, admiringly, as though he were [126]
looking at it, "O it is a beautiful canoe." Being rather more
anxious about the sketch than his canoe, I did not pay much
attention to what he was saying; and he continued to stand at
my elbow, apparently watching every touch of the pencil very
intently. Imagining that he was interested in the proceeding, I
stopped, and held the book up for him to look at; but the canoe
was all he was thinking about, and eagerly seizing the opportunity
to direct my attention to his hut, among the cocoa-nut trees just
below, he came again to the point, saying, persuasively, "Do
come to the canoe;" and looking much disappointed when I said
I could not then spare the time, he continued, in a resigned tone, [435]
"Well, you have the canoe; I make sail to-night," mentioning
the sum of five dollars as the price of it. This latter idea put a
stop to any further negotiation on the matter as far as I was con-

own people, and finds sufficient employment in attending to his 643
duties as King without meddling in trade. He is one of the best [439]
sailors among the Tongaese, and has frequently shown remarkable [157]
coolness and presence of mind in situations of danger. When we
were at Tongatabu he was about to build a jetty over the reef at
the anchorage. He does not smoke, and his example is generally 276
followed by his people, smoking being considered as a mark of [643]
dissipation. At one time, however, it prevailed to a great extent,
nearly every man and woman, and even many children, smoking [178]
whenever they could get tobacco. The use of it is discouraged [177]
by the missionaries, but I imagine that some of the natives still
secretly indulge in it, for while I was sketching one day a young [747]
woman came up to me, and, first looking cautiously around,
inquired in a confidential whisper if I had any tobacco, at the same
time showing me a short black pipe.

Canoes.—The model exhibited will serve to show the construc- 501
tion of these better than any description. They are steered with
a large paddle on the lee quarter, and it will be seen that the
lower part or foot of the sail is secured to a spar in the same man-
ner as the sails of the "America" yacht. King George's canoe
is 90 feet long, the sail being 90 feet high and 60 feet wide at the
top. These large double canoes will carry as many as 200 men.

In 1847 King George, fearing that the French might interfere 643
with him, wrote a letter to the governor of New Zealand, request- 648
ing that he might with his people be received as subjects of the
British crown.

I would venture to remark that it must be of advantage to cul- 000
tivate friendly relations with the inhabitants of all such islands as
are desirous of being connected with us, more especially as it may
be very desirable to form depôts for our steamers at some of the
islands. It has been exceedingly difficult for me to draw a line 121
between the geographical and the ethnological in this paper, as
they are so intimately connected; but I trust by this simple narration, illustrated by the pencil, that many, who would have no taste for a voyage of 12,000 or 15,000 miles, will in some measure realize the condition of our antipodean fellow men; and it is to be hoped that in a comparatively few years the connexion existing between our Australian colonies and the mother country may also include these beautiful and fertile islands.

Sailing Directions for entering Tongatabu.

HAVING no map of Tongatabu, or any knowledge of the place, we were in doubt 122
as to which was the proper entrance to the anchorage, and the following sailing 114
directions were afterwards kindly given me by Mr. May, master of the Meander,
as the result of his observation upon going in.

When the northern point of Eua bears S., steer direct for the small island of Eua 131
Eki, on nearing which several small islets will be observed immediately to the 133